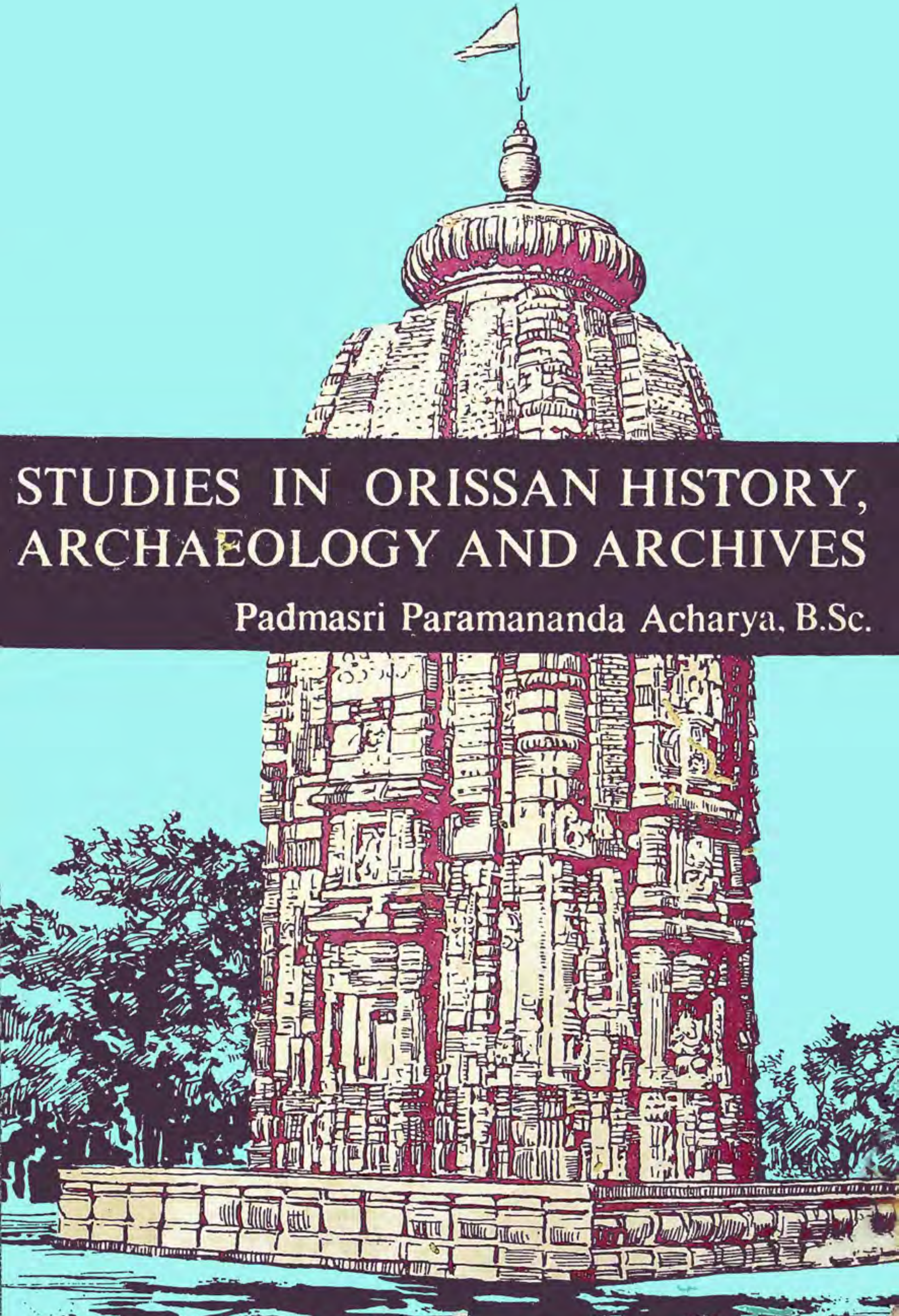
STUDIES IN ORISSAN HISTORY, ARCHAEOLOGY AND ARCHIVES

Padmasri Paramananda Acharya, B.Sc.



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Dedicated

to

the memory of

the late Maharaja Brothers

Purna Chandra Bhanja Deo & Pratap Chandra Bhanja Deo

of Mayurbhanj State,

who established the Archaeological Department

and

Patronised Historical Research

not only in Mayurbhanj, but also in whole Orissa

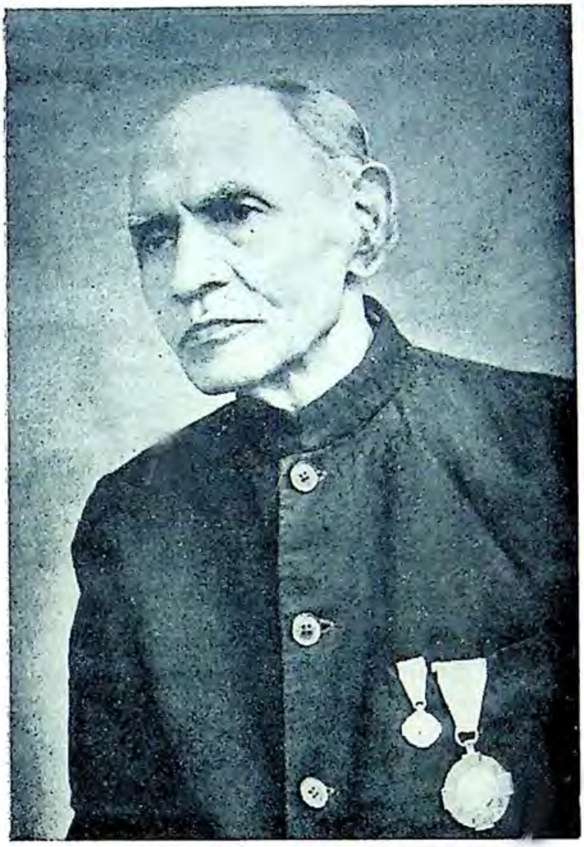
of ancient, mediaeval and modern periods

based on authentic and scientific materials

through

the humble activities of the Author

of this volume.



The Author

Padmasri Paramananda Acharya

Born in Baidyapur village of the then Mayurbhanj State, Orissa. Sri P. Acharya graduated from Calcutta University in 1923 and joined the State Services as Archaeologist in 1924. As a school-boy he was familiar with the original historical traditions of the Bhanja Dynasty which was tr[illegible] utilised by him in his later professional life. As a [illegible] student he worked with Mr. V. J. Menon, a Dutch s[illegible] and later associated himself with famous Archaeologi[illegible] Rai Bahadur R. Chanda and Mr. R. D. Banerjee.

He pursued his studies on archives and archaeology in England in 1934. In 1935 he was appointed as the Corresponding member of Indian Historical Records Commission by the Government of India. After the merger of the State with Orissa Sri Acharya held the post of Superintendent of Archaeology, Museum and Research, Government of Orissa and was the Chief Editor of Orissa Historical Research Journal up to his retirement in 1954.

A pioneer in the domain of archaeological research in Orissa, his studies ranged from exploration and excavation works to epigraphy, numismatics, architectural art and sculptures, iconography etc. He is the first to discover pre-historic sites in Orissa. The reconstruction and conservation of the Khiching temples reveal his archaeological acumen. His discoveries in his field are too many to be cited. So also is the case with his research publications and this book contains only a few of them. The President of India conferred on him Padmasri in 1964. He still continues his research activities inspite of his advance age.

Anant Misra

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Preface

I have devoted my life to the study of Orissan Archæology, History and Archives both in the field and in literature My memory takes me back to the period of my boyhood when I was interested in cellecting *Chaḍakapaṭhara* in my birth place at Baidyapur. I did not know why I read with care the history of Mayurbhanj when I was a lower primary student. I practically got the whole book in to my memory including the genealogical lable of 44 generations of the rulers of Mayurbhanj.

When I was a student of third class (now class IX) of the Baripada High English School in 1912, I happened to see a copy of the *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj* by Prāchyavidyāmahārṇava Nagendranath Vasu, who was the honorary Archæologist of the Mayurbhanj State. My first paper on the fall of Hariharpur (now Haripur), the old capital of Mayurbhanj, written in Oriya was published in *Utkal Sahitya* in 1913 In 1912 I read the text of copper plates of the Bhanja kings issued from Khiching which were published in the *Archœological Survey of Mayurbhanj* and tried to find out the names of rulers mentioned there in the genealogical accounts of the Mayurbhanj State, but I was disappointed not to find even a single name.

From my childhood we learnt the story that the first Bhanja king of Mayurbhanj was born from the egg of a peahen (Mayurāṇḍodbhava) and this egg-born child was taken of care by the sage Vaśisṭha (Vaśiṣṭhamuni pratipālita). I also learnt these terms from the text of horoscopes of children which were cast by my father, late Chhakadi Acharya. I can not say what prompted me in those days to know all these stories but I was curious that the *Virudas* written in the horoscopes had maintained the age-old tradition of the *Virudas* found in the copper plate grants. Somehow I doubted that the tradition of Rajput origin of the Bhanja Rulers was a later creation in the 19th century but I could not discover materials in support of my theory. So I left the matter there as it was beyond my capacity to go further in those days.

In 1923, when I was in the M. Sc. Class in Botany of the Calcutta University I asked one day Pandit Tarakeswara Gangooly as to how Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda had reconciled the copper plates tradition with thate of Rajput origin. He talked with Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda about the point and Mr. Chanda asked him to tell me if I could produce evidence prior to 1871 when the Bhanja copper plates of Khiching were first published, and then he would consider my question. It was not very difficult for me to collect horoscopes prior to 1871 and I showed him two such horoscopes dated before 1850. Upon this evidence he rejected the tradition of Rajput origin of the Bhanja rulers of Mayurbhanj and accepted my views to the effect that the Bhanja Rajas of Mayurbhanj are the descendants of the ancient Bhanja kings of Khiching according to the text of the copper plates. Rai Bahadur R. Chanda's first report on Khiching was published in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1922-23.* The hobby of my childhood thus helped me in the building of my career and although I was a graduate in. Science, I was selected by him as his assistant for the Archæological works of Mayurbhanj. I worked with him at Khiching in the winter months of 1923 as his Assistant. One day at Khiching, I happened to see the photograph of a *Chadukapathara* in a paper published by Mr. Chanda and on enquiry I learnt from him that it was a stone age implement called Neolith. He had written a paper on a piece of Neolith of the Indian Museum which was claimed by a scholar to contain an inscription of the period. Mr. Chanda refuted this claim and held that the so called inscription was nothing but the Persian numerals of the number in the Register of the Indian Museum which was cut on this piece by the Marker. I spoke to him that such stone implements called *Chudakapathara* were abundant in my village. On my return from Khiching, I collected and presented a number of neolithic implements to the Indian Museum which are mentioned in the *Annual Administration Report of Archaeological Survey of India for the year 1924-25.* After this, many neolithic sites in Mayurbhanj were discovered. In 1940 the first discovery of the Palaeolithics site at Kuliana was made by me with an American scholar. I think, I am the first discoverer of pre-historic sites not noly in Mayurbhanj but also in Orissa. As a result, Mayurbhanj area has been declared now as a best site for pre-historic antiquities.

From 1st. April 1924, I joined the service of the Mayurbhanj State Government and good many of the papers published in this book

were written when I was in the service there up to 31-12-1948. From the above, it would appear that I was destined to be an Archaœlogist.

After my appointment, I had to work in the field at Khiching and at the Bengal Secretariat Record room under the direction of Rai Bahadur Chanda, but all other activities of mine were left to my initiative. My first duty was to search historical palm leaf manuscripts and *Sanands* granted by previous rulers of Mayurbhanj to prove the authenticity of the genealogical table which was published in the Annual Administrative Report of Mayurbhanj for the year 1894-95. I discovered a palm leaf manuscript of "*Rasalahari.*" an Oriya *Kavya* by Maharaja Raghunath Bhanja at the end of which the poet named his four predecessors namely Krishna Bhanja, Trivikram Bhanja Sarveśvara Bhanja, Viravikramāditya Bhanja. I atonce noticed that the names of Krishna Bhanja and Trivikrama Bhanja were not there in the published genealogical list. Here I got a proof to show that the genealogical table which omitted the names of Kings of the copper Plates was of doubtful origin. Further research helped me to discover the original paper sanads granted by Maharajas Krishna Bhanja and Trivikrama Bhanja which conclusively proved my point. *Rasika Mangala*, a biography of Rasikananda also gave the name of Maharaja Krishna Bhanja. Prof: Jadunath Sarkar published a paper in the Vol : II of the *Journal of the B & O Research Society*, 1916, dealing with the History of Orissa in the 17th, century and in this paper there is a reference that Khan-i-Duran killed Raja Krishna Bhanja in 1660. Subsequently, I found from a *Dutch* Record that Krishna Bhanja was murdered by the Governor of Orissa (Khan-i-Duran). Apart from the Sanad, the authenticity of Maharaja Trivikram Bhanja was found in a reference in *Strenham Master's Diary in the account of Trade at Balasore*. From all these independent evidences, I had to reject totally the genealogical table of the Bhanja Rulers, which was published in 1894. At this time I collected a palmleaf manuscript called ' Bhanja Vamsa Mālikā or 'Bhanja Vamsanucharita' which gave a list of rulers in which the names of Krisna Bhanja and Trivikrama Bhanja were included, As *Vamsanucharita* did not give the names of the rulers earlier to the 16th. century A.D., I came to the conclusion that the names of Rulers of the copper plate grants, were forgotten at the time of compilation of ' Vamsanucharita ' While searching records I discovered a petition (arji) in 1926. (Mr. R. Hunter, Commissioner of the Cuttack Division to Mr. J. Momason. Acting Secretary to Government, Balasore, 5th. January, 1833)

written by Maharaja Jadunath Bhanja in 1832; This letter written in Kaithi is preserved in the Baripada Museum, Letter No. 4400 of the Book entitled '*Selections from Official Letters and Records relating to the History of Mayurbhanj*., published by Mayurbhanj state in 1943 gives a summary of this *Kaithi* document in English and records 250 generations of the rulers of Mayurbhanj. The script of the document is Kaithi but its language is Persian. It records that the Bhanja dynasty is very old having 250 generations but the names of the early rulers are omitted. Jadunath Bhanja gave the list of rulers from the time of Jagannatha Bhanja up to his time.

These *Virudas* are also found in Upendra Bhanja's *Lavanyavati* as follows :—

" ये वंशे इष्ट दुर्गा देवी । बरहि कोषरु सम्भृति ॥
त्रिशिष्ट बशिष्ट पालका । श्रीरामे दत्त राजटीके ॥"

This list is corroborated by that of the '*Vamsanucharita*'. From the Panda family of Jajpur, I procured a list of rulers, who visited Jajpur before 1800 A. D. and tnis list of rulers is corroborated by Jadunath Bhanja's petition and '*Vamsanucharita*.' Apart from the list it gives the *Virudas* of the Bhanja Rulers of Mayurbhanj in which 'Mayurāndodbhava' and 'Vasistha-muni-Pratipālita' are also recorded. In this way the real History of Bhanja rulers came to light by my research.

The subsequent research on the Bhanja dynasty pushed back the date of Bhanja Kings to the 5th. century A. D. Dr. R. C. Mazumdar records that the Bhanja Dynasty is a single dynasty which has survived for a period of 1500 years in Vol. IV of '*The History and Culture of the Indian People*' published in the Bhāratiya Vidya Bhavan Series in Bombay. A stone inscription has been recently found at Asanpat in the Keonjhar District, which was studied by Sri Satya-narayan Rajguru, who thinks that its date is the 3rd. or the 4th. century A. D.

In the copper plates issued from Khiching the King was described as one whose sins were destroyed by the worship of the feet of Hara. ' हरचरणाराधनक्षयित पापः ' ।

This epithet indicates an image of Hara. While working in 1923, I restored at Khiching a big image of Hara after joining many broken parts and also the images of Natarāja and Mahishāmardini.

In the 'Records' Section I have dealt with the Sanada of Krishna Bhanja and Trivikrama Bhanja under captions 'A Sanada of Raja Krishna Bhanja of Mayurbhanj' and 'Mayurbhanja and the European Factories at Pipli and Balasore.'

My next important contribution to the History of Orissa is the identification of Chandrikā Devi, the real builder of the Ananta Vasudeva Temple at Bhubaneswar, in 1278 A. D. She was the daughter of the famous Gaṅga King Anaṅgabhīma Deva. My paper on this subject will be found in the "Epigraphy" section entitled "The commemorative inscription of the Ananta-Vasudeva Temple of Bhubaneswar" Up to 1939, all scholars believed that the Ananta Vasudeva temple was built by Bhavadeva Bhatta. the minister of Harivarmadeva, King of Bengal, due to wrong fixation of the inscription-slab of Bhavadeva Bhatta sent by the Asiatic Society of Bengal to Bhubaneswar in 1838 by mistake. This inscription slab was first found some time in 1795 A. D. in Dacca and subsequently, brought to the museum of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta and finally despatched to Bhubaneswar by wrong identification in 1838.

My most important contribution to the History of Orissa is the identification of Ādinagara with Yayatinagara, 'the capital of the Somakuli Kings of Orissa. This identification gave clue to the date of Indraratha, the Somakuli King of Yayatinagara, who was defeated by Rajendra Chola during his march to Bengal in 1023-25 A. D. By this discovery, the date of the Somakuli kings of Orissa was easily ascertained and the chronology of the Somakuli kings was satisfactorily settled. My paper on this sabject entitled *Identification of Indraratha of Adinagara found in the Tirumalai inscription of Rajendra Chola I*" was read at the session of the Indian History Congress held at Lahore in 1940 and published in the Journal of Indian History' in 1941. I have also settled the chronology of the Somakuli kings in a paper in which I have shown as to how B. C. Majumdar read wrongly the text of the Jatesinga Dungari copper plate of Yayati Deva II. Recently a copper plate of Indraratha has been found from a Buddhist Stupa at Banapura in the Puri district and has been published in '*Jhankara*', an Oriya monthly, by Dr. K. B. Tripathy.

My next important contribution to the History of Orissa is the identification of Jajnagar of the Muslim history with Orissa. discarding all other suggestions of my predecessors. My three papers on Jajnagar are published in this Volume.

All other papers included in this Volume have thrown new light on other aspects of the History of Orissa as a whole.

While I was the State Archaeologist of Mayurbhanj, I had several occasions to explore the antiquities scattered all over the Princely States of Orissa. I discovered the biggest Hindu images of Anantasāyī Vishnu at Sarang and Bhimkand in the old Talcher state in 1946 and 1949 respectively. My survey of the Archaeological relics in the valleys of the Vaitarani, the Brahmani and the Mahanadi in Orissa has brought to light Archaeological wealth of Orissa, which was unknown before 1924.

I am highly grateful to the Government of Orissa for kindly giving me financial assistance for publication of this volume.

I am personally thankful to Sri B.K. Misra, I. A. S., the - then Secretary and Director of Cultural Affairs Department of the Government of Orissa, for his initiative in sanctioning funds in bringing out this Volume.

I m also very much indebted to Sri Kedarnath Mahapatra for his help in seeing the proof of this book without which it would not have been possible for me to do the work. I am also thankful to Sri Prasanna Kumar Mahapatra, the proprietor of Sri Sarada Press, for quickly printing the book in his Press.

I acknowledge with thanks the permission kindly granted by the Superintendent of the Museum for using the Blocks printed in the Orissa Historical Research Journal.

P. Acharya
23 - 12 - 68.

STUDIES IN ORISSAN HISTORY, ARCHAEOLOGY AND ARCHIVES.

1

A NOTE ON THE BHUVANESVARA INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRA DEVI*

This dedicatory inscription[1] was composed by poet Umāpati on the occasion of consecrating a temple at Bhuvaneśvara by Chandrā Devī the daughter of Anaṅgabhīma Deva, the wellknown Gajapati king of Orissa. Her husband was Paramardī Deva, a Haihaya prince, "who fell in battle against the enemies of Vīra Narasimha", the son of Anaṅgabhīma Deva I Chandrā Devī lived long after the time of Narasimha I. The date of erecting the temple is 1200 of the Saka year when Bhānu Deva I, the son of Narasimha I, was ruling in Orissa. Bhānu Deva I ruled from Saka 1186—1200-1 [2]

Though the inscription is incomplete, yet its contents throw a flood of light on the period of reign of Anaṅgabhīma and his son Narasimha I, who occupied the throne of Orissa from 1211—1264 A D. During this period the kings of Orissa had to fight with the Hindu kings of Tummāna (a part of modern C. P where once the Chedī or Haihaya kings ruled), and with the Muhammadan kings of Bengal. The

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* The Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society, March - June, 1929 Vol. XV pt I & II.

1. Epi Ind , Vol XIII. pp. 150-155.

2 J.A.S B Vol LXXII, p. 12.

copper-plate grants of Narasimha II and Narasimha IV, the Chāteśvara inscription, and Tabaqat-i-*Nasīrī*, all mention such events as are corroborated by this inscription The present inscription relates that Anaṅgabhīma "overcame a Yavana enemy", and Paramardī Deva, the son-in-law of Anaṅgabhīma, "having found the enemies of the battle-loving king Vīra Narasimha Deva, to be dwelling in the world of Gods, went thither in fury to conquer them with full display of glory".

The copper-plates also speak of Narasimha's invasion of Rāḍhā and Varendra, and the defeat of Yavanas there, "*Rāḍhāvarendrī Yavanī nayanāñjanāśru purīva* etc."[3]

The Chāteśvara inscription mentions that Anaṅgabhīma had a Brahmin minister named Vishnu who fought for him with the king of Tummāna country "*Tummāna-prithvī-patih*", and with the Yavanas, "*Yavanāvanīndu-samare*". The marriage, as disclosed by this inscription with a Haihaya prince, leads one to assume that the two independent powers, the Haihayas and the Gaṅgas, became friends after the end of the war. As Chandrā Devī did not claim any royal title, it is not improbable that Paramardī Deva had no hand in the affairs of Chedī kingdom, but it can be assumed that he occupied a high official rank at the royal court of the Gaṅga kings of Orissa, with a high title such as Sāmantarāya or likewise, what we find to be mentioned in Tabaqat-I-Nasīrī quoted below.

"The leader of the forces of Jajnagar was a person, by name Sabantar, the son in-law of the Rai, who during the time of Malik Izzuddin Tughrill-I-Tughan Khān, had advanced to the bank of the river Lakhanavati and having shown the greatest audacity had driven the Musalman forces as far as the gate (of the city) of Lakhanavati" (pages 762-63). "In the year H. 642 (A D. 1245) the infidels of Jajnagar appeared before the gate of Lakhanavati" (p. 665).

There is an agreement between all these sources. It is all probable that Paramardī Deva was better known to the Muhammadan historian as the "son-in-law of the Rai" [4] Arguing against the remark of Babu N. N. Vasu on the identity of this "person by name

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3 Ibid, 1895, Part I; 1896, Part I.

4. J. A. S. B, Vol. LXVII, 1898, p. 322, VII 14 and 15.

Sabantar, the son-in-law of the Rai", the following was written by late Rai Bahadur M. M. Chakravarti.

"In J A S B, Volume LXV. 1896, pages 232-4, Babu N N Vasu has argued that the 'Sabantar who led the forces of Jajnagar was probably Narasimha I, and that Minhāj, by mistake has described the son to be the son-in-law' Now that the fights have been in this article shown to have taken place in the time of Narasimha Deva himself, he will not, I trust, be identified with the son-in-law"5

Mr. Chakravarti could not then account for the statement made by Minhāj for want of adequate information as has been revealed by this inscription of Chandrā Devī, but his remark held good against Babu N. N. Vasu's views

This inscription has yet a greater importance than what is shown above. It gives the date of a temple which falls at a period when Orissan monarchy rose to its climax in all respects. A little before this, the great Sun temple at Konāraka had been built by Narasimha Deva and the style of the construction of this temple would manifest a greater affinity to that of the temple at Konāraka.

It is not exactly known from which temple this inscription was removed by "Colonel Stewart" to whose collection it belongs. The editor of the epigraph wrote the following in this connection. "The contents show that it has been brought from Bhuvaneśvara and it is impossible to discover from which of these temples it came. It belongs to a Vaiṣṇava sanctuary and this fact excludes the great Lingarāj and other Siva temples of the place." But it does not exclude the beautiful Ananta Vāsudeva temple, which bears an inscription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva.

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5. Ibid, Vol. LXXII, 1903, pp. 123-4.

2

THE COMMEMORATIVE INSCRIPTION OF THE ANANTA-VASUDEVA TEMPLE OF BHUBANESWAR.

(Rectification of a century-old mistake)

1. Introduction

The following four stone inscriptions are known to belong to temples of Bhubaneswar which were "carried thence by Major-General Charles Stuart of the Bengal army."[1]

I. Inscription of Bhatta Bhavadeva [2] now fixed on the western compound wall of the Ananta-Vasudeva temple.

II. Meghesvara inscription of Svapnesvaradeva [3] now fixed on the western compound wall of the Ananta-Vasudeva temple.

III. Brahmesvara inscription of Kolavatidevi [4] mother of Mahārājādhirāja Udyota Keśarī, now lost.

IV. Inscription of Chandradevi,[5] now preserved in the hall of the Royal Asiatic Society, London

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1. E. I., Vol. XIII, p. 150.

2. (a) Prinsep - J A S. B Vol. VI 1837, pp. 88-97.
   (b) Mitra - Antiquities of Orissa, Vol II, 1880, pp. 85-87.
   (c) Kielhorn - E I, Vol VI, 1900-01, pp. 203-207.
   (d) N. G. Majumdar - Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, 1929, pp. 25-41.
   (e) N. N. Vasu - Castes and Sects of Bengal, Vols. I & II.

3. (a) Prinsep - J. A. S. B Vol VI, 1837, pp. 278-288,
   (b) N. N. Vasu - Ibid. Vol. LXII, 1897 pp. 11-23.
   (c) Kielhorn - E. I., Vol. VI, 1900-01, pp 198-203.

4. (a) Prinsep - J. A. S. B., Vol. VII, 1838, pp. 557-562.
   (b) Mitra - Antiquities of Orissa, Vol. II, pp 87-89.

5. Barnett - E. I., Vol. XIII, 1915-16, pp. 150-155.

The first three inscription-slabs were kept in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal from where they were returned to Bhuvaneswar by the orders of the Committee of the Society in 1837 at the suggestion of Major Markham Kittoe 6 From the "List of donors and donations to the Museum of the Asiatic Society from January 1822" published as Appendix III of the Vol. XV (1825) of the Asiatic Researches, it is found that "General Stuart" donated eight Sanskrit stone inscriptions belonging to India out of which there were "two stones from Bhubaneswar in Orissa with Sanskrit inscripion".7 "The Indian Museum is the offspring of the Asiatic Society of Bengal which was founded in 1784. The question of the storage and preservation of various curiosities received from its members came up before the Society as early as 1796, but it was not until 1814 that the Society resolved to establish a Museum in the Society's premises to be divided into two sections, *viz.*, (a) archaeological, ethnological and technical and (b) geological and zoological". No list of antiquities presented to the Society before 1814, is available and the first list was published as an appendix to the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XI, (1816) and all the subsequent volumes contain such a list up to the year 1836. No list mentions the name of Col. Mackenzie who visited Bhubaneswar and halted there from 5th to 11th of April, 1815 or of any other donor presenting anything from Orissa. Machenzie made several drawings of sculptures belonging to temples of Chandresvara of Bhubaneswar as found from his manuscripts and drawings.

Now the doubt naturally arises as to how the committee of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, who only got "two stones from Bhubaneswar" could identify three stone inscriptions belonging to that place and return them there for restoration to their original places ? So it can safely be said that at least one slab containing the Sanskrit inscription does not belong to Bhubaneswar.

In the present article I have made an attempt in correctly identifying the commemorative slab which was originally fixed to the

6. J. A. S. B. Vol. VI, p. 319 & Vol. VII, p. 557.
7. Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, App. p. XXXV.
8. The Museums of India, 1936, p. 193.
9. J & P. A. S. B., Vol. IV, 1908, pp. 209-321.

Ananta-Vasudeva temple of Bhubaneswar. In 1929 I wrote the following in an article entitled "A note on the Bhuvaneswar Inscription of Chandra Devi"10:—

"It is not exactly known from which temple this inscription was removed by 'Colonel Stuart' to whose collection it belongs. The Editor of the Epigraph wrote the following in this connection :—

'The contents show that it was brought from Bhuvaneśwar and it is impossible to discover from which of these temples it came It belongs to a Vaishnava sanctuary and this fact excludes the *L*ingarājā and other Siva temples of the place.' But it does not exclude the beautiful Rājarani temple and the Anantavāsudeva temple, but the latter bears an inscription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva.

"I am inclined to suggest that this slab containing the inscription was removed from the Rājarani temple which has no cult-image within it. The inscription states that the temple built by Chandra Devī stood on the bank of Vinḍusagar and so an objection may naturally be raised against the identification proposed above."

After writing this I have been informed that there is a tradition at Bhuvaneswar that the Rajarani temple was built by a wealthy prostitute for the God Siva, and the gate-keepers Chanda and Prachanda on the door jambs of this temple prove that it is a Siva temple. As the result of subsequent investigation, I venture now to put in writing the following accounts which will show that Chandrā Devī, and not Bhāṭṭa Bhāvadevā is the real builder of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple of Bhuvaneśwar.

II Criticism of the story of Identification :

Inscriptions Nos. 2, 3 and 4 contain passages describing the locality, family and persons well known in the history of Orissa. On the other hand the inscription No. 1 "mentions the three geographical divisions of old Bengal, Gauda, Rādha and Vaṅga The village Siddhala, the beauty of Rādha and the granted village of Hastinibhitta are untraceable. According to some Siddhala lies in the Kalna sub-division of Burdwan district, it is very curious that the inscription makes no mention of Bhuvaneśwar where the temple was erected, or

10. J. B. & O. R. S. Vol XV, 1929, p. 282.

of the king of this tract."[11] The records of the Asiatic Society of Bengal do not furnish us with any definite information as to how it came to the Museum of the Society. The editor of the Journal notes that "we cannot discover by whom the stone was presented to the Society."[12] The slab was "marked No. 2" in the collection of the Society's Museum.

James Prinsep's following note published at page 724 of Vol. V, 1836, of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal clearly gives an idea about this question. "Many of the inscriptions in our Museum bear no record, either of the places whence they came. or of their respective donors. Unless therefore they contain in themselves such information as may supply a clue to their origin, the greater part of this work is lost. Publication in some cases may lead to their recognition, and this is one of my motives for including them in my present series of lithograph The inscription, marked No. 5. in the Museum (Plate XXXIII) is neatly cut on a stone, about 3½ feet long by 1¼ feet broad ... ... "

The manner in which its identification as belonging to Ananta-Vāsudeva temple has been made, will convince any one that there was not any datum to identify it with an inscription of a temple of Bhuvaneśwar. Lieut. Markham Kittoe who was Curator and Librarian to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta until 1838 [13] visited Bhuvaneśwar and Khandagiri during the cold weather of 1836 for examining the inscription published by Stirling in the Asiatic Researches. Vol. XV, p 313 and on that occasion he was fortunate to discover the Dhauli edict of Asoka. In the proceedings of the Society's meeting, dated the 3rd May, 1837, the following finds mention :—

" Lieut. Kittoe had met with obstructions in his enquiries from a mistrust of the resident Brāhmins, which he found to originate in their temple having been robbed some years ago of slabs containing inscriptions, by some officers; and he strongly urged the justice of

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11. M. M. Chakravarti—J. & P. A. S. B.; N. S. Vol. VIII, 1912, pp. 340-41

12. J. A. S. B., Vol. VI, 1837, p. 88.

13. A memoir of the Indian Surveys, London, 1878, p. 244.

restoring any such that might have come into the Society's possessions. One he suspected, from its dimensions,14 was the identical one published in the Journal for February.

"The Secretary stated that on examination he found this to be the case as a second inscription of precisely the same character, now under publication, containing the name of the Rājā of Orissa, who founded Bhuvaneśwar temple. The meeting resolved unanimously, the slab should be restored and the Lieutenant Kittoe had their warmest thanks for the suggestion."15

The following quotations from the notes of James Prinsep, the then Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal on the inscription of Svapneśvara Deva and 'Brahmeśvara inscription, from Cuttack, throw further light on this point.

"The subject selected for this month's (April. 1837) illustration is a slab of dark stone marked No. 6 in the Society's Museum. Nothing is there recorded of its origin but the character in which it is cut (as may be seen by the lithographed specimen in pl XVII), from a similar stone of some what smaller size; and which publication has led, in rather a singular manner, to the discovery of the source whence both were derived.

"Lieutenant Kittoe, as I have before mentioned was lately requested on the part of the society to re-examine the inscription on the Khandagiri rock, published in Stirling's memoirs on *Cuttack* (As. Res., XV). In doing this he came most unexpectedly upon a number of highly curious ancient temples and inscriptions of which he hastened to make drawings and facsimiles. He found himself impeded and foiled by the Brāhmans of the spot, who even went so far

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14. "Dimension of the slab-3 feet by 1½ feet, marked No. 2" *Vide* plate VII J.A S.B., Vol. VI. The inscription slab of Chandrā Devī is "3 feet 10 inches in width and one foot 8¼ inches in height." It is not known why Kittoe stressed so much on the dimensions of the slab, but they are not identical as found now.

15. J. A. S. B., Vol. VI, 1837. p. 319, Proceedings dated 3rd May, 1837.

as to obstract one of the copies which had cost him the most labour. Upon seeking the cause of so unusual a want of courtesy, the priests told him how their images and relics had been carried off by former antiquaries, and pointed out whence the commemorative slab had been actually cut out from tho temples of Ananda-Vāsudeva at Bhuvaneśwar by late Colonel Sāheb. The dimensions of the slab and the subject of invocation tallied so exactly with the inscription translated by Captain Marshall, that Lieutenant Kittoe wrote to me on the subject and on referring to the list of donations at the end of the eleventh volume[16] of Researches, I find General Stewart set down as the donor of 'two slabs with inscriptions from Bhuvaneśwar in Orissa'.

"There was nothing in the first of the two whence we could guess its locality; the person noted as the founder of the temple being a private individual, named Bhaṭṭa Srī Bhava Deva, but in the slab, now confidently conjectured to be its companion, we have a Rājā's name and ancestry which ought to afford a better clue.. The date of Rājā Ananga Bhīma (1174 A D.) also agrees closely with what was assumed from the style of the alphabet, and the 'Samat 32' of the Bāsudeva slab, It will hence become a question whether the figures are, in all cases, to be referred to a *Cuttack* era, or whether the same Devanagiri alphabet was in use from *Shekawati* to Benares, Dinajpur and Orissa, in the 12th century, while each prince had then an era of his own.

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" I cannot conclude these preliminary remarks without animadverting upon ruthless spoliation which is often carried on by

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16. I found the list in the 15th volume of the Researches

That the reference given here is wrong can also be proved from the following note given at page 881 of the Journal, Vol. VI of 1837. "The subject now to be explained is inscribed on an oblong slab of sandstone 4½ ft. by 1½ which I conjecture to be one of those presented by General Stewart and inserted in the Catalogue of Vol. XV of the Asiatic Researches as 'a stone slab from *Ajayagarh* in *Pundelkhand* with a Sanskrit inscription' or a 'stone bull from Kalinjar with a Sanskrit inscription."

soi-disant antiquaries, to the perversion of the true object of research - the preservation of ancient monuments, and their employment to elucidate the history of the country. The facts told by these two Bhuvaneśwar stones were utterly unintelligible, until accident pointed out whence they had come and the local history of the temples was or would have been equally lost in another generation. It is to be hoped therefore that the Asiatic Society will hasten to restore them to their former positions. Such an act will contribute ten fold to the true objects of our institution by the confidence it will inspire in the minds of the people who now watch our explorers with jealousy, and with hold valuable information lest it should only yield to fresh acts of plunder and demolition.

"Since writing the above, I am happy to perceive that the Society has determined on the immediate restitution of the two slabs through Lieutenant Kittoe who has been requested to explain that their removal was the act of an individual and never had their sanction, unless they had been assured that the objects were going to decay, or held in no estimation where they were."17

'Besides the two slabs of stones identified last year as belonging to the *Bhuvaneśwar* temples, in *Cuttack* and consequently returned to the Brāhmans after perusal, there was a third broken into two pieces, which Mr. Kittoe pointed out as being in the same character and from the same locality Before returning this he kindly took for me a very exact impression, whence I have copied the reduced facsimile in plate XX.V. The stone was, as stated above, returned to Bhuvaneśwar; but Mr. Kittoe did not find as he anticipated any resulting cordiality or good-will among the priesthood of the place, on the contrary, they brought him a long list of purloined idols, and impetuously urged him to procure their return as he had done that of inscriptions "18

Mr. Kittoe did not lose any time in giving effect to the restoration of the inscription slabs of Bhuvaneśwar according to the decision of the Asiatic Society arrived at the meeting of the 3rd May of 1837 quoted above The following from the proceedings

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17. J. A. S. B. Vol. VII, 1837, pp. 278-80.

18. Ibid , Vol. VII, pp 557-58.

of the Society, dated the 7th June and 2nd August, 1837, show that the inscription slabs of Bhuvaneśwar were despatched to and arrived at Bhuvaneśwar from Calcutta.

"Read a letter from Lieutenant Kittoe, stating that he had dispatched a cart to Tamlook to take down the Bhuvaneswar slabs, the restoration of which had given the greatest satisfaction to the priests and people." *Vide* Journal, Vol. VI p 402

"Lieutenant Kittoe announced the safe arrival of the Bhuvaneswar inscription slabs which he was about to return to their respective temples". *Vide* p 617.

These extracts read with Prinsep's note no the Brahmeśvara inscription, go to show that the inscription slab was returned along with inscription slabs of the Ananta Vāsudeva and Meghesvara temples to Bhuvaneswar from Calcutta in 1837 As the inscription slab of the Brahmeśvara temple is not found now, it may be inferred that either it was not despatched from Calcutta at all or it was left at some intermediate station by the cart driver on his way to Bhuvaneswar or it has been subsequently removed from the compound wall of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple and replaced with the Meghesvara slab by some one after the visit of Dr Rajendralal Mitra in 1880 who found the slab struck to the wall. It is now impossible to discover the truth until the rediscovery of the Brahmeśvara slab is made.

However Lieutenant Kittoe's keen interest in the matter of restitution of the inscription slabs of Bhuvaneswar has done great harm in its 'employments to elucidate the history of the country and has put a veil over the eyes of the scholars for a period of one century and thereby the 'true object of research' has been frustrated.

The above quotation leaves enough room for doubting the identification of the inscription slab of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva ever belonging to the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple of Bhuvaneśwar. Neither Kittoe nor Prinsep has left any note to show as to how they identified the slab under reference that it originally was fixed to the said temple; and the inscription itself does not furnish us with any independent evidence in this connection Their single evidence was the similarity of character with another inscription from Bhuvaneśwar. The knowledge in palaeography, a century ago, was in its infancy

and even a versatile scholar like Prinsep did not know that the character in north-eastern India or Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was the very same in form in that remote period

It is not understood how Major Kittoe 'suspected' the inscription slab of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva to have originally belonged to the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple. He was only informed at Bhuvaneśwar "that the commemorative slab had been actually cut out from the temple of Ananda (Ananta ?) Bāsudeva of Bhuvaneśwar by a Colonel Sāheb." Perhaps the invocation-'Namo Bhagav te Vāsudevāya'- of the inscription misled him Prinsep had also such a notion as he described it as the 'Bhāsudeva slab'.

It has been stated above as to how the register of antiquities of the Society's Museum was maintained Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva's inscription was 'marked No 2' whereas that of Svapneśvara Deva was 'marked No 6'. It is unfortunate that the number of the Brahmeśvara slab was not noted by the editor Its number would be either 5 or 7 as two stone inscriptions from Bhuvaneśwar were presented by Stuart in one occasion and therefore the recording of serial numbers would have been made at the time of donation. In the list of donations by "General Stewart" mentioned above, the following stone inscriptions of India are noted :—

1. "A stone slab from Ajayagerh in Bundelkhand with Sanskrit inscription

2-3. "Two ditto from Burro Pitari near Bhilas with ditto.

4. "Another ditto from Oudipoor near ditto.

5 "Another ditto from Mahoba in Bundelkhand near ditto.

6-7 "Two stones from Bhubaneswar in Orissa with Sanskrit Inscription.

8. "One ditto from Ajayagerh"

Two inscriptions from Bhuvaneśwar are to be identified with the inscriptions of the Megheśvara and Brahmeśvar temple and their numbers were marked 6 and 7 in Stuart's collection.

It seems that Prinsep was in doubt about Kittoe's identification when he wrote that "there was nothing in the first of the two whence we

could guess its locality." If any one of them would have questioned the propriety of identification of *three* slabs out of two from Bhuvaneśwar, the mistake done would have been detected and verified in 1838 just a century ago.

It will not be out of place here to mention two other instances of committing a similar mistake unknowingly like Prinsep and Kittoe, that have been repeated at a later period in connection with these inscriptions of Bhuvaneśwar. Since 1837 the inscription slabs have been fixed on the western cdmpound wall of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple.

In 1880 Dr. Rajendralal Mitra did not write anything about the inscription of Svapneśvara Deva although the inscription slab was stuck to the same wall of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple. He thus writes :—

"There are existing two large slabs stuck on the western wall of the courtyard of the famous temple (of Ananta-Vāsudeva) bearing Sanskrit inscriptions. One of these was originally intended for the temple of Brahmeśvara, and the other for that of Ananta and Vāsudeva. Both of them had been removed from their proper places by General Stewart, and deposited in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal at about the early part of this century. When Major (then Lieutenant) Kittoe visited Bhubaneswar in 1838 the priests complained bitterly of the sacrilege, and he suggested the restitution of the stones. The society readily permitted this, but in replacing them through some mistake or other, the Major selected the outer wall of the temple for both of them, instead of their respective places. Before making the restitution James Prinsep published transcripts and translations of both the records in the journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal".[19]

Writing on the Megheśvara inscription of Svapneśvara Deva of Orissa Mr. N. N. Vasu quotes the above extract and writes :—

"I went personally to inspect those two slabs and made rubbings of both. Both the slabs now lie at the identical place where Dr. Rajendralal saw them. I was assured by the old Pandas of

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19. Antiquities of Orissa, Vol. II, p. 84.

the temple that they remained at the very spot from before the time of the Doctor's inspection, without suffering a change of place or alteration of any kind.

" It is, indeed, surprising that there is no conformity at all of the Brahmeśvara inscription described by the learned Doctor with the inscription I inspected. In fact, there is no Brahmeśvara inscription at all in the temple. I am quite at a loss to determine how he identified this with the Brahmeśvara slab.

" As far as I am aware nobody has yet deciphered this inscription under notice." 20

Dr. Kielhorn's note on these two inscriptions runs as follows :-

" The two inscriptions, of which I give an account here from excellent impressions prepared for Dr. Hultzsch by Mr. Krishna Sastri, are on the slabs of dark stone which are now in the Western wall of the courtyard of the temple of the Ananta-Vāsudeva at Bhubaneswar in the Puri District of Orissa, two stones were taken away from Bhubaneswar and presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by General Stewart about 1810, but to please the people, they were returned to their original place in 1837. In the latter year the inscriptions were both edited with specimens of facsimiles of the character by Mr. Prinsep in the *Jour. Bengal. As. Soc.*, Vol. VI, p. 89 ff., and p. 280 ff., the one here marked A....., and the inscription A has been edited again (*ibid*, Vol. LXVI, Part I, pp. 11.ff ,) by Mr. Nagendra Nath Vasu, who was not aware of its having been published sixty years before" 21

In 1912 Mr. M.M. Chakravarti in his article entitled "Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva of Bengal" published a photograph of the inscription of Svapneśvaradeva and wrongly described the same as the inscription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva.22 If either Dr. Mitra, Mr. Vasu or Mr. Chakravarti could make a mistake inadvertantly, it is easy to imagine the difficulty of Prinsep and Kittoe.

Rāghavendra Kaviśekhara's genealogical account has been cited as a corroborative evidence in support of the identification of

20. J. A. S. B., Vol. LXVI, 1897, pp. 11-12.
21. E I. Vol, VI, p. 198.
22. J and P. A. S. B., Vol. VIII, pp. 338 and 342 and pt. XIX.

Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva's inscription belonging to Bhuvaneswar and so I like to discuss below its historical value.

Prāchyavidyāmahārnava N. N. Vasu had first some doubt as to the exact temple from which the inscription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva was removed. He wrote :—

" When we first read the contents of this eulogium, it struck us as to how a Bengali Brahmin of Rāḍha country could have built this magnificent monument in a foreign country like Utkala."[23] But this doubt was removed when he unexpectedly found a passage in the genealogical account composed by Rāghavendra Kaviśekhara in 1660 A D , which mentions that Harivarmadeva whose valour was proclaimmed in many countries like-Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga.[24] (Vaṅgāṅga-kaliṅgādyāseshajanapadabahumatadbhutakarma) erected one hundred and eight temples for various gods at Ekāmrakshetra. Rāghavendra Kaviśekhara's account runs thus ;—

"Srī Ekāmra-kānana-pratishṭhāpita Hari-Hara-vaidehi-Raghavā Lakshmaṇa - Hanumatādyashṭottarasatādbhutavaijayantivibhushita manda - gandhaprasū – prasūna - patalasaundaryādinyakṛta Nandana-kānana - vaibhava - paramamedamayodyāna -samalamkṛta - surapatha-samsparśi-Sundara-mandiramandākinī-vimala-kilāla kamala-kalhārendi-vara-sonarāvindavṛndasamsobhita-suvisāla-sarovara-samhatih."[25]

On the authority of this account Mr. Vasu came to the conclusion that " when Harivarmadeva erected hundreds of temples at Bhubaneswar, it was no wonder on the part of his chief minister to build the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple during his reign "[26] At page ix of this book we find that the title 'Gauḍoḍravangādhipa' or the over-lord of Gauḍa, Oḍra and Vaṅga, has been applied to Maharaja Harivarmadeva. On the other hand these titles are not found either in the account of Rāghavendra Kaviśekhara or in the copper-plate grant of Harivarma-deva which was published by him. Commenting on the copper-plate grant of Harivarmadeva Mr. N.G. Majumdar has written the following:-

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23. Castes and Sects of Bengal, Vol. II, pp. 6, XIV-XV in Bengali.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 6 (ii).
25. *Ibid.*, p. 6 ii.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 6 xv.

"A very indistinct photograph of only one side of the plate is given by Mr. N. N. Vasu in his *Castes and Sects of Bengal* Vol. II, frontispiece. On pages 215-17 he also has given an extremely tentative reading of portion of the document, which I am afraid, is too conjectural to be utilised for historical purposes"[27] No where in Mr. Vasu's tentative reading of the copper-plate of Hari-varmadeva we find any title like '*Gauḍeśravangadhipa* or any information of erecting temples at Bhuvaneswar as are met with in Raghavendra's account which was composed, it is stated, on the basis of traditions and older genealogical accounts The annual report of the Dacca Museum for 1936-37 mentions that the Samantasar copper-plate of Hari-varmadeva has been acquired for the Museum and Dr. N. K. Bhaṭṭasali remarks that the text of Mr. Vasu "was vitiated by preconceived readings."

Mr. M.M. Ganguli took this unreliable account of Rāghavendra to bea "copper plate inscription" and wrote thus :—

"We learn from a copper-plate inscription composed by Rāghavendra Kaviśekhara that Harivarma Deva was a king of Bengal, and the seat of his government was Vikramapura."[28] "On going through the inscription of Rāghavendra Kaviśekhara referred to at page 379, I am convinced that the palace with the temple of Rāmeśwara was built by Harivarma Deva, the king of Bengal, in the beginning of the eleventh century A.D.We learn from the inscription that Harivarmadeva built 108 temples of Hara, Hari, Rāma, Sītā, Lakshmaṇa and Hanumān in Ekāmra Kānana and laid out flower gardens, etc. The site, now in a ruinous state, was occupied by his garden and garden houses. The temple of Sītā, Lakshmaṇa and Hanumān still cluster round the temple of Rāmeśwar."[29]

Commenting on the anthenticity of genealogical accounts of Bengal which narrate that Adi Sura brought Brahmins of *five gotras* to Bengal, Mr. R. P. Chanda is of opinion that "on the contradictory evidence that we meet in the eulogium of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva of Bhuvaneswar against the story of bringing Brahmins belonging to Sāvarṇa Gotra, doubts naturally arise in our mind as to the historical truth of the story of Adi Sura. So long as any copper-plate or stone

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27. Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p 168.
28. Orissa and Her Remains, 1912, p. 379.
29. *Ibid* pp. 390-91.

inscription dispel this doubt, it is quite useless to make an attempt in compiling the history of Adi Sura on the authority of self-contradictory genealogical accounts."[30] So until and unless any genuine and contemporary records of Harivarma Deva showing his supremacy over Orissa is found, it is equally useless to accept the views advanced by some scholars on these points.

It is quite possible for any Hindu monarch or his minister to erect temples in a place of pilgrimage like Bhuvaneswar and put commemorative inscriptions in them and no one would ever object to doing such religious work even in another kingdom where the question of political supremacy does not arise at all. It may be that Rāghavendra Kaviśekhara's 'Bhavabhumi vārttā' was composed with historical data, but the date of the manuscript has not been clearly established and, moreover, it does not refer directly even to Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva.

All these facts lead to the conclusion that the Ananta Vāsudeva temple of Bhuvaneswar was not built by Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva of the village of Siddhala in Rāḍha country, who built the temple of Nārāyaṇa in his native village.

III. Deities of the Ananta-Vāsudeva Temple and their reference in the Inscriptions of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva and Chandrādevī

The inscription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva mentions in verse 3 that the village Siddhala is the ornament of Rāḍha where his forefathers dwelt. In verses 4 to 25, the poet describes the versatile qualifications and fortunes of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva and then in verse 26 Rāḍha country is again described where, on the outskirts of a village, he excavated a tank for the supply of water to the public.

Inverses 27, 28 and 29 mention is made of his installing a stone image of Nārāyaṇa (V.27) and of building a temple for him (V 28) and of building the images of Nārāyaṇa, Ananta and Nṛsimha in the niches of the said temple (V, 29). The strain of description lends support to the suggestion that all these works were done in the Siddhala village mentioned in verse 31 Mr. N. G. Majumdar rightly remarks :— "The name of the village is not mentioned.

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30. Gaudarajamālā. 1915, p. 59.

It was evidently Siddhala, the home of Bhavadeva."[31] He again notes at p 192 "some writers identify Siddhala with the present village of Siddhala near Ahmadpur in Birbhum district' (*Vide* Birbhum Vivarana by Harekrishna Mukherji) In the J. R. A S, 1935; pp 97-99, Dr N.K Bhattasali notes this stating that it 'may be correct."

Verse 28 describes the temple erected by Bhatta Bhava Deva. The poet compares this edifice which surpasses the charms of the abode of Indra, with Siva's abode Kailāsa for its height, Hari's for its beauty, ornamentation and flashing discus Beholding its attractiveness even Siva is desirous of abandoning Kailāsa, his abode.

The above description suits well to a temple standing in a solitary place, but such description of one in the vicinity of earlier temples, such as the Great Liṅgarāja and Brahmeśvara, is beyond the conception of any poet Had the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple been loftier than the Liṅgarāja temple, there was no difficulty in accepting the truth in the fancy of the poet The following suggestion of Mr. N.G Majumdar would have been quite correct if the date of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple would have been earlier than that of Liṅgarāja or Brahmeśvara :—

"It is rather tempting to suggest that the poet here is reminded of the existence of Tṛībhuvaneśvara (Lingarāja) close to Ananta-Vāsudeva. According to Vaishnavite tradition Siva asked the permission of Vāsudeva to stay in Ekāmrakshetra (*i.e* Bhuvaneswar) and the latter granted it."[32] This tradition has got nothing to do with the construction of the temples at Bhuvaneswar. It only establishes the supremacy of Vaishnavism over Saivism.

The images known as Nārāyana, Ananta and Nṛsimha by name (Nārāyanānanta-nṛsimha murtti), were installed (v. 29) in the niches of the temple of Nārāyana built by Bhatta Bhavadeva. Due to mistake in identifying the images of the niches of this temple with the cult images of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple, all writers have been misled in expressing their views. The views of previous writers on this point are quoted below :—

31. Inscriptions of Bengal Vol. III, p, 28 and Note No. I.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 40, Note No, 6.

Dr. Rajendralal Mitra writes as follows about the images of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple :

"The presiding divinities of the temple are two brothers Balarāma and Krishna under the names of Ananta, 'the eternal' and Vāsudeva The images are of very coarse make and about 5 ft high The figure of Ananta has over its head a canopy formed by the expanded hood of a many headed cobra. Though the temple is occupied by two images, it is held to belong exclusively to Vishnu ....."[33]

Mr. M M Ganguly mentions that "the temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva is a Vaishnavite one dedicated to Ananta and Vāsudeva or Balarāma and Krishna, a dual image of whom is enshrined in the vimāna."[34]

Dr. Mitra's two images have been represented in a single image in the account of Mr Ganguly who perhaps did not see the images at all. His conception of the single image of Ananta-Vāsudeva is perhaps due to the idea of the image of Harihara.

Mr. M.M. Chakravarti has written the following :—

"From the inscription one learns that Bhavadeva built a high wheel-crested temple, placed in its inner sanctum the images of Vāsudeva, Ananta and Nṛsimha ...."

"..... Within the inner sanctum may be seen the three images (not two as Dr. Mitra says) "[35]

Mr. Gurudas Sarkar also supports the views of Mr. M. M. Chakravarti.[36]

The verse 29 has been translated by various scholars.

(1) Captain G.T. Marshall translated it as follows :—

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33. Antiquities of Orissa Vol. II, p. 84.

34. Orissa and Her Remains, P. 369

35. J. and P. S. B., Vol. VIII, p. 338.

36. 'Mandirer Katha'. (Bengali)

"He (Bhavadeva) placed in that house of Vishnu, in the innermost sanctuaries, the images of Nārāyaṇa, Ananta and Nṛsimha, as the Vedas in the mouths of Bramhā "[37]

(2) Dr Rajendralal Mitra published this translation in his Antiquities of Orissa, Vol. II, p. 86.

(3) Dr. Kielhorn summarised the contents of the verses as follows :—

"This Bhavadeva, then, had a reservoir of water constructed in the country of Rādha (V 26). Moreover, at the place, where the inscription is, he set up a stone image of Nārāyaṇa (Vishnu) (V 27) and founded a temple of God (V. 28) in which he placed images of his in the forms of Nārāyaṇa, Ananta and Nṛsimha (V 29).[38]

Like Captain Marshall and Dr Mitra, Mr. N. N. Vasu interpreted the verse to mean that three images were placed in the Garbhagriha of the temple [39]

Mr. N. G. Majumdar also translated this verse 29 in the same way as follows :—

"(Verse 29) There, in Vishnu's temple in the respective sanctums (Garbhagrihas) he ardently placed images of the god in the form of Nārāyaṇa, Ananta and Nṛsimha like the (three) Vedas in the mouths of the creator (*i e.*, Bramhā)."[40]

None of the above scholars, excepting Dr. Kielhorn, has been able to fully interprete the verse in its real sense. Mr. Majumdar's reading is not grammatically correct as he has put 'i' in place of 'i' in the word murttih which is murttīh, the plural form of murtti in the objective declension unless it is a printing mistake.

Garbhagriha is an achitectural term signifying a single room with one door. But in the inscription we find the plural form in the locative of the word 'Garbhagrihāntara' situated in the 'Veśma' erected

37. J. A. S. B., Vol. VI, p. 97,

38. E. I. Vol. VI, p. 204.

39. *Castes and Sects of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 349.

40. Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 49.

for the god. I consider it to be a technical term of the architecture signifying the places exterior or attached to the sanctum, that is, the three niches of the temple, wherein Parśvadevatās are placed. If it is taken in this sense, *i.e.*, *antara* means bahirbhāga (out side) and not inside, the translation of verse 29 will stand as follows :—

There in the Vishnu's temple, in three respective niches outside the sanctum, he ardently placed the images of gods. Nārāyana, Ananta and Nṛsimha like the three Vedas in the mouths of Bramhā.

It may be said here that only three faces out of four of Bramhā are represented in sculpture and three parśvadevatās of this temple have been compared here with three faces of Bramhā representing three Vedas (Vedatrayī).

However none of these images with the exception of Nṛsimha which occupied the eastern niche but is now missing are found to occupy the temple and the priests of the temple do not know any existence of Nārāyana, Ananta and Nṛsimha in the Garbhagriha. They perform the daily worship of Ananta (Balarāma) Vāsudeva (Jagannātha) and Subhadrā, and while doing so they recite the following dhyāna of each god :—

1. Dhyāna of Vāsudeva :

कलाभ्राञ्जनपुञ्जसुन्दरमुखं पद्माभिलाषस्मितं
शक्राद्यामरबन्दितपदयुगं शङ्खारबाहुद्वयम्
आनन्दाप्लुतबारिधिं प्रभजतं सौख्यैकहेतुं बिभुं
संसारार्णबतारणं त्रिजगतांनाथं भजे केशबम् ॥

2. Dhyāna of Ananta or Balarama :

दोर्भ्यां शोभितलाङ्गलं समूषलं कादम्बरीचञ्चलं
रत्नैरञ्चितकुण्डलं भुजबलैराक्रान्तभूमण्डलम्
बज्राभं गुरुचारुगण्डयुगलं नागेन्द्रचूडोज्ज्वलं
संग्रामे चपलं शशाङ्कधवलं श्रीकामपालं भजे ॥

3. Dhyana of Subhadrā :

नानाभूषणभूषितां सुमनसामानन्दकल्लोलिनीं
फुल्लेन्दीबरनीललोलनयनां श्रीरामकृष्णानुजाम

सर्वाभीष्टफलप्रदाननिरतां त्रैलोक्यसम्मोहिनीं
देवेशीं भवदुःखदाहशमनीं देवीं सुभद्रां भजे ॥

The description of three images, which are worshipped in the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple, is given below :—

1 The standing image of Ananta measures 55″ × 18″ It has a seven-hooded snake canopy and two hands. The right hand holds the Hala (Plough) and left hand Mushala. There is a head-dress (Mukuta) which is very indistinct The outer garment hangs from the left shoulder with a knot near the right knee A similar image of Ananta is fixed to the raised wall at the bathing ghat of Bindusāgara in front of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple.

2. The standing image of Subhadrā measures 40" X 17". A temple - decoration is carved on its back slab and there are two full-blown lotuses above the head of the image. The image itself stands on a lotus pedestal. Two palms are broken. The image is decorated with a Vanamālā and other ornaments Two female attendants are found standing on her each side

3. The standing image of Vāsudevā measures 58" X 18" It has a semicircular halo. There is the mukuta on its head and it wears a sacred thread. The image has four hands, the left upper hand holds a conch or Sankha and the lower hand a discus or Chakra; the right upper hand holds a Gadā and the lower hand holds a Lotus-bud. The image has two silver eyes which perhaps have been put by the priests. This piece of sculpture is similar in design to that of the Bindusāgara tank in front of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple.

All the three images stand on one stone platform facing to the west and have been fixed at the back with the masonary construction.

The images of Mātangi Mahālakshmī measuring 34" X 21½" is kept in the south-west corner of the sanctum and a stone pillar known as Sudarśana is also kept at her side.

If we take the above images of Vāsudeva to be the very same with Nārāyana of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva's inscription, we get the image of Vāsudeva and Ananta in place of "Nārāyana and Ananta" of the said inscription. But how does a female image come in to occupy the place of Nṛsimha ? On enquiry, I learnt that the priests do not know

anything about the image of Nṛsimha and their old palm-leaf manuscript which are read in the procedure of worship of these gods, are silent about Nṛsimha. The priests informed me that there are only two Nṛsimha images at Bhuvaneśwar, one the Ugra Nṛsimha in the Uttareśvara temple and another the Lakshmī Nṛsimha in a temple facing west on the southern side of the compound of the Liṅgarāja temple. The image of Nṛsimha of the Uttareśvara temple does not originally belong to that temple as it is kept now in the Naṭamandira. It measures 46″×23″. The width of space occupied by the image of Subhadrā is only 17″ and so an image of 23″ wide cannot be put in there. But the dimensions of the image of Nṛsimha are exactly similar to the eastern niche the of temple which is generally in all Vaishnava temples occupied by the image of Nṛsimha and the carvings and dimensions of this image are identical with that of the images of Vāmana in the northern niche and Varāha in the southern niche of the temple. So the image of Nṛsimha of the Uttareśvara temple can be identified with the image of the eastern niche and not of the sanctum of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple. It seems that it was removed along with the commemorative inscription by Major Staart from the temple and left at his camp for some reason or other. The image of Lakshmī-Nṛsimha of the Liṅgarāja temple compound measuring 64″×32″ is in a temple occupying an independent position and for it there is no space at all on the stone pedestal of the cult images of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple.

There is also another temple known as Ananteśvara facing north on the southern side of the Liṅgarāja temple compound. The workmanship of these images is different from that of the images of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple which are no doubt earlier. These images are also called Ananta, Vāsudeva and Subhadrā and their description is given below.

The image of Ananta measures 47″×19″. The back slab has a trifoliate arch with a Makara design at each end. The canopy consists of seven snake-hoods and there are two Vidyādharis on back slab beyond the hood. The 5th and 6th hoods from left are broken. Both the hands are broken from the elbow. The image stands on two other lotuses at the extremity of each side and two devotees sit on the intermediate lotuses. All these five lotuses are carved on a single lotus pedestal. The image has mukuta, sacred thread, necklace and garland of wild flowers (Vanamālā).

The image of Subhadrā measures 32" X 14". There is a trifoliate arch on the back slab. At both ends of the arch there are two Vidyadharīs holding garlands. Her right hand is broken and she holds the petals of a full-blown lotus which emerges from the lotus pedestal with her left hand. The image stands on the middle one of the three lotuses and the remaining two are vacant.

The image of Jagannātha or Vāsudeva measures 43" X 19". In the middle of the trifoliate arch a Rāhumukha is carved and on each side of the Rāhumukha, there is one female riding on a flying male Vidhyādhara. At the two Makara (crocodile) bases of the arch there are two images of Garuda. It has two hands and not four like the images of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple. As the hands are broken at the elbow no weapons are found now. The image possesses necklace of Kaustubha, secred thread and garland of wild flowers The image stands on the middle lotus out of five and on the right there is the image of Lakshmi holding a lotus and standing on the lotus flower at the side, and on the left there is the image of Sarasvatī playing on the Vīnā. There are two devotees, now broken, on two lotus seats on each side between the middle one and the two end ones.

All the three images stand on a common pedestal which has been divided into three compartments by insertion of four pilasters lending support to a projection. One pilaster to the right of Ananta is missing and so also a portion of the projection.

The images of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple and that of the Ananteśwar temple are found to be made according to the texts of the Hayaśīrsha Pancharātra, Matsya purāna and Pratistha-prasanga as quoted in the Haribhakti-Vilāsa. Mention of Purusottama, Balarāma Srīkrsna and Subhadrā in the epigraph of Chandrādevī also indicates that the texts of Pratisthāprasanga was very familiar in Orissa in the 13th century A. D.

The name of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple is very significant. Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda writes the following in this connection :—

" In all available exposition of the Pancharātra system, Vāsudeva is mentioned first and is followed by Samkarśana. But in both of our inscriptions (of second century B. C.) the order is changed Samkarsana is named first and vāsudeva comes as the second. The mention of Samkarsana first and Vāsudeva afterwards in two records

of such two distant places as Ghasundi in Rajputana and Nanaghat in the Deccan, shows that in those days Samkarsana was popularly recognised as a divinity equalling Vāsudeva in rank" 41 The names of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā of Puri on this analogy seem to be of remoter antiquity and "may perhaps be the last remnants of the primitive unVedic Pañcharātra ritual".42

When the images of the inscription of Bhatta Bhavadeva cannot be identified with those of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple, it can safely be said that Bhatta Bhavadeva, the minister of Harivarmadeva, did not build the temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva at Bhuvaneśwar. The Inscription slab, which is fixed now on its compound wall, was identified by mistake to be its commemorative slab Then where is the inscription slab of this temple which was removed from it by Major Stuart ?

According to the text of inscription No. 4, it can be said with certainty that Chandrādevī built the present Ananta-Vāsudeva temple The deities namely Balarāma, Krsna and Subhadrā (Bala-Krsna-Subhdrāmcha) mentioned in the inscription are even now worshipped in the temple. The locality and the position of the temple at Bhuvaneswar remain the same according to the description given in the inscription of Chandrādevī. Mention is made in the inscription of Bhatta Bhavadeva that in the front of the temple he excavated a tank (verse 31) and outside the temple laid out a garden (verse 32). This vāpī or tank of the inscription of Bhatta Bhavadeva has been identified with Vindu-sāgara of Bhuvaneswar. Mr. N. G. Majumdar writes that " the tank referred to in the inscription is no longer traceable and some scholars are of opinion that it has been probably absorbed in the tank of Vindusāgara;".43 The poet Vāchaspati of Bhatta Bhavadeva's inscription does not give any religious importance to the tank, but the poet Umāpati of the inscription of Chandrādevī written in 1278 A. D puts it saying that " these holy places do not attain the divine rank of even a drop thereof "44 and this statement of Umāpati seems to have been based on the authenticity of the Garuda-purāna which mentions the sanctity of the Vindusāgara. The date of

41. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 5, p.121.
42. Indo-Aryan Races, p. 121.
43, Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III., p. 32.
44. E. I. Vol. XIII, p. 154.

Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva's inscription according to the calculation of Mr. Majumdar has been estimated as belonging to the "first quarter of the 12th century and even the last quarter of the 11th century A. D.,"[45] and if Mr. M. M Chakravarti's suggestion about the absorption of the tank dug by Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva in the Vindusāgara at a subsequent period to that of the first quarter of the 12th century A. D. is accepted, the attainment of the divine rank of Vindusāgara is to be attributed to a period of less than 100 years from the time of the poet Umāpati which is perhaps untenable.

The descriptions given in the Ekāmra-chandrikā, Kapila-samhitā, Svarṇādrimahodaya and Ekāmra-purāṇa go to show that in the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple are enshrined the stone images of Jagannāth, Balabhadra and Subhadrā which are known as 'Sīlābrahma' whereas such images at Puri are known as 'Dārubrahma'.

The above four Upapurāṇas faithfully record the religious traditions sacred to the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple and the Vindusāgara tank of Bhuvaneśwar and it will be observed from the books that no-where names of 'Nārāyaṇānanta-Nṛsimha' or 'Nārāyaṇānanta' from the inscription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, occur; and this goes, to some extent, against the identification of the temple of Ananta Vāsudeva with that built by Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, whereas, on the other hand, the inscription of Chandrādevī, daughter of a Gaṅga King of Orissa, makes distinct mention of gods Srīkṛṣṇa, Balarāma, Subhadrā, and of Purusottama in verses 13, 21 and 23 which are found in the above-named Upapurāṇas. There are also two temples still standing in a dilapidated condition in the compound of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple dedicated to goddesses Lakshmī and Sarasvatī These temples were built in imitation of such temples in the compound of the Jagannātha temple at Puri.

From all these points one is arrived at a definite conclusion that the inscription slab of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva identifieed as the inscription of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple and subsequently returned to Bhuvaneswar and fixed in its present position, does not belong to Bhuvaneswar, it originally belonged to the temple of Nārāyaṇa or Ananta-nārāyaṇa erected at the village Siddhala in Rāḍha or Uttara Rāḍha (according to the Belava copper-plate of Bhoja Varman) from where it was brought to the collection of

45. Inscriptions of Bengal Vol. III. p. 32

the Asiatic Society of Bengal; Calcutta, by some antiquarian whose name was not recorded in the list of donors of the Asiatic Society. Had it not belonged to the collection of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, there would have been left a chance of its being considered as an inscription from Bhuvaneswar, but its return from the collection of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta is unquestionable and so there is no doubt about the fact that the inscription of Chandrādevī, now preserved by the Royal Asiatic Society of London, is the original slab of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple of Bhuvaneswar. It is also desirable that if the original slab cannot be brought back from London, a plaster cast* of it may be put at the place of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva's inscription which may be removed from Bhuvaneswar and preserved in the Indian Museum in Calcutta or in the Museum at Bhubaneswar.

Stone images of Ananta or Balarāma, Vāsudeva or Kṛṣṇa and Subhadrā were identified in his article on 'Ekānaṃśā and Subhadrā' first by my friend late Mr Jogendra Chandra Ghosh to whom I owe many suggestions; it was published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, Vol. II, 1936, No I, pp 41-46, together with a plate showing a set of images preserved in the Lucknow Museum. It will appear from what I have narrated above that there are three such sets of sculptures at Bhuvaneśwar. The catalogue of antiquities of the Gwalior Museum contains a photograph of images of Balarāma and it is expected that such sculptures are scattered in other parts of India. A proper survey of these three Vaishnava images will enable us to locate the area where the Pañcharātra system of worship was prevalent and popular in ancient and mediaeval periods of Indian History.

In conclusion I acknowledge with thanks various suggestions which I received from Mr. Kedarnath Mahapatra of Bhuvaneśwar. Thanks are due also to my friends Pandit Binayak Mishra and Pandit Bhagavan Panda for helping me in preparing the correct reading of the text of the inscription of Chandrādevī from a photograph which, was collected for the Baripada Museum of the Mayurbhanj State through the kind permission of the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society of London

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* A plaster cast of Chandrā Devī's inscription is now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar.

Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M. A., Director General of Archaeology in India, visited Bhuvaneswar in early January, 1939, and I had the privilege of showing him the images of the Ananta-Vāsudeva and Anantesvar temples and on examination he was pleased to agree with my identification. I had the opportunity of discussing this with Dr. R. C. Majumdar who expressed his appreciation and promised me to make arrangements for its early publication in the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal', the General Secretary of which kept it pending for publication since June, 1937, and returned the same at my request in March, 1939. Out of three inscription slabs removed from the temples of Brahmeśvara, Megheśvara and Ananta-Vāsudeva of Bhuvaneswar by Major Stuart, popularly called "Hindoo Stuart", two slabs belonging to the temples of Brahmeśvara and Megheśvara were presented by him to the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, and the slab belonging to the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple found its way to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London, in a manner quite unknown now. The published text of the Megheśvara inscription is found to be satisfactory, but the texts of the other two inscriptions, and particularly the text of the Brahmeśvara inscription, have been improved to some extent and I intend to re-edit them shortly.

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THE TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRĀ DEVĪ IN THE ANANTAVĀSUDEVA TEMPLE AT BHUVANESVARA. *

This commemorative inscription was first published by Dr. L. D. Barnett in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIII, pp. 150–55 for the years 1915-16. Dr. Barnett deserves thanks for his careful edition of the text of the inscription and useful notes.

While I was in London in 1934, I had the opportunity of examining the original inscription preserved in the hall of the Royal

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* Published in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol.

Asiatic Society of Great Britain, and through the courtesy of the authorities of the Royal Asiatic Society, I procured for Baripada Museum a photograph of the inscription which helped me in preparing the transcript as published below. Recently a plaster cast copy of the inscription slab has been brought from London to the Orissa State Museum. My reading differs here and there from that of Dr. Barnett, and in the footnotes of the text given below all variant readings have been noted.

Colonel Charles Stuart, popularly known as the '*Hindoo Stuart*', removed a good many sculptures and inscription slabs from Orissa before 1814. His collection of sculptures found way to the British Museum, London, where they are kept as *Stuart - Bridge Collection*. It is not known how many inscription slabs he removed, but it has been definitely known that he presented "*two slabs with inscriptions from Bhubaneswar in Orissa*" to the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, and it seems that he presented this inscription slab to the Royal Asiatic Society, London, before his death on the 31st March 1828. So it is found that since 1814 to 1915, no body knew about the existence of this inscription, and up to the end of 1939, it was not identified as the original inscription of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple of Bhubaneswar.[1]

The inscription slab measures 46 inches in length and 21½ inches in breadth. The thickness, though immaterial, was not noted by me. The piece of the stone slab containing the inscription is in perfect preservation and contains 17 lines of writings, all four sides of which is marked by a border of double lines— leaving the margins on three sides—top, left and bottom.

The writing begins just below the border at the top and gives the full text of the praśasti The area of writing covers a space of 42½ inches in length, and 13¼ inches in breadth. So the space extending 3 inches below the last line has been left blank. This blank space suggests that there were not as many verses composed as would have been necessary to fill up the whole space of the slab. It is not understood what led Dr. Barnett to write the following :—

1. See my paper in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1939, pp. 287–318, *The History of Bengal*, Vol. I, Dacca University, p. 202, foot-note 3 and *Sir William Jones Birth Bicentenary Commemoration Volume*, 1948, pp. 144-45.

"The inscription is imperfect containing only the first block of the record. Owing to its incomplete state, the purport of the inscription is not clear."[2]

The stone slab is a complete one and the text of the praśasti is also complete and gives the full story. One peculiarity noticed in the inscription is this that the name of the poet which is generally found in the concluding verse, is found in the verse 17, and there are 6 more verses giving further details of the praśasti. This is due perhaps to the unnecessary blank space below the writing which was filled up with a few more new verses as the *post script.*

The date of the inscription is given by the chronogram 'Vyoma-viyat-phaṇindrarasanā-chandra' e g. 0021 which gives the numerical figures of 1200 according to the rule 'Aṅkānām vāmatogatih'. The Saka year 1200 corresponds to 1278 A D. when Bhānu, the son of Narasimha Deva was on the throne. As no other data are available, the exact date of the inscription is not possible

The chronology [3] of the Imperial Gaṅga kings of Orissa was settled by M.M Chakravarti in 1903, but it seems that it escaped the notice of Dr. Barnett and so he had to remark as follows :—

"These facts in themselves shew that the date given in verse 14 for the foundation of the temple is impossible × × × Hence it is clear that the writer of the present document in fixing the date of the foundation of the temple had no reliable materials at his command and utterly miscalculated it."[4] But the chronology of the Gaṅga kings proves that Umāpati, the poet had all reliable materials at his command which are corroborated by Minhaz, the Muslim historian, and the date of the inscription is correct without any doubt. H K S. who relied on the date given in the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1896 without a reference to M.M. Chakravarti's paper of 1903, was similarly misled and wrote that "the date 1200 would thus be correct for Narasimha Deva II and not for his father Bhānu."[5] R.D. Banerji relying on these notes has written in his

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2. *E.I.*, Vol. XIII, p. 150.
3. *J.A.S.B.*, 1903, pp. 97–147.
4. *E.I.*, Vol. XIII, p. 151.
5. *Ibid.*

History of Orissa, Vol. 1, p. 267 that "This Chandrikā built a temple of Vishnu at Bhubaneswar in the Saka year 1200 i e. 1278 A. D. during the reign of her brother's grand-son, Narasimha II".

The contents of the praśasti prove that the temple bearing this inscription is situated at Ekāmra or Bhubaneswar where there are many temples. Dr. Barnett attempting to identify the temple has written as follows :

"It is however impossible to discover from which of these temples it comes. It belongs to a Vaishnava sanctuary."[6]

It has been proved by me that this inscription belonged to the Anantavāsudeva temple.[7]

The inscription gives the following genealogical table of the Imperial Gaṅga kings of Orissa.

Choḍagaṅga (1111–1147 A.D. in Orissa*)
⋮
Anaṅkabhīma III (1211–1238 A.D.).

Narasimha Deva I (1238–1264 A D.)	Chandrā Devī who was given in marriage to Paramādi or Paramarddī Deva belonging to the Haihaya family constructed the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple in the Saka year 1200 or 1278 A. D.
Bhānudeva I (1264–1279 A.D.)	

Verses 2, 3, 7, 10, 14, 19 and 20 refer to the events of the reign of Choḍagaṅga, Anaṅgabhīma II and Narasimhadeva I. Choḍagaṅga has been called an emperor (Samrāṭ) whose empire extended from the Gaṅges to the Godāvarī Then the poet omits

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ante.* 1 *J.A.S.B.* letters, Vol. XIII, 1947, p. 64 foot-note 1.

* Choḍagaṅga's reign in Orissa begins from the date of conquest of Utkala, not long before 1112 A.D. No inscription of Choḍagaṅga from 1076–1111 A D. mentions his relation with Utkala—see *The Journal of Assam Research Society,* Vol. X, 1943, pp. 49-55.

the names of the immediate successors of Chodagaṅga (1147-1211) and in verse 3 eulogises the activities of Anaṅkabhīma III who is said to have had a very powerful cavalry and defeated the Javanas with impetuousity after entering into their territory in Bengal. The war of Anaṅkabhīma with the Javanas is also referred to in the *Tabaquat-i-Nasiri* 8 an extract from which is quoted below.

"In the year 641 H., the Rāe of Jājnagar 9 commenced molesting the Lakhanawatī territory; and, in the month of Shawwal, 641 H., Malik Tughril-i-Tughan Khan marched towards the Jājnagar country, and this servant of the State accompanied him on that holy expedition. On reaching Katāsin, which was the boundary of Jājnagar (on the side of Lakhanāwati), on Saturday the 6th of the month of Zi-Kadah, 641 H., (*15th April 1244 A. D.*) Malik Tughril-i-Tughan Khan made his troops mount, and an engagement commenced. The holy warriors of Islām passed over two ditches, and the Hindu infidels took to fight. So far as they continued in the author's sight, except the fodder which was before their elephants, nothing fell into the hands of the foot men of the army of Islām, and moreover, Malik Tughril-i-Tughan Khan's commands were that no one should molest the elephants and, for this reason, the fierce fire of battle subsided."

"When the engagement had been kept up until mid-day the foot men of the Musalmān army—every one of them—returned (to the camp ?) to eat their food, and the Hindus in another direction stole through the cane *jangal* and took five elephants, and about two hundred foot and fifty horsemen came upon the rear of a portion of the Musalmān army. The Muhammadans sustained an over-throw, and a great number of those holy warriors attained martyrdom, and Malik Tughril-i-Tughan Khan retired from that place without having effected his object, and returned to Lakhanawati"

"In the same year (642 H) likewise the Rāe of Jājnagar in order to avenge the plundering of Katāsin, which had taken place in

8. *Tabaquat-i-Nasiri*, p. 738.
9. Minhaz, the author of *Tabaquat-i-Nasiri* has described Orissa as Jajnagar which he came to know perhaps when he was in Bengal from a source unfortunately not given by him. The Muslim historians described Orissa as Jajnagar after Minhaz up to the time of Akbar.

the preceding year, as has already been recorded, having turned his face towards the Lakhnawati territory, on Tuesday the 13th of the month of Shawwal, 642 H. (*14th March 1245 A. D.*) the army of the infidels of Jainagar,consisting of elephants, and *Payiks* (foot men)in great numbers arrived opposite Lakhanawati. Malik Tughril-i-Tughan Khan came out of the city to confront them, The infidel host, on coming beyond the frontierof the Jajnagar territory, first took Lakhanor; and Fakhr-ul-Mulk Karim ud-Din Laghri who was the Feudatory of Lakhanor with a body of Musalmāns, they made martyrs of, and, after that, appeared before the gate of Lakhanawati".10

"The leader of the forces of Jājnagar was a person, by name, Sābantar (Sāwan-tara ?), the son-in-law of the Rāe, who during the time of Malik Izz-ud-Din Tughril-i-Tughan Khan, had advanced to the bank of the river of Lakhanawati, and, having shown the greatest audacity, had driven the Musalmān forces as far as the gate (of the city) of Lakhanawati".11

The expression "on coming beyond the frontier of the Jajnagar territory" seems to be the translation of the Sanskrit 'Svantopasarpaj-javam' of this inscription. This similarity of expression and the disclosure of relationship of the King of Orissa with the leader of the forces of Jajnagar suggest that the fight of Tughril Khan of Bengal with the King of Jajanagara took place with Narasimha Deva I. the son of Anaṅgabhīma Deva. The date of this fight is "March 1245 A. D' 12 The mention of Paramarddī as "the son-in-law of the Rai" by Minhaz suggests that the war of the Gaṅga kings of Orissa with the Muhommedan kings of Bengal was fought by the son-in-law of Anaṅga-bhīma Deva III during the reign of Narasimha Deva I.

Line 3 of verse 3 refers to the powerful cavalry of Anaṅgabhīma which was composed of swift horses. Verses 8 and 11 of the Meghesvara inscription also refer to the horses of Anaṅgabhīma.

Verse 7 mentions Chandrā Devī's husband who was an ornament of the Haihaya lineage. The Chāteśvara inscription mentions that Anaṅgabhīma's minister named Vishnu defeated in battle the King

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10. *Tabaquat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 739-40
11. *Ibid p.* 762-63
12. *J.A.,S.B.*, 1903 p. 119.

of Tumbāni (Tuhmāna pṛthvipati).13 Dr. H.C. Ray writes that 'It was probably after his (Anaṅgabhīma's) victory over the rulers of Tummāna that he gave his sister Chandrikā in marriage to the Haihaya king Paramardi "14 The title of Sāmantarāya (*Sabantra* in Persian) indicates that Paramarddī Deva was not a ruler and the want of any title in the name of Chandrā Devī also points to the same conclusion. An inscription dated 1211 A. D., the year in which Anaṅgabhīma ascended the throne, refers to the gift of a land by a certain Kardama Rāja who was a Viceroy and who belonged to the Haihaya dynasty."15 This also goes against the conclusion of Dr. Ray.

Verse 20 says that Paramāḍi Deva lived happily with his wife and that after winning several victories for King Narasimha Deva, he breathed his last in the battle.

Verse 10 describes the usefulness of the 'Gandhasindhu' stream which flows near Bhubaneswar. The description suggests that this stream was made to flow near Bhubaneswar by Choḍagaṅga It seems that in order to make a good water supply to the town of Bhubaneswar this stream was dug out of the Kuākhai branch of the Kātajori river by the orders of Choḍagaṅga. The history of digging the canals from the rivers is very old in Orissa. Khāravela's inscription refers to a canal dug out by a king of the Nanda dynasty. The name of the Kātajori means Kāta (cut or dug) jori or joḍi (river) and points to its artificial origin. The rivers in the Puri District flow at right or acute angles from the river Katjori and such a course is only possible in the case of men-made streams.

Verse 19 refers to the accomplishments of the princesses of the Gaṅga house. Chandrā Devī learned the art of singing, dancing and playing on musical instruments. In addition to these she also received religious training when she was a child.

Verse 14 gives the date when the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple was built by Chandrā Devī, daughter of Anaṅgabhīma Deva and sister of Narasimha Deva I She survived her brother Narasimha Deva I (1238-1264) and her nephew Bhānudeva I (1264-1279). In the

13. *J.A S B*, 1898, pp. 317-37.
14. *D H N I*, Vol. I, p. 478.
15. *J.A.H.R S.*; Vol. VII, p. 235.

Saka year 1200 (1278 A.D.) she built the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple. The use of the expression 'Chiram śāsati' by the poet signifies that Bhānudeva was still occupying the throne although Dr. H. C. Ray writes that "It seems therefore certain that the temple was constructed in the last year of Bhānu and the inscription was written and the temple dedicated in the beginning of the reign of Narasimha II."[16] "Paramardī, we are told fell in battle against the enemies of Narasimha Deva (Narasimha II). I have accepted Dr. Barnett's suggestion that this prince is probably Narasimha II. The date fits in well with the identification."[17] This conclusion of Dr. Ray is untenable.

Before the construction of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple in 1278 A. D. the sun temple at Konārka, called Koṇākoṇa[18] in the copper plates of Nardsimha Deva II, was built by Narasimha Deva I. Dr. H C Ray suggests that Koṇākoṇa "subsequently came to be known as Konārka or Konāraka"[19] The temple of Koṇākoṇa was known as 'Pagoda of Connercon' in the 17th century.[20] It seems that Koṇākoṇa was shortened to Konāko or Konākā and as a result of its association with the sun (arka) Koṇāka was subsequently known as Koṇārka.

The poet Umāpati composed the praśasti (v 17). He was a devotee of Siva (Tripurāri).

I have elsewhere described the deities named Balarāma, Kṛshṇa and Subhadrā[21] enshrined in the temple. As the style of the images is different from that of the other images in the temple it seems that the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple was rebuilt for the deities by Chandrā Devī in a subsequent date, and the cult images are earlier in date than that of the existing temple.

The Praśasti of Chandrā Devī consists of 23 verses. Dr. Barnett has mentioned the names of 8 different vṛtas namely Vasantatilaka, Mandākrantā, Sragdharā, Sārdula-Vikrīdita Aryā, Anustap,

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16. *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. 1, P. 483, Fn. 2.
17. *Ibid*, p. 484.
18. *J.A.S.B.*, Vol, LXV, p. 299, Vs. 85-86.
19. *D. H. N. I.*, Vol. I, p. 482.
20. *Bowry's Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 129.
21. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1939, pp. 306-309.

Pṛthvī and Puṣpitāgrā which have been used by the poet Umāpati in composing the 23 verses of the Praśasti. Below is given the list of verses composed in different metres.

	Metres	Verses
1.	Vasantatilaka	1. 15, 17 & 22
2.	Mandākrāntā	2.
3.	Sragdharā	3.
4.	Śārddula vikrīdita	4, 6. 14, 19, 20 & 21
5	Anuṣṭuh	5, 8, 9, 13, 18 & 23
6.	Aryā	6,
7.	Pṛthvī	10, 11 & 12
8.	Puṣpitāgrā	16

TEXT*

(1.1) ॐ[1] सम्भ्रान्तजम्भरिपुसम्प[2]दुपास्यमान-लीलालसेन्दु नयनाञ्चल शासनानि।
भिद्माविलासचरितानि जयन्ति शम्भो-र्नेत्रामृ[3]तानि सुरराजपुराङ्गनानां ॥ १

वीर सम्राट्[4] समरदलितारातिराजन्यवक्त्र-
स्मेरा (1.2) म्भोजैरकृत[5] वसुधादेवताराधनं यः ।
आगोदान्ताद्मरसरित' यावदेकोभुवोऽभू-
द्गोक्ता सोन्ते सुरसहचरीकामुकश्चोड़गङ्गः ॥ २

यद्वंशे वैजयन्तीपट्ट इव सुभटोऽनङ्गभीमप्रभाव:
प्रध्वस्तारातिराजव्रजयुबतिजनोद्गी (1.3)त गम्भीरसार: ।
आसीदाशीविषारेरधिकतरतरस्तःहृगर्वोरुगर्व्व:
सोन्ते[6] 'स्वान्तापसर्पंत् जवमपि जवनं'[7] सङ्गरे सञ्जहार ॥ ३

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* From the photograph and plastercast of the original.
1, Expressed by a symbol 2. The letter स्प appears to be written as म्प । 3. The letter त्रा is written as ता । 4. The letter स of समर is written below ट् of सम्राट् । 5. The letter व of वसुधा is written below त of अकृत । 6. It is written as स्वन्ते which was read by Dr. Barnett. 7. There is no sign of अनुस्वार in न of जवनं ।

शेष: स्वीयशीरःसहस्रविलसन्माणिक्यमालाच्चला॰
त्यत्तेजः कणिकाभिरेषविधुरोऽमज्जत्फ (l.4)णिग्रामणीः ।
पातालाम्भसि किञ्च यत्करिघटाभङ्कारितासानिलै-
रुद्गाता गगने रवि[9]श्चिरमसावुड्डीन पर्णायते ॥ ४
तस्माद्भूपतिभूचन्द्राच्चन्द्रिकाजनि सुन्दरी
चन्द्रानन्दामृतसारैः स्नपयति जगज्जनः ॥ ५
लक्ष्मीयद्वद(l 5) नारविन्दवसति नो चिन्तयत्यङ्जिनीं
मुग्धेन्दीवर-नेत्र नित्यलीलया कृष्णेन तृष्णावती[10] ।
किञ्चालिंग्य तदङ्गकानि मुदिता चित्ते न धत्ते सुरा-
नेषाशेषजगद्विलोकन वशी[11]काराय कारायते ॥ ६
हैहयवंशावतंसः[12]परमर्द्दी[13] (l 6) सहज स्मारतारे यः
तारापतिमतिशेते पतिरस्याः समरपारीणः ॥ ७
अस्त्युत्कलोयम्विषयो[14] यत्रते चतुरा[15]दयः ।
पञ्चपञ्चेपु सुहृदो भान्ति पूर्णमनोरथाः ॥ ८
तत्र च क्षेत्रमेकाम्रमाम्रारामशता[16]श्रि(l.7)तम् ।
एक देवकुलं देवकुलैराकुलमद्भुतम् ॥ ९
स यत्र गिरिजापतिर्वसति गन्धसिन्धोर्मिस-
न्निधाय निकटे धुनिममरसार्थं सार्थप्रपां ।
यदन्वयकृपाभरान्न्यधित कृत्तिवासाः श्रिय॰
महेन्द्रपदजित्वरीं सुभटचोड़गङ्ग (l.8)न ताम् ॥ १०
यस्मिन् बिन्दुसरः सरस्वदसद्गद्क प्रेयपाथः[17] पने-
पान्थः श्रान्तिहरं सुधाजनिथ निःस्यन्दद्वपुः शाम्भवी[18]

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8. The letter य of यत्तेजः is written as the sign of य with द of छलात् । 9. रवि was read as वत्रु by Dr. Barnett, but the form of र् of रवि is the same as that of र of श्चिर । 10. The letter ष of तृष्णा has no stroke in it. It appears that the forms of Oriya letters ष and प were formed during later half of the 13th Century. 11. स has been written in place of श । 12. The sign of आ in श of वंश is not given 13. The text gives the reading of परमड़ी Prakrta form of परमर्द्दी । 14 प is written as प । 15. The letter क्षू of चक्षू is not clear. 16 The sign of आ is not given in त of शता 17. Four letters after सद्ग् are not clear. 18. शाम्भवी gives proper meaning and not शाम्भवं as suggested in the correction.

यद्विन्दोरपि नानुयान्ति पदवीं तीर्थानि तानि स्फुटं
भूतानुग्रहनिर्मितं पुरजिता लोकैकशोकापहं ॥ ११
[19]यस्यान्तः स्रवमान वृद्धकमठीपृष्ठस्थल स्थायुक
प्रेङ्खद्वानरकामिनीभिरकलि क्रीडोडुप प्रापिता ।
मग्नायामनुमज्ज[20]तीभिरिह तत्कापेय पारिप्लावा-
दुत्प्लुताभिमुखं प्रतीरतरलो लोकः सम्मुत्रा[21]स्यते ॥ १२
(1.10) तत्तीर्थमण्डनस्यास्य तीरे नानावनीवने ।
श्रीकृष्णश्रीवलावासवासिते नन्दनायिते ॥ १३
तत्र[22] व्योम-वियत्-फणीन्द्ररसना-चन्द्रप्रमाणैर्म्मिता-
तीतासु क्षितिभृच्छकावधिसमासावारिधिद्मामिमाम् ।
भूपे श्री नर[23]सिंह देव त(1.11)नये भानौ चिरं शास[24]ति
प्रासादं[25] स्थिरमारवीन्दु विदधे सेयं हरे भीमभूः ॥ १४
प्रासादभृदूर्ध्व[26] शिखर[27]र स्थिरहेमकुम्भ दम्भोपदर्शित जगज्जनि-कोष भाण्डम ।
ब्रह्मस्वरूप मनुरूपमनुप्रविष्टा वशौ महार्णवशय (1.12)स्य हरेस्तमेतौ ॥ १५
अयमतिशयितुं मृगाङ्कचूडामणिमुररीकृत हेलिमौलिभावः ।
अपि तुहिन[28] धरं जहास देवद्वयमण्डन[29]गर्भगह्वरश्रीः ॥ १६
तस्यैतया विरचितस्य रसात् प्रशस्ति श्रीमानुमा (1.13)पति कविस्त्रिपुरारिदासः ।
तत्तत् समग्रगुणसम्पदमाततान सम्यक्[30] सुवर्णरुचिरामचरोत् पताकाम् ॥१७

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19. As स्य is given after a letter which appears as प or य I have taken it as य which is also suggested in the correction. 20, ती of मज्जती is given as ता 21. The sign of आ of त्रा is not given 22. The original gives the reading of तन । 23 सिंह has been written as सिङ्ह । 24. The letters सति of शासति are not clear 25. The sign for इ is not given in स्थि of स्थिर । 26. The letter द्ध is written for उर्द्ध । 27. The letter श of शिखर is written as स । 28. The letter हि of तुहिनधरं is clear Dr. Barnett read the first seven letters as अपितु दिनधरं । 29. The reading of गर्भगह्वर fits in well and is clear Dr. Barnett read it as गुम्भ-गह्वर which does not give any meaning. 30. The letter सु of सुवर्ण is written below क् of सम्यक् ।

मुखं [31] चन्द्रमिवैतस्या विलोक्य दुहितुः किल ।
चन्द्रादेवी मुवाचैनां नाम्ना भीम महीपतिः ॥ १८

गीतज्ञालय-(l.14)ताल नर्त्तनकलाकौशल्य लीलालया
बाल्याद्च्युतभक्तिभावितमतिर्दत्तागुरूपश्रिये ।
पित्रा हैहयवंशजाय शुचये चन्द्रापहा [32] - चन्द्रिका
पुत्रीय परम [33] र्द्दिनाम भजते क्षत्राय रत्नान्विता ॥ १६

स क्रीड़ामनया [34] वि(l.15)धाय विविधां रागानुबन्धोरस [35] बां
पत्न्या वीर नृसिंहदेवनृपतेद्द्वंद्या [36] न् रण रज्यतः
दत्त्वा [37] तान् सुरलोकगानपि रुषा जेतुं स्वयं स्व ययौ
मन्येसौ परमर्द्दि [39] देव सुभटः कीर्त्तिं समुल्लासयन् ॥ २०

एकाम्राह्वय वेदि(l.16)ते सुमहसि श्रीकृत्तिवासः प्रिये
क्षेत्रे पुण्यवले श्रुतामृतफले सर्वर्त्तुपुष्पोज्ज्वले ।
प्रासादं पुरुषोत्तमस्य सकलं [40] सौघापदं वैष्णवं
गन्तुं मङ्गलपूर्णकुम्भशिरसं श्रद्धाश्रिताचीकरत ॥२१
पादात् शिरोवधि [41] ज(l.17)गत् कमनीयरूप मन्तस्थ [42] केशवमसौ शुभकर्मभाज ।
सचक्रं सङ्कति मति प्रसरत्प्रसादं प्रासादमेत मसमं स्वमिव व्यधत्त ॥ २२
मुकुटाद्यैरलङ्कारैः शक्त्या भक्त्या मुदान्विता ।
वलकृष्णो सुभद्राञ्च श्रेयसेऽसावभूषयत् ॥ २३

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31. The reading of मुख is clear as suggested in the correction 32. The reading of चन्द्रापहा seems to be appropriate. In this inscription the forms of letters प and य are almost similar. Dr. Barnett suggested the reading as चन्द्रायते । It can be read as चन्द्रायसा । The text of verse 18 rather supports the reading of चन्द्रापहा । 33. परमर्द्दि is found in the original. 34. The sign of आ is not given in या of मनया । 35. The letter न्ध of बन्धो is written as द्ध । 36. द्वंद्यान् रणे has been written as द्वंद्याश्रणे । 37. The reading दत्त्वा is clear Dr. Barnett read it विस्त्वा which also gives the meaning. 38. The mid-stroke of प is wanting and the letter is written as प । 39 The reading of परमर्द्दि is clear. 40. The reading of सकलं is clear Dr. Barnett read as सकलंसौष ठाप्रद which gives no meaning 41. शिर has been written as सिर । 42 अन्तस्थ केशवम् was read by Dr. Barnett as मूर्त्तस्थ केशवम् । अन्तस्थ केशवं means enshrined Kesava

TRANSLATION*

1 Victorius are the deeds of Sambhu (Siva) who exercises the soothing influence through the glance of the moon-eye (not the sun-eye and fire-eye, the other two eyes of three eyed Siva) and which are indolent with play which he manifested in the begger's guise, and which are revered by the fortunate Indra, the enemy of Jambha and the king of gods, and therefore are dear like the nectar to the eyes of the damsels of heaven.

2. Choḍagaṅga was not only a hero but an emperor also and performed the worship of the goddess Earth with lotus faces of the hostile kings cut off in battle while smiling; (he) was the sole enjoyer of the region extending from the river Godā (Godāvarī) to the river of gods (Gaṅgā) and after his death became a gallant to the mistresses of the gods.

3 In his (Choḍagaṅga's) lineage was like a flag the heroic Anaṅkabhīma, whose profound strength was celebrated by the damsels of a multitude of hostile kings destroyed by his power, and who was exceedingly proud of his swift horses, the speed of which surpassed that of the snakes' foe Garuḍa. He made an end of the war by defeating the Javanas with impetuosity after entering into their territory beyond the frontier.

4. Distressed by the sparks of his radiant gems, Sesha, the king of snakes, felt ashamed of his gems of less lusture upon his thousand heads, and therefore, plunged down into the waters of Pātāla and this moving sun. the king of planets, cannot be compared with the gems of the motionless radiance for the reason that the moving sun appears as if the flying leaves carried into the sky by the tempests raged by the blasts issuing from the nostrils of his elephant troops.

5. From this terrestrial moon of kings was born the beauteous Chandrikā whose moon-like face filled the hearts of the people of the world with showers of nectar.

6. " Dwelling in the lotus of whose face, Lakshmī, the Goddess of fortune, thinks not of the lotus-lake Having an iternal home in

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* Dr. L. D, Barnett's language has been quoted in regard to the verses 6, 8, 18, 20 and 23 and has been freely utilised in the translation of other verses for which I owe a debt to him.

whose modest lotus eyes, she has no longing for Kṛshṇa ; but as she embraces her limbs in delight, she takes no thought of the gods , thus Chandrikā becomes as it were a prison-house to enslave the glances of the whole world."

7. Her husband Paramarddī was an ornament of the Haihaya dynasty, the best of heroes, possessor of native strength and was as charming as the moon, the lord of stars.

8. " There is this province of *Utkala*, where the five friends of the god of five arrows–the eye and others-appear fulfilled of desire in *(their several)* series of objects."

9. There lies this holy place called Ekāmra (famous for a single mango tree) now adorned with hundreds of mango-groves, wherein there exists only a single *Devakula* (temple) surrounded by numerous temples.

10. There dwells Girijāpati (the lord of Mountain's daughter) where flows in the vicinity a stream called Gandhsindu, which is as if a true fount worthy of gods, and in order to enjoy its beauty and utility which are superior to that of Indra by his descendants, Lord Kṛttivāsa founded got it by valiant Choḍagaṅga.

11. There lies the incomparable ocean, the Bindu-sara, the water of which springs out of nectarous swells and is worthy to be drunk by the sight and is the remover of weariness of pilgrims Other holy places do not attain the divine rank of even a drop of its water. In order to remove sorrow of the world *Purajit* (the conqueror of *Tripura*, Siva) created this lake as a token of grace to the people (by Choḍagaṅga).

12. See how the female monkeys jump on the back of old (big) turtles while swimming on the surface of its water and make them into pleasure boats ; when the turtles dive in, the monkeys become sub-merged and jump on the bank after their monkey-like diving in water : beholding all these the crowd on the banks are thrown into consternation.

13-14. Here, on the bank of this ornament of holy places which is thick-set with various trees and sanctified by the residence of Kṛshṇa and Baladeva and thus serves the purpose of Nandana, when there had elapsed the Saka king's year denominated by "sky, sky, snake-king's tongues, moon" or 1200, King Narasiṁhadeva's son King

Bhānudeva has long been reigning over this kingdom as far as the sea, the daughter of Bhīma (Anaṅgabhīma) constructed for Hari a temple to last as long as the sun and the moon shine in the sky .

15. She made these two portions (Vāsudeva and Saṅkarshaṇa) of Hari who eternally retires in great ocean, to enter into or be installed in the temple which suggestes the primal sphere whence arose the universe by the stately display of firm golden capital upon its lofty spire and is a fitting representation of the form of Brahmā. (Here the poet describes the Kalaśa of the temple)

16. Having been adorned with a sun-like disc (Ckakra) this temple excels Siva with a spotted moon on his crest The inside sanctum built according to the principles of architecture devised by Maya, the great architect, also excels the sun wherein only one Nārāyaṇa resides but hererin two gods Ananta and Vāsudeva have been enshrined.

17. The blessed poet Umāpati, a devotee of Siva, the foe of three cities, duly composed in no long time this dedicatory eulogium having merits of every kind of a banner brilliant with gold for this temple constructed by her.

18 " Seeing the face of the daughter to be modest like a moon king Bhīma called her name 'Chandrā-devī,"

19 Learned in songs, a seat of sport in skilful practice of arts of musical measure, beating of time, and the dance, and having a soul inspired with devotion to Achyuta (Vishnu) from the childhood onwards and the radiance and beauty of the moon this daughter Chandrikā together with jewels was given (in marriage) by her father to Paramarddī, the knight, (kshatriya) and the scion of *Haihaya* lineage.

20. " After he had practised with his wife diverse kinds of pleasure in which delight was attendant upon amorous passions ; the valiant Paramādi-deva, having found the enemies of the battle-loving king Vīra Narasimha-deva to be dwelling in the world of the gods, went himself thither in fury to conquer them, I trow with full display of glory."

21. At the vast holy place (Kshetra) called Ekāmra which is very dear to god Kṛttivāsas and well known for bestowing divine achievements, and ever brilliant with flowers of every season, she. with eagerness, and being inspired with faith, built this temple full of

carvings and adorned it with an auspicious pitcher-capital for god Purushottama in order to go the place of Vishnu, the eternal.

22. She constructed this peerless temple similar to the divine image of Keśava which is beautiful from top to buttom, the giver of piety, the visiting place of virtuous people being adorned with the protecting discus and exceedingly bounteous in distributing the holy food.

23. Inspired with spiritual devotion and joy, she according to her ability decorated with diadems and other ornaments Baladeva, Kṛshna and Subhadrā with a view to attain the final bliss.

4

GENEALOGY OF THE SOMAKULĪ KINGS OF KOŚALA AND UTKALA*

The Brahmeśvara and Balijhari inscriptions of Mahābhavagupta Udyotakeśarī corroborate each other from which the following genealogical table of the Somakulī kings of Kośala and Utkala is prepared and the name of Karṇakeśari has been added to the list at the end from Sandhyākaranandin's *Ramacharita*.

Sivagupta's son
1. Janamejaya (Mahābhavagupta I)

Kośala line	Utkala line
2. Yayāti (Mahāśivagupta II)	2. Vichitravīra
3. Bhīmaratha (Mahābhavagupta II)	3. Name not known
4. Dharmaratha (Mahāśivagupta III)	4. Abhimanyu

Joint rulers of Kośala and Utkala

5. Naghusa (Mahābhavagupta III)
6. Chandīhara alias Yayāti II (Mahāśivagupta IV) brother of 4
7. Udyotakeśari (Mahābhavagupta IV)
8. Karṇakeśari

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* This paper was read at the meetings of the Indian History Congress, Madras in 1944.

The above list differs from that given by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar who accepts Yayāti II of the Jatesinga Dungri copper plate as the founder of the family.[1] While reviewing Mr. R. D. Banerji's *History of Orissa* Vols. I and II, Dr Bhandarkar wrote the following in this connection :—

"But Banerji holds that the first king of this dynasty is Mahābhavagupta – Janamejaya and not his father Sivagupta. He, however, ignores in this connection an attributive occuring in the Jatesinga–Dungri plate published by Mr. B.C. Mazumdar in J.B.O.R.S. Vol. II, page 52 ff which were issued by Mahāśivagupta-Yayātideva, successor of Mahābhavagupta deva. The former speaks of himseff here - *Svabhujoparjjita* - *Trikaliṅgādhipati*; Lord of the Trīkaliṅga (country) acquired through his own arms. ' Evidently he was the first king of the dynasty of Trīkaliṅga, and must be taken as the father and not the son of Mahābhavagupta wrongly taken as the first king by Banerji. It is true that the Jatesinga–Dungri plates couple the titles of the supreme ruler not only with the son of Mahāśiva-gupta but also with the father. Mahābhavagupta The first, however, made himself the founder of the Trīkaliṅga family. The father no doubt, was an overlord, but must have ruled elsewhere. There is a nominative termination after *Svabhvjoparjjita* - *Trikaliṅ adhipati;* which has been ignored, but which shows that it is an epithet of Mahāśivagupta. The transcript of Mr. Mazumdar is quite clear on the point and is in entire agreement with the facsimile which accompanied his article".[2]

On the other hand specific mention has been made in the inscriptions of the years 24 and 28 of Yayāti, the year 3 of Bhīma-ratha and year 4 and 18 of Udyotakeśari that Janamejaya was the founder of the family and Dr. Bhandarkar has ignored this point. When the contemporary family records gives the name of Janamejaya Mahābhavagupta as the founder of the family I think Mr. R. D. Banerji was right in taking Janamejaya as the founder of the family and Dr. Bhandarkar's argument on his own interpretation of the attributive *Svabhujoparjjita* - *Trikaliṅgadhipati* is untenable on the ground discussed below.

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1. L.I N.I P. p 403, ftn. 13.
2. I.A Vol. LXI, 1932 p 241.

There are found altogether 22 inscriptions of the Somakulī Kings up to July 1942 and these are arranged in the appendix chronologically according to Balijhari and Brahmeśwar inscriptions Against the name of each ruler are given the year of the inscription, place or the residence and name of the Sāndhivigrahī. It is generally found that the post of the Sāndhivigrahī is hereditary and in this dynasty the names of Sāndhivigrahīs help us to know the chronological position of each ruler. Pandit Binayak Misra discussed this point in his paper on Balijhari copper plate in 1930-31 and in his book entitled *The Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa.* I have verified the names of Sāndhivigrahīs from the facsimile prints. The genealogical table given above is prepared from the inscriptions arranged according to the chronological order.

In the inscription of Janamejaya, Malladatta,son of Dhāradatta is the Sāndhivigrahī. Malladatta is again found to be a Rāṇaka in the inscriptions dated the 31st year of the donor. The inscriptions No. 9-12 were issued with the knowledge of Sāndhīvigrahī Rāṇaks Dhāradatta and the inscription No. 13 of the year 28 of the donor was issued by Sāndhivigrahī Simhadatta who is also the Sāndhivigrahī of Bhīmaratha. It seems that Dhāradatta survived his son Malladatta and as he was very old,these grants werei ssued by Mahākṣapatalika with his knowledge. Rudradatta was the son of Devadatta, the brother of Simhadatta and grandson of Harśadatta. It seems that Harṣadatta was the son of Malladatta and so the genealogical table of the family of the Sāndhivigrahī is as follows :—

Rāṇaka Dhāradatta
|
Rāṇaka Malladatta
|
Harṣadatta
|
Simhadatta — Devadatta
Devadatta
|
Rāṇaka Rudradatta

As Rudradatta served three kings named Naghuṣa Mahābhavagupta III, Yayāti II, Mahāśivagupta IV and Udyotakeśari Mahābhavagupta IV, it seems that he began his service early and lived long just like his great-grand-father Dhāradatta.

It is interesting to find that the inscription Nos.1556, 1557, and 1570 of Bhandarkar's list were issued in the 3rd year of reign of

Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha and Mahāśivagupta IV Yayāti II respectively. When Janamejaya possesses the title of Trikalingādhipati in his earliest record, it seems that he assumed it himself and not inherited it from his father Sivagupta or Mahāśivagupta.

The inscription of the year 8 of Janamejaya mentions Mahāśivagupta and other inscriptions mention Sivagupta who had no title of Trikalingādhipati attached to his name. In the inscriptions Nos. 5-14 and 18 the title of Trikalingādhipati occurs twice before the name of the donor-first in the genealogical portion and then in the text showing the Samvat or regnal year of the donor, In the inscriptions Nos, 10-14 the title of Trikaligādhipati is found attached to the name of the predecessors of the donors. In the grant Nos. 16 this title only once occurs before the name of the donor and in the grant No. 17 the title has an epithet of *Svabhujoparjjita*. The use of the title of Trikalingādhipati without any epithet in all other inscriptions makes it difficult to explain the necessity of the new epithet in a single inscription and we must wait for the further discovery of similar inscriptions when it may be possible to find out any further clue to the significance of its use.

In the Jatesinga dungri copper plate of Yayāti II there are many new *Virudas* which are not found in the copper plates granted by his predecessors, and these *Virudas* are all recorded in the inscription before 'Svabhujopārjjita Trikalingādhipati' If Svabhujopārjjita is separated from Trikalingādhipati, it cannot be connected with the preceding virudas which are really acquired by Yayati II. The *Viruda* Trikalingādhipati was assumed by all his predecessors and even by his father. The only possible interpretation of Svabhujopārjjita as an adjective to Trikalingādhipati seems to be this that the re-establishment of former powers of his predecessors along with his own conquest of countries after the attack of Rājendrachola is due to Yayāti II, who perhaps was the head of the army during the life time, of his father in whose copper plate the title of Trikalingādhipati was used according to the family tradition. When Yayāti II succeeded him he not only introduced the new *Virudas* but put an adjective Svabhujopārjjita to the family title Trikalingādhipati by virtue of his actual reconquest of the lost territories.

In the Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. XX p. 76-82 Dr. D. C. Sircar has published a paper on the genealogy of the Somakuli Kings, but it has not been possible for me to include his points in my paper.

Appendix - Chronological table of Inscriptions of Somakuli kings

No of Inscriptions	Name & title of the king with that of the predecessor.	Samvat	Place of issue or residence	Name of Mahāsāndhivigrahī	Reference in L.N.I.I & E. I.
1	P.M.P. Srī Sivaguptadeva pādanudhyāta P.P.M.P. Somakulatilaka Trikalingādhipati Sri Mahābhava guptarājadeva. The protion dealing with the Samvat records the name Sri Janamejayadeva.	? 3	Suvarnapura	Name not given	E.I. Vol. XI, P. 94 No. 1557.
2	Same as No. 1 with Paramesvara before Sri Mahābhavagupta deva.	6	Murasima	Malla (datta) son of Dhāra datta	J. & P.A.S.B. Vol. I p. 12, No. 1558.
3	Same as No. 1	6	do	do	E.I Vol. III, p. 341 No. 1559.
4	P. M. P. Srī Mahāśivagupta-rāja deva pādānudhyata and then follows as No. 1	8	do	Ranaka Malladatta son of Dhāradatta	E.I. Vol. VIII, p. 141 No. 1560.
5	Same as No. 1 but the title of Trikalingādhipati is attached to the name Janamejaya in the portion of the text referring to Samvat.	17	Arāma	Malladatta	E. I. Vol. XXIII, P. 248 f.

No. of Inscriptions	Name & title of the king with that of the predecessor	Samvat	Place of issue or residence	Name of Mahā sāndhivigrahī	Reference in I. N.I.I. & E I.
6-8	Same as No. 1 but the title of Trikalingādhipati is attached to the name Janamejaya in the portion of the text referring to Samvat.	31	Vijaya Kataka	Rānaka Malla datta	E.I Vol. III, p 347 No 1562-64.
9	II P.P.M. Srī Mahābhavagupta rājadeva pādānudhyāyī P. P. M P. Somakulatilaka Trikalingādhipati Srī Mahāsivagupta, rājadeva in the Samvat portion Trikalingādhipati is attached to Srimat Yayāti devarāja.	8	Vinītapura Kataka	Rānaka Dhāradatta	J. & P.A S.B Vol.1 P 14 No 1565.
10	Same as No 9 with the exception that Trikalingādhipati is attached to Mahābhavaguptarājadeva.	9	do	—	E.I. Vol.III, p. 351 No. 1566.
11	Same as No.9	15	do	—	E.I. Vol XI, p. 96 No. 1567.
12	Same as No. 10	24	Yayātinagara	—	J. & P.A S.B. Vol. I p. 16, No.1568.
13	Same as No. 10	28	do	Simhadatta	J. & P.A.S.B. Vol. 1 p 19, No.1569.

No. of Inscriptions	Name & title of the king with that of the predecessor	Samvat	Place of issue or residence	Name of Mahā sāndhivigrahī	Reference in L.N.I.I. & E.I.
	III				
14	P.P.M.P. Somakulatilaka Trikalingādhipati Mahāśivaguptarājadeva pādānudhyāta P. P. M. P. Somakulatilaka Trikalingādhipati Sri Mahābhavagupta rājadeva and in the portion of the Samvat P.P.M.P.S.T. are attached to the name Bhīmaratha.	3	Yayātinagara	Simhadatta	E I. Vol. III, p.356 No. 1570.
		—	—	—	E.I. Vol.IV, p. 258 No. 1561.
	IV				
15	Mahāśivagupta III Dharmaratha	13	do		No inscription.
	V				
16	Paramamāheśvara Mātāpitri pādānudhyāta Mahārājadhirājā Parameśvara Paramabhattāraka Somakulatilaka Trikalingādhipati Sri Mahābhavaguptarājadeva. No title or name in the text referring to the Samvat	11	Kesarakella vijaya Kataka	Rudradatta, son of Devadatta	E.I. Vol.XXII, p. 135-138
	VI				
17	Svabhujoparjjita-Trikalingādhipati P.P. Sri Mahābhavagupta pādānudhyata P.P. Pranamita – rājanyopasevita – padāravinda - yugala Sri Mahāśivagupta. No title in the portion of the text giving Samvat.	3	Suvarnapura	Rānaka Rudradatta son of Simhadatta's brother & grand son of Harsadatta	J.B. & O.R.S. Vol 11 No. 1556.

No of Inscriptions	Name & title of the king with that of the predecessor.	Samvat	Place of issue or residence	Name of Mahāsāndhivigrahī	Reference in L.N.I.I & E. I.
	VII				
18	P. P. M. P. S. T. Trikalingādhipati Sri Mahāśivagupta rājadeva pādānudhyata P.P.M.P P.S.T. Trikalingādhipati Srī Mahābhavaguptarājadeva Udyotakeśari rājadeva.	4	Yayātinagara	Rudradatta	J.B. & O.R.S. Vol. XVII, p. 15 No.2076
19		—	—	—	J.B. & O.R.S. Vol, XV, p.209, No.2077
20	P.M S.T. Udyatokeśari	5	—	—	E.I. Vol. XIII, No.1571.
21		18	—	—	E.I. Vol. XIII, No.1573,
22	P. M. S. T. Trikalingādhipati Srimad Udyotakeśari Deva.	18	—	—	J.A.S B. Vol. VII, p. 558, No. 1572.

5

THE DATE AND POWER OF THE SOMAKULĪ KINGS OF ORISSA.*

The verse 2 of the Brahmeswar temple inscription refers not only to the conquest of Oḍra by Janamejaya but also the capture of all the fortunes of the king of the Oḍra country. This reference of the conquest of Oḍra is corroborated by the Kalachuri inscriptions. The Kalachuri king Laksanarāja of Dāhala, son of Yuvarāja I, is said to have defeated the Lord of Kosala (Kosalanātha) and took possession of jewels and gold which were obtained from the Oḍranripati [1] This cross reference is very important for the date of the Somakuli kings as it furnishes an evidence that Janamejaya was the contemporary of Laksmanarāja.

In verse 3 of the above inscription Yayāti has been described as a king who possessed the seven attributes of the king "Saptāṅgarajyeśvara" from which it can be inferred that he was a powerful king. In his copper plate of the year 8, Yayāti is said to have defeated *the Chedis* and made *Dāhala* uninhabited [2] It seems that after Janamejay's defeat at the hands of Laksamanarāja, Yayāti took revenge and subdued Chedīnātha On this identification it can be inferred that Janamejaya and Yayāti flourished in the second quarter of the 10th. century.

In verse 6 of the Brahmeśvara inscription it is found that after the death of Bhīrmaratha, his kingdom was devastated by various warriors. In the Tamil inscriptions of the years 13, 16, 17, and 19 of Rajendra Chola. Dharmaratha has been mentioned.[3] By this identification we are now in definite foot to know the date of Dharmaratha who died before 1025 A D. and from this date the period of rule of the Somakulī kings of Kosala and Utkala can be ascertained with much accuracy.

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* This paper was read at the meetings of the Indian History Congress, Madras 1944.

1. D.H.N. I. Vol II p. 764.
2. J. & P. A. S. B. Vol. I, p. 7.
3. J. I. H. 1941 p. 1-11.

In connection with the date of Somakulī kings the views of the previous writers are quoted or abridged below.

Fleet made a thorough study of the palaeographic considerations and came to the following conclusion :—

" The general result of the palaeographic considerations taken together, is, that these records cannot possibly be placed before A. D 900 They may belong to any later period But on the whole, I should say that the characters are of the 11th. century and that the kings mentioned in them are to be placed somewhere between A. D. 1000 and 1100."[4]

These arguments fully corroborate our conclusion which is now based on the date then wanting.

Kielhorn writes that " this inscription can not have been written earlier than about first half of the 12th century A. D.[5] Kielhorn's view is found to be far from truth.

Ganagamohan Laskar did not discuss the date of the inscriptions which he edited in the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol I, in 1905.

Hiralal accepted the views of Fleet and so also B.C. Mazumdar in E. I. Vol X.

Pandit Binayak Misra's views are quoted below :—

" If Janamejaya be placed in the last decade of the 9th. century A. D., the commencement of Yayāti II's reign falls between 950-70 A. D. " [6] In order to arrive at this date he allotted 26 years to Janamejaya, 24 years to Yayati I, 10 years to Bhimaratha and 10 years to Dharmaratha and Nahusa and gets 70 years after the date of Janamejaya. Elsewhere he writes that "Udyotakeshari may be assigned to the beginning of the 11th. century A. C." [7] He again has discussed the date of Somakulī kings in his book entitled " *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings* " at pages 71-74 and writes that Udyotakeśhari can be assigned therefore to 1020 A. D. at the latest and alloting 25 years for

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4. E. I. Vol. III, 1894-95. p. 333.
5. *Ibid.* Vol IV, 1896-97 p 256.
6. J. B. & O. R. S. Vol. XVII. p. 14.
7. *Ibid.* p. 12.

his predecessors he suggests the date of Janamejaya is 895 (wrongly printed 995).

Dr. H. C Ray writes as follows on the date of these inscriptions :—

"As we have dates recorded of his (Janamejaya) reign upto the 31st year, we can approximately assign him to the period 975-1010 A D If this period for him is correct, he may have been the *Kosalanātha* who was defeated by Tripuri Kalachuri Laksmanarāja".[8]

As his (Yayāti's) grants record his 28th year, he may have flourished during the period c. 1010-1050 A D He was thus a contemporary of Rājendra Cola, and must have witnessed the latter's northern expedition, which was undertaken sometime between 1022 and 1025 A D."[9]

On the date of Bhīmaratha, Dr. Ray writes "His inscriptions show that he ruled for at least 13 years. On palaeographical evidence we may refer him approximately to the period 1050 to 1075 A.D.[10]

The above assumptions of Pandit B.Misra and Dr. H.C Ray are untenable for the reason that Bhīmaratha's successor Dharmaratha was living before 1025 A.D. and so the period of rule of his predecessors Janamejaya, Yayāti and Bhīmaratha is undoubtedly earlier to 1025 A. D. The total of actual years of reigns of Janamejaya, Yayāti I and Bhīmaratha is, *(31+28+13)* 72 years and if we take it as 75, we get the earliest date of Janamejaya as 950 A. D. by deducting 75 from 1025 or a decade earlier. This date is corroborated by that assigned long ago by Dr. Fleet approximately. As the name of the king of Odradeśa who was defeated by Janamejaya, is not given, it is not possible to know about the dynasty to which he belonged. It is not definitely known if this vanquished king of Odra belonged to the Bhauma dynasty or to some other dynasty after the fall of the Bhaumas. The copper plate inscriptions go to prove

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8. D.H.N I. Vol. I, 1931, p. 401.
9. *Ibid*, p. 405.
10. *Ibid*, p. 405.

that there were Bhañja, Tuṅga, Sthambha, Nanda and Varāha families in Orissa in the period who had no royal titles such as Paramamāheśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka etc, but they issued copper plate greants The mention of Silābhañjapati Visaya in Oḍra[11] in the inscription of Yayāti suggests that the Bhañja rulers were there before the advent of the Somakulī kings in Orissa as the name of the Visaya is derived from the name of Silā Bhañja. The dates 288 and 293 of the copper plates of Raṇabhañja Deva of Khijjingakoṭṭa (modern Khiching in Mayurbhanj) gives us the dates 894 A. D. 899 A.D. according to the calculation of the Harsa era. On the other hand we get the date of one of the copper plate grants of Daṇḍīmahādevī of the Bhauma dynasty as 187 which gives us the date of the grant as 793 - 94 A. D. according to Harsa era as accepted by Pandit B. Misra[12] and Dr. R.C. Mazumdar.[13]

As no other inscription of the Bhauma kings after Daṇḍī Mahādevī is known, there is no harm to suppose that the Bhauma dynasty ceased to rule after her and as there was no supreme authority in the begining of the 9th century A.D. in Tosala or Utkala. Govinda III of the Rāstrakuta family (who ruled from 794–813 A D.)[14] is said to have invaded Orissa and this invasion perhaps crushed the Bhauma power in Tosala. In the first decade of 9th century Devapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Gauḍa defeated the Utkalas of S W. Bengal.[15] From Taranath's account it is found that there was political chaos in Orissa in the 9th century A. D. when several ruling families tried to maintain their independence. The copper plate grants of the Bhañjas, the Sthambhas etc. fully support the account of Taranatha about the condition of Orissa in the early part of the 9th century A D. and so the conquest of Orissa by Janamejaya from west was not at all a difficult thing.

The date of the successors of Dharmaratha namely Nahusa Yayāti II and Udyotakeśarī can thus be assigned to a period later than 1025 A.D. and if we can allot 45 to 50 years, we get the date

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11. E I. Vol. III, p. 351.
12. Orissa under the Bhauma kings p. 78–79.
13. Outline of the History of the Bhañja kings of Orissa p. 21.
14. E, I, Vol. VII, App. II p. 3,
15. Palas of Bengal p. 56.

of Udyotakeśarī somewhere in 1070 A.D. The inscriptions of Yayāti II and Udyotakeśarī make reference to their power and conquest. It is found from the description of the route of expedition of Rājendra Chola that there were several small but powerful principalities situated in the region of the N. E. of Chakrakoṭṭa in Bastar and to the S.W of the river Gaṅgā in Bengal. Let us see what was the political condition of eastern India from 1025 to 1125 A. D. and how it helped the consolidation of power of Yayāti II and Udyotakeśari.

I

On the Bengal and Bihar frontier there were the following Pāla kings : –

Mahipāla 1 (c. 992–1040 A.D.), Nayapāla (c. 1040–1055 A.D.) Vigrahapāla III (c. 1055-1081 A.D.) and Rāmapāla (c. 1084-1126 A.D 16

II

On the *Central Provinces side* there were (a) Kalachuri Kings of Tuhmāna and (b) Dāhala,

(a) Kings of Tuhmāna were Kamalarājā who defeated the *Utkalanripa*, Ratnarāja 1, Pṛthirāja (1079 A. D.) and Jajālla deva I (1114 A.D.)17

Kings of Dāhala were Gāṅgeyadeva Vikramāditya (C. 1030–41 A.D.) who defeated the ruler of Utkala, Lakshmi Karna (C. 1041–70 A D), Yaśakarna (C 1073–1125 A D)*18*

III

On the Kaliṅga or southern side were the Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅganagara such as Vajrahasta V (C 1038–70 A D.) who assumed the title of Trīkaliṅgādhipati, Rājarāja I *(1070–76)* who defeated the king of Utkala and Kośala* and Anantavarma Choḍagaṅga (1076–1147 A.D.) who finally occupied Orissa from the last Keśari king 19

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16. D H. N I. Vol. 1, p 385.
17. *Ibid* Vol. II, p. 819.
18 *Ibid*, p. 818.
* Dr. Ray writes at page 461 that "the Utkala or (Oḍda) ruler was probably one of the latter Karas of Tosali while the ruler of Kośala was possibly a scion of the Somavamsis of that country". But this is not tenable as we find that there was a single king in Utkala and Kośala at that time.
19. *Ibid* Vol, I, p. 501.

It seems that the king of Utkala who was defeated by Kamalarāja of Tuhmāna and Gāngeyadeva Vikramāditya of Dāhala and Vajrahasta of Kalinganagara, was the same person as the elder brother of Nahusa who was jointly attacked by Haibayas of Tuhmāna and Dāhala, and then by the Ganga king Vajrahasta ; and this date may be assigned to a period a little before 1040 A. D. During this attack the kings of Dāhala and Kalinganagara occupied a portion of Utkala and Kosala and such an occupation is proved by the use of the title cf 'Trikalingādhipati' by Lakshmikarna, the son of Gāngeyadeva of Dāhala, and Vajrahasta V. After the attack of the Kalachuris and the Gangas Nahusa occupied the throne of Utkala and there was no king in Kosala. The Balijhari copper plate of Udyotakeśari mentions about Nahusa's rule in Utkala but the Brahmesvara inscription is silent about him.

The verse 7 of the Brahmesvara inscription mentions that Chandihara was made king by all the ministers and the verse 8 mentions that he ably administered both the kingdoms. The contents of verse 8 are found in the verses written in lines 21 to 25 of the Balijhari inscription of Udyotakeśari.

The Ganga king Rājarāja I defeated the king of Utkala or Odra in 1075-80 A. D. and so the period of 35 years is to be alloted for the reigns of Nahusa, Yayāti II and Udyotakeśari. In this period no powerful kings were found in Bengal. Tuhmāna, Dāhala and Kalinga and therefore it seems that Yayāti II and Udyotakeśari both were able to recover the position lost by their predecessors. The Jatesinga Dungri copper plate grant of Yayati II shows that he enjoyed supremacy over many kingdoms. The Balijhari inscription of Udyotakeśari of the 4th year does not mention his special activity, but the verses 9 and 10 of the Brahmesvara inscription are very eloquent in citing his famous deeds and illustrious character and the conquest of Dāhala and Gauda* and then the subjugation of many other kings. The copper plate grants of Yayāti II and Udyotakeśari were issued from Suvarnapura and Yayātinagara respectively and it is inferred that their capital was in the western Orissa. Taking advantage of this long distance, a ruler of Odra probably belonging to the Bhanja dynasty tried to establish

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* The text was read as 'Simhalam Chodagaudan' in verse 10 of the Brahmesvara inscription, but the impression gives the reading of Dāhalam chodra goudou. I have prepared a revised text of Brahmesvara inscription which will be published in some journal.

independence but was again subdued by Udyotakeśari. The construction of Brahmeśvara temple by his mother at Bhubaneswar goes to show that he had his capital in eastern Orissa in the 18th. year of his reign. So it seems that the period of Yayati II and Udyotakeśari was most glorious

As no historical interpretation has been given by any one of the Virudas of the Jatesinga Dungri inscription, it is given below :— The text of Jatesinga dungri copper plate (Murajamara charter of Mahāsivagupta Yayāti)20 is in prose from the beginning to the end excluding the imprecatory verses and it resembles Kādamvarī in style. Mr. B. C. Mazumdar was not able to decipher correctly the text, but due to his physical infirmities under which he undertook the task he deserves full admiration of all. The correct reading of the Virudas of Yayāti II is given below :—

"Atiśayorjjita–pratāpa–bhārāvanata–samasta–nripati kadamva-chuḍāmani–parichumbita - pāda–pitha Prathitāneka–Nala–Nahusha–Mandhātri–Dilipa–Bharata-Bhagirathādi rāja-charitah Kārnāta - Lāta-Gurjjaresvara - dāhajvara * bhu-vitakalatra † Kānchi-Kalāpa- bharana-lampatah Kalinga- Kongadotkala Kosala–svayamvara–prasidha Gauda-Radhāmvara-prakarashanodghāta marutah Sitāmsuvamśavimalāmvara-purnachandrah svabhujopārjjita Trikalingādhipati Paramamāheśwara Paramabhaṭṭārakah Sri Mahabhavagupta–padānudhyāta Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara pranamita-rājanyopasevita-padāravinda-yugalah Śrī Mahāsivagupta Srī Yayātideva. "

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20. J. B & O.R S. Vol, II p 45-55

X. Mr. Mazumdar's reading is 'Kurumba ; but the vowel sign of 'K' is not found in the facsimile of the plate and the letter 'da' is clear. *Mr. Mazumdar read 'Dadajvari' and suggested it to be the' Dravida-jayi' But the reading of Dāhajvaro is clear.In *Subhāsitaratna bhāndāgāram* p. 112 there is a verse on one Hamira which runs as follows;—

"Garva-garnthila-Gurjara–Jvarakarah Karnnāta- Karnātavi dāvāgnir drāvidendra - vijaya dalana-Gaudendra Smarahara".

The association of Jvara (fever) attributed by poets to Gujjara is thus corroborated.

† It was read as 'Kanst'. I verified the plate in January, 1944 at Patna and the 'ra' is written below the line between the space 'rjja' & 'sva'. Dr. D. C. Sircar has also given a correct reading of the passage in the Indian Historical quarterly Vol. XIX. 1944. p.81-82.

The virudas and the translation thereof of the text quoted above are noted below:—

1. Atisayorjjila-pratāpa-bhārāvanata-samasta-nripati-Kadamva chudāmaṇi-parichumbita-pāda-piṭha.

Yayāti's foot-stool is kissed by the crest-jewels of the group of feudatory kings who were subdued by his exceedingly powerful prowess

2. Prathitāneka-Nala-Nahusha - Māndhātri - Dīlipa - Bharata-Bhagirathādirāja charitah,

Who in character and might resembles such renowned kings such as Nala, Nahusha Māndhāta, Dīlipa, Bharata and Bhagiratha.

3. Karṇāta-Lāta – Gurjareśvara dāhajvara -- bhu-vitakalatra-Kāñchi-Kalāpa-bharaṇa-lampatah.

Who, as the lampatah, has taken away the ornaments such as *Kanchi* and *Kalāpa* of the girdle of the chasteless lady earth belonging to the king. who was the scorching fever to the kings of Karṇāta, Lāta and Gurjara countries.

In simple language he conquered the lands of the overlord of Karṇāta, Lāta & Gurjara. This passage perhaps refers to the conquest of Yayāti of the lands owned by the Kalachuri kings of Dāhala.

4. Kalinga-Kongodatkalaka-kośala-svayamvara-prasidha.

who was the supreme lord in svayamvara (election) by the people of Kalinga, Kongada, Utkala and Kośala.

This fact is evident from the Balijhari copper plate grant and this inscription.

5. Gauḍa – Rāḍhāmvara – prakarshanodghāta Marutah,

who like the strong wind, had blown off the (clothes) of the ladies of Gauḍa and Rāḍha.

This viruda has a bearing on the conquest of Gauḍa and Rāḍha countries.

6. Sītāmsu – Vamsa-vimalāmvara-purna chandra,

who is the fullmoon of the dynasty of the moon.

7. 'Svabhujopārjjita Trikaliṅgādhipati,'

who has become the lord of Trikaliṅga by the conquest of his own arms.

8 Paramamāheśvarah Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Srī Mahābhava-gupta padānudhyāta Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara.

who is Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara and who meditates on the feet of the Paramamāheśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka Srī Mahābhavagupta,

9. Praṇamita-rājanyopasevita padāravinda yugala.

whose lotus like feet are worshipped by the princess while bowing down their heads.

10. Srī Mahāśivagupta Srī Yayātideva kuśali.

His name is Mahāśivagupta Yayātideva who lives in peace.

The attributes 'Lampatah' 'Svayamvara-prasiddha' and 'Amvara-prakarshanodghāta-māruta' under 4, 5, and 6 above respectively seem to be eulogistic but real and similar to the attributes of Yuvarājadeva I Keyurvarsha, the Kalachuri king in the Bilhari inscription which is quoted below for the sake of comparision.

Keyurvarsha "who fulfilled the ardent wishes of the minds of the women of Gauḍa," who was a deer to sport on these pleasure hills the breasts of the damsels of Karṇāṭa and ornamented the fore-head of the women of Lāṭa.[21]

According to the light of above interpretation, the above attributes of Yayāti II do not seem to be entirely hollow and high sounding as interpreted by Mr. B.C. Mazumdar[22] and R. D. Banerji.[23]

21. D.H N.I. Vol. II, 1936; p. 760.
22. J.B. & O.R.S. Vol. II, p. 50.
23. History of Orissa, Vol. I, p. 217-18

6

SOMAKULĪ KINGS OF TRĪKALINGA AND THEIR CONNEXION WITH BENGAL*

Dr. D. C. Sircar has written the following in his paper on "Bengal and the Rajputs" which he read at the meetings of the Allahabad Session of the Indian History Congress held in 1938 :—

"According to the Jatesinga–Dungri inscription (Bhandarkar's list No. 1556), King Mahāśivagupta I Yayātideva was lord of Trīkaliṅga which he acquired through his arms. He is also called the full-moon in the sky of Vaṅga and is said to have seized Gauḍa and Rādha. Whatever be the value of these claims, the fact that his family has been called *Vaṅganvaya* has led Bhandarkar to suggest that the family of the king came from Vaṅga or eastern Bengal."1

On referring to the 'List of Inscriptions of Northern India' I find that Dr. Bhandarākar after summarising the inscription has written in the foot-note 2 at page 215 that "as he is said to have acquired Trīkaliṅga through his arms, he seems to be the first of his dynasty, which, as his next epithet shows, came from Vaṅga (East Bengal)", and in the foot-note 3 he has given the reading of the text—

अस्मद् वङ्गान्वये क्षीणे

in support of the word 'Vaṅga' found in line 3 Plate II. From this it appears that Dr Sircar's conclusion is entirely based on that of Dr. Bhandarkar.

This theory of emigration of Yayāti, one of the Somakulī kings, from Bengal was advanced by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar in 1916 who first edited this inscription2 and deciphered the couplet following the imprecatory verses as follows :—

'अस्मद् वङ्गान्वये काले यः कश्चित् नृपतिर्भवेत्
तस्याहं पादरजोस्मिन् ययाति प्रयात ....

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* Reprinted from the Mayurbhañja Chronicle, April, 1942.

1. Proceedings of I.H.C., Allahabad, p. 198.
2. J.B. & O.R S. Vol. II, 1916, pp. 45-59.

In the foot-note he wrote thus :— "We expected naturally the word *rājadevah* here but the partly intelligible letters look wholly different from the components of the word suggested."3

Mr. Majumdar's historical note on the above couplet runs as follows .—

"The sentence, with those illegible letters after the name of Yayāti, means distinctly as follows :— Whoever will become king in future in our Bengal line (Asmad-Vangānvaya), the dust of his feet am I — Yayāti. That the different branches of the Kośala Guptas reigned independently at different places was shown by me in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XI, pages 101–4. It appears that a branch of the Kośala Guptas became supreme in Bengal and Yayāti or more properly his father Janamejaya, who was a scion of that family, conquered that Trikalinga countries and became the supreme lord of the Sambalpur tract which was an outlying portion of the Kośala-deśa. Perhaps Yayāti did not cease to acknowledge the supremacy of those who were ruling a portion of Bengal, and for that reason called himself the dust of the feet of the Bengal king who might be expected in future to interfere with the grant. This explains clearly why we get the Bengali Kāyasthas in the service of the Kośala Guptas" (J. B. & O. R. S. Vol. II, p. 51).

In his *Orissa in the Making* pp. 173—5, published by the Calcutta University in 1925, Mr, Majumdar adhered to his previous findings and tried to explain his theory in the fanciful way.

Then Dr. H. C. Ray included this inscription in the "Dynastic History of Northern India" Vol. I. which was published in 1931 and in a foot-note at page 402 he wrote the following note of warning :—

"In view of the importance of this inscription it deserves to be re-edited in E. I. Before its re-edition it would be risky to form any theory on the origin of the Dynasty on the basis of the word *Vanganvaya* which according to the editor describes the lineage of Yayāti. For this theory see O. M., p 174 ff."

Dr. Ray very rightly doubted the correct reading of *Vanganvaya* but he accepted the reading of *Sitanśavanga-vimalāmbara-purvachandra* 4 in line 3 of the second plate, first side of the inscription.

3. *Ibid*, p. 55.

4. *Ibid* p. 53.

Dr. Bhandarkar supported Dr. Ray for the suggestion that the Somakulī kings should be considered separate and distinct from the Pāṇḍavās of Kośala,5 but it is not clear as to how he did not take notice of Dr. Ray's note of warning in the interpretation of *Vaṅgānvaya*. It has been shown above that Dr. Bhandarkar introduced the correct reading of *kshīne* in place of *kāle* in the 6th line of the inscription which follows *asmad vaṅgānvaya*. It is a pity that this mistake escaped the notice of such an eminent scholar of India like Dr. Bhandarkar who would have been able to decide the controversy in the best interest of history.

I am indebted to my friend Pandit Binayak Mishra for the suggestion of the correct reading of this line where he read *asmad vaṁśakshaye* which he published in his "Mediæval Dynasties of Orissa," p. 107, in 1933. Recently I had the occasion to study the Jatesinga-Duṅgri (Mr. Majumdar's Murañja-mura) inscription in connexion with my paper on the Brahmeśvara Inscription of Bhubaneswar and I found that the reading of the text as published by Mr. Majumdar is far from what is met with in the facsimile print of the plates. I am not going to give here all the improved readings of mine but I can safely say that Mr Majumdar made a mistake in reading *Vaṅga* for *Vaṁśa* everywhere. The portion of the text of line 3 of the second plate, first side, may be cited as an instance where the actual reading is *Sitāmsu-vaṁśa-vimalāmbara-purvachandra* but it has been read by Mr. Majumdar as *Sitāṅga-vaṅga-vimalāmbara-purvachandra*.

Yayāti belongs to Somokula which has been written in this inscription as *Sītāmsu-vaṁśa* and the epithet *Sītāmsu-vaṁśa-vimala-mbara-purvachandra* of this inscription stands for *Somakulatilaka* which is met with in all the copper-plate inscriptions of this dynasty. So there is no word *vaṅga* anywhere in this line.

The couplet beginning with *asmad vaṁśakāsaye* has been written after the imprecatory verse—

Sāmānyoyaṁ dharmasetu nṛipanaṁ
kāle kāle pālaniyo bhavadbhiḥ
sarvānetān bhāvino parthivān
bhuyo bhuyo yāchate Rāmchandra

and before

5. L.I.N.I., p. 463, fn. 11 & I.A. Vol. LXI, 1932, pp. 204—1.

Iti kamaladalamvuvindulolam
sriyamanuchintya manushya jivitamcha
sakalamida-mudahritam cha vudva
nahi purusai parakirttayo vilopya.

So there is no doubt that this verse is one of imprecatory verses of the inscriptions. Let us compare the reading of this verse with that published in other inscriptions edited by different authors at different times and everybody will agree with me that it is an imprecatory verse commonly found in the copperplates of other parts of India.

The following verses will show that the couplet under reference is an imprecatory one and has no specific reference to *Vanga*.

1. " *Asmin vamśakshaye kshīne ye kechit rājā bhavisyati*
   Tasyapade lagnoham mamadatta nopaharet."[6]

2. अस्मद् वश परिक्षीणे यः कश्चित् नृपतिर्भवेत्
   तस्याह पद्लग्नोस्मि ममदत्तानुपालनात् ॥[7]

This verse is found in the Devalpadi copperplate inscriptions of Netta-Bhañja published in the J. A. H. R. S. Vol. VII., p. 113, but it has not been deciphered correctly.

3. " *Asmin vamśe parikshīne ya kaschit nripatirbhavet*
   tasyāham padalagnosmi sasanam na vyatikramet "[8]

4. " *Asmad vamśa parikshīne yah kaschit nripatirbhavet*
   tasyaham karalagnosmi sasanam na vyatikramet."[9]

This verse is found also in the Khaira Plate of Yasovarmadeva in E. I. Vol XII, p. 214, in which the word *kasta* has been replaced by *kara* of above.

5. " *Asmin vamśe dvijaghnopi yaschānyo nripatirbhavet*
   tasyapi karalagnoham śasanam na vyatikramet."[10]

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6. E. I, Vol. XXIII, p. 143.
7. *Ibid* XXIV, p 19.
8. *Ibid*. XXI, p. 96.
9. *Ibid*. XIV, p. 295.
10. *Ibid*. XI, p. 145.

6. " *Asmad vamśe yadākshīne yah kopi nripatirbhavet*
tasyāham kare lagnaham sasanam na vyatikramet."[11]

All these references leave no ground for any shade of doubt that Mr. Majumdar's reading of the couplet supported by Dr. Bhandarkar is entirely fanciful.

Like the reading of '*Vanganvaya*' many other fanciful readings of Mr Majumdar can be cited. In his paper on the 'Taspikera Charter of Rānaka Rana Bhañja' and Kumarkela Charter of Rāṅaka Satru Bhanja Deva'[12] he picked up the reading of *Boudhapati* (Lord of Boudha) in the well-known form of order '*Mānayati vodhayati samadisayati*' and utilised the grant to prove his own pet theory.

It is thus proved that the Somakulī kings of Trīkaliṅga had no connexion with Bengal and their dynasty never came from Vaṅga. The Brahmeśvara inscription relates that the founder of the family came from Trīliṅga.

7

THE BRAHMEŚVARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF THE EIGHTEENTH REGNAL YEAR OF KING UDDYOTAKESARĪ

The following four inscriptions are said to have belonged originally to the temples at Bhubaneswar.

A. The Brahmeśvara temple inscription *1* of Kolāvatī Devī, the mother of Uddyotakeśarī. It is now lost.

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11. *Ibid*. p. 312.
12. J. B. & O. R. S. Vol. II, 1916, pp. 167—178 and pp. 429—435.

* From the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters Vol. XIII, No. 2.

This paper has been revised and edited by Dr. D.C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D

1. (*a*) Prinsep, *J.A.S.B.* Vol. VII, 1838, pp. 557-62;
   (*b*) Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, 1880, pp. 87-89.

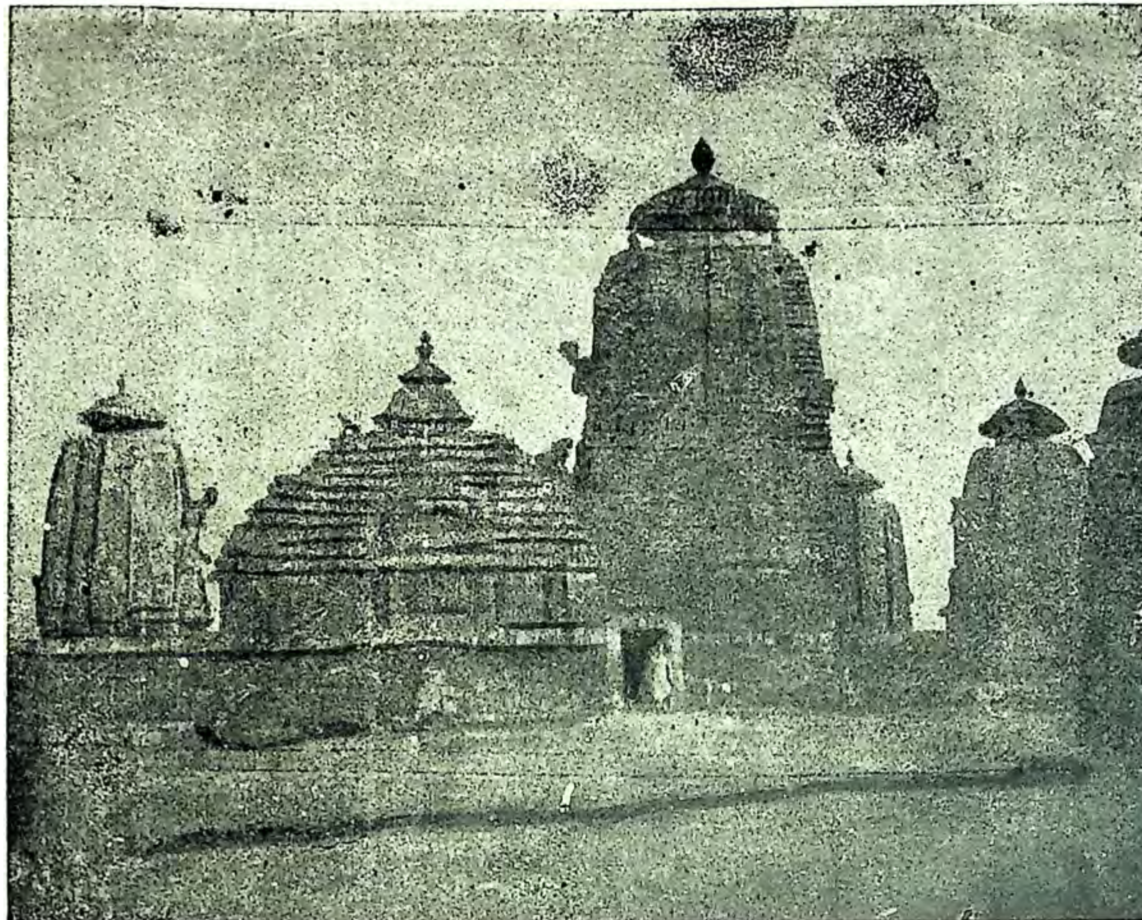
B. The Meghesvara temple inscription 2 of Svapneśvara Deva. It is now fixed on the western compound wall of the Ananta Vāsudeva temple.

C(1). The inscription 3 of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva which is now fixed on the western compound wall of the Ananta Vāsudeva temple.

C(2). The inscription 4 of Chandrādevī It is now preserved in the hall of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London, but belonged originally to the Ananta Vāsudeva temple.

The three inscriptions A, B and C(1) were removed from their original temples and deposited in the Museum of the (Royal) Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. In 1837, at the suggestion of Major M. Kittoe, the then Curator of the Society's Museum, these three inscribed slabs were returned to Bhubaneswar by the Committee of the Society. The list of donors and donations to the Museum of the Society for 1822, published as Appendix III of the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV (1825), records that General Stuart donated eight Sanskrit stone inscriptions out of which there were *two stones from Bhubaneswar in Orissa with Sanskrit inscriptions*. No list of antiquities presented to the Museum of the (Royal) Asiatic Society of Bengal before 1814 is available; the first list was published as an Appendix to Vol XI (1816) of the *Asiatic Researches* and all the subsequent volumes contain such a list up to the year 1836. No. list other than that of Vol XV gives the names of any antiquity from Orissa. So doubt naturally arises as to how the Committee of the Society which got only two stone inscriptions from Bhubaneswar could have referred *three* stone inscriptions to that locality and returned them for restoration to their original places 5 This leaves enough margin to arrive at the conclusion that out of the three inscribed slabs, one at least does not belong to Bhubaneswar and the in-

2. (a) Prinsep, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol, VI, 1837, pp 278-88.
   (b) N. N. Vasu, *Ibid.*, 1897, pp 11-23.
   (c) Kielhorn, *E I.* Vol. VI, 1900-01, pp. 198-203.
3. (a) Prinsep, *J.A.S.B.* Vol VI, pp. 88-97.
   (b) Mitra, *A.O.*, Vol II, pp 85-87.
   (c) Kielhorn, *E. I.* Vol. VI, pp. 203-207.
   (d) N. N. Vasu, *Castes and Sects of Bengal*, Vols. I and II.
   (e) N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, 1929, pp. 25ff.
4. Barnett, *E.I.* Vol. XIII, 1915-16, 150-55.
5. Cf. *J.A.S.B.* Vol. VI, p. 319 and Vol. VII, p. 557.



Brahmesvara Temple of Bhubaneswar Page 66

scription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva furnishes such internal evidence as to prove, without any shade of doubt, that it originally did not belong to any temple at Bhubaneswar.[6]

In the proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1837, it is recorded that three inscribed slabs were returned to Bhubaneswar, but the Brahmeśvara temple inscription is not found now anywhere at Bhubaneswar, Rajendralal Mitra saw the inscription there and noticed it in his *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II. He did not notice the Meghcśvara temple inscription, although N·N. Vasu in 1895 found this record on the same spot in the compound of the AnantaVāsudeva temple just at the side of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva's epigraph The Paṇḍās of Bhubaneswar, whose predecessors were successful in bringing back the inscriptions from Calcutta in 1837, are unable to say anything as to its whereabouts. Prinsep edited many inscriptions in 1837 and 1838; but he never chose to produce the full facsimile of any of them excepting this one He wrote, 'Before returning this, he (Kittoe) kindly took for me a very exact impression, whence I have copied the reduced facsimile in plate XXIV [7] Due to the loss of the original slab of the inscription, this facsimile serves now the purpose of the original slab. Finding some glaring mistakes in the printed text of the epigraph, I attempted to redecipher the inscription from the published facsimile and the result is recorded in this paper.

The Brahmeśvara temple inscription, as already noticed, was first edited by J Prinsep, and published in the *J.A S.B.* for June, 1838, with the facsimile plate No. XXIV which is reproduced here for easy reference. The enclosed plate shows that it was not only broken into two, but a portion of the writing was lost. Prinsep's note on the slab

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6. See my paper in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1939. pp. 287-318, of *History of Bengal* Vol. I, Dacca University p. 202. note 3.

In 1946 it has been shown by Mr. D. C. Bhattacharya that this inscribed stone containing Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva's eulogium was deciphered at Dacca sometime in 1791-95 A. D and it has been suggested that the temple containing the inscription was built at Vikramapura the old capital of Vaṅga (I H.Q., XXII, pp. 134-35). This piece of evidence, brought to light in a most unexpected manner, corroborates fully my conclusion arrived at in 1939.

7. *J.A.S.B.* VII, 1838, p. 557.

runs as follows: 'Although, as it will be seen, the slab was in a state of considerable mutilation, yet from the inscription being in verse, my Pandit, Kamalākānta Vidyālaṅkāra, has been able by study of the context to fill up all the gaps, with, as he says, hardly a possibility of error, and indeed where the out-line of the letters is preserved I have found his restoration quite conformable [8]

I made an attempt in comparing the printed text with letters of the facsimile plate some years ago and found that the text prepared by Pandit Vidyālaṅkāra was not quite satisfactory. Subsequently in 1929 my friend Pandit Binayak Misra edited the Narsingpur copper plate grant of Uddyotakesarī and the genealogy recorded in that grant helped me to detect further mistakes in the reading of the names of Yayāti, Bhīmaratha and Dharmaratha, which were also noticed by Pandit Misra in his article.[9] The text of the Ratnagiri copper plate grant[10] is a replica of the text of the Narsingpur charter up to line 23 and it may be said that the Ratnagiri grant either belongs to Uddyotakesarī or to one of his successors. There are two more short inscriptions in the Khandagiri caves which were inscribed during the reign of Uddyotakesarī.[11] All these inscriptions are noticed in Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India* [12] which also contains a genealogical table (pp. 404-05) of the rulers who were responsible for the incision of these epigraphs. Bhandarkar says, 'Some more kings of this dynasty seem to be mentioned in No. 1572 (the Brahmeśvara temple inscription), but this inscription requires to be carefully edited before we can utilize it for genealogical purposes.'

The inscribed slab under discussion is dated in the 18th year of the reign of Uddyotakesarī, but it omits to mention the distinguishing family titles, namely Mahābhavagupta and Mahāśivagupta, which are met with in the Narsingpur grant. No satisfactory explanation of this omission of the titles is possible; but it may be

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8. *Loc. cit.*
9. *J B.O.R S*, XVII, 1929, pp. 1-24. The Narsingpur grant is called the Balijhari copper-plate inscription in Bhandarkar's list, No. 2076.
10. *Ibid* XVI, 1928 pp. 206-210.
11. *E I.*, XIII, pp. 165-66.
12. *Op. cit.*, Nos. 1571-1573 and 2076-77.

pointed out that it is not a royal, document like the Narsingpur charter of the year 4. The Khaṇḍagiri inscriptions also do not contain any distinguishing family title.

In my revised text of the inscription, I have suggested new readings of passages in the broken portion of the slab with the help of the parts of letters still visible. Vidyālaṅkāra's readings have been altered only when they are unsupported by the letters clearly visible in the facsimile. Where the letters appear obscured in the facsimile, I have retained the readings offered by Vidyālaṅkāra, as he had the opportunity of examining the inscribed slab.

In line 3 and verse 3, Vidyālaṅkāra reads *samraḍ-bharttrari-rāja-kamra-ramaṇī;* but the facsimile clearly shows *bhaṭari rāja-ramaṇī.* The form of *ṭa* is different from *rtta* in *kīrttana* in line 12, but is similar to the letter *ṭa* in *ghaṭa* in line 11 The Pandit introduced the word *kamra* for the sake of metre between the words *rāja* and *ramaṇī.* But the passage *bhaṭari-rāja-ramaṇī-sīmanta-vibhranti-hṛd* requires only four syllables at the beginning for which I have suggested *tasyante su* . Again in line 4 containing the portion of the 4th *pada* of verse 3, I have suggested *yayātir – abhavad – yo* in place of Vidyālaṅkāra's reading *yayāti-nṛpavad – yo.* The restoration made in this verse is in full conformity with the following text of the Narsingpur copper-plate :

Rāj – abhūj – Janamejaye – tha – nṛpatir – jāto Yayātis – tataḥ ।
Srīmān Bhīmaratho – bhavat – tadanu ca ksma-cakra-raksamaṇih ॥

In line 5 containing the last two lines of verse 4, Vidyālaṅkāra's restoration *sadāra* is acceptable; but his reading *dīrgharavo* is not found in the facsimile print where the letter *bhī×ratho* are very clear and, as suggested by the genealogical list of the Narsingpur copper plate, those letters without any doubt give the name of king Bhīmaratha.

In line 6 and verse 5 Vidyālaṅkāra reads—*rāja babhūva kavi-dharma-paro – pavarah-* Two letter are broken in this line and the subsequent 8 letters are mutilated to some extent. In place of the missing and mutilated letters I have suggested *va bhu*· (in place of *va ka*) and *dharmaratho pratitah.*[13] *Bhuvi* in place of *kavi*

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13. See editorial note on the text, *infra—Editor.*

gives better sense and the reading of the name as Dharmaratha is supported by the Narsingpur copperplate grant. I am not sure about the reading *pratita*,

In line 9 and verse 8 the last word was read as *nandanah*, but as the letter *ta* is clear, I have suggested *vanditah* in its place.

In line 10 and verse 10 Vidyālaṅkāra reads *simhalam coḍa-gauḍau*, but the facsimile clearly shows *ḍāhalam c-oḍra-gauḍau*. The form of the conjunct *ḍra* in *Oḍra* here is similar to that in line 3. The countries called Dāhala, Oḍra and Gauḍa are well-known and are adjacent to Dakṣiṇakosala to which the royal family under discussion belonged. In Vidyālaṅkāra's reading *simhalam coḍa-gauḍau*, there is no geographical contiguity and significance

In line 17 and verse 15 Vidyālaṅkāra's reading in the 4th *pada* is *cañcala-khañjanābha-nayana*. But there is no such word as *khañjanābha* in the inscription. The correct reading of the word is *karṇṇajaha* and the passage signifies that the eyes of the damsels are not only fickle *(cañcala)* but also extended up to the ears *(karṇṇajaha)*.

In line 20 which is in prose Vidyālaṅkāra reads *somavamś-odbhava-bhūpati* in the missing portion, but the facsimile print clearly shows *soma . . trikaliṅgadhipati*. The epithets *somakulatilaka* and *trikaliṅgadhipati* are most common in the inscriptions of this dynasty and accordingly, in the missing portion, *kulatiloka* suggested by me seems to be very appropriate. I have suggested *Sutradhara-rayena utkirṇṇam* in place of Vidyālaṅkāra's *rayah* at the end of the record.

The inscription, written in 20 lines, is composed in 17 verses and ends in prose in the last line. It opens with a verse saying that Candra and Lakshmī came out of the *Samudramanthana* (the churning of the ocean by the gods on one side and the demons on the other). In the family of the moon was born king Janamejaya, the lord *(adhipa)* of *Triliṅga*[14] who conquered Oḍra after killing the king (*nrpati*) of the country in battle (v. 2). After him his son Yayāti adorned the earth with all the kingly prowess (v.3), he was succeeded by his son Bhimaratha who was famous for various qualities (v.4); from him was born Dharmaratha (v.5) who died childless and his kingdom was laid waste by many warriors and thus there was a period without any events

14. See editorial note on line 2 (v.2) of the text below – *Editor.*

when a powerful hero belonging to the family was ruling elsewhere in Orissa (v.6)[15] Then Caṇḍīhara was made king by the ministers, he was the son of Abhimanyu and the great grandson of Janamejaya, the founder of the family (v.7) Chaṇḍīhara's reign was eventful in all respects (v.8) His son Uddyotakesarī was a powerful king (v.9), who defeated the kings of Dāhala, Oḍra and Gauḍa and made a large number of kings bow down at his feet (v.10). His mother Kolāvatīdevī was a very pious lady (v.11), She buit a temple at Ekāmra (Bhubaneswar) for the Sivalinga called Brahmeśvara (v 12) which was worshipped by Brahmā himself (v.13) She also appointed Devadāsīs for the temple (v.15). The eulogy was composed by Bhaṭṭa Purusottama who was a very learned man (v.16) and who piously wished that his composition would last for ever (v.17). The inscription was written on the third day of the Sukla-paksha in the month of Phālguna in the 18th regnal year of *Paramamaheśvara Maharajadhiraja Somakulatilaka Trikaliṅgadhipati* Uddyotakesarirājadeva. It was engraved on the stone by Rāya the mason.

Verses 2-10 of the inscription under discussion narrate the genealogy of the Somakuli kings of Kosala and Utkala We quote below for easy reference the substance of the genealogical portion of the text of the Narsingpur copper-plate grant as it has greatly helped us in restoring the lacunae in the record under discussion.

The Narsingpur inscription opens with an invocation to the moon (v.1) who was the progenitor of many illustrious ruling dynasties (v.2). To this dynasty belonged Janamejaya whose son was Yayāti, the father of Bhimaratha (v.3). After him Dharmaratha was the king who had to fight with hostile kings (v 4). His successor Naghusa was the brother of the king of the country the capital of which was in the vicinity of the eastern sea (vs 5-6) 16 After Naghusa his younger brother Yayāti was made king of both the countries of Kosala and

15. Cf. 'A Note on the Later Somavamśis' *I.H Q.*, XXII, pp.300-07 where it has been shown that the above suggestion is due to wrong interpretation of a verse of the Narsingpur or Balijhari grant—*Editor.*

16. This suggestion is wrong. For the proper interpretation of v. 6 of the Narsingpur (Balijhari) grant and its bearing on the Somavamśi genealogy, see 'A Note on the Later Somavamśis', *I.H.Q.* XXII, pp. 300-07.—*Editor.*

Utkala by the warrior chiefs (vv. 8-9)[17] Yayāti's son was Uddyotakeśarī (v 10) [18]

A genealogical table prepared from all published inscriptions is given below for easy reference.

Sivagupta's son
Janamejaya (Mahābhavagupta I)

Kosala line

Yayāti (Mahāśivagupta II)
Bhīmaratha (Mahābhavagupta II)
Dharmaratha (Mahāśivagupta III)

Utkala line

Vichitravīra
Abhimanyu

Joint rulers of Kosala and Utkala

Name not known

Naghusa (Mahābhavagupta III)

Chandīhara *alias* Yayāti II (Mahāśivagupta IV)
Uddyotakesarī (Mahābhavagupta IV)
Karṇakeśarī [19]

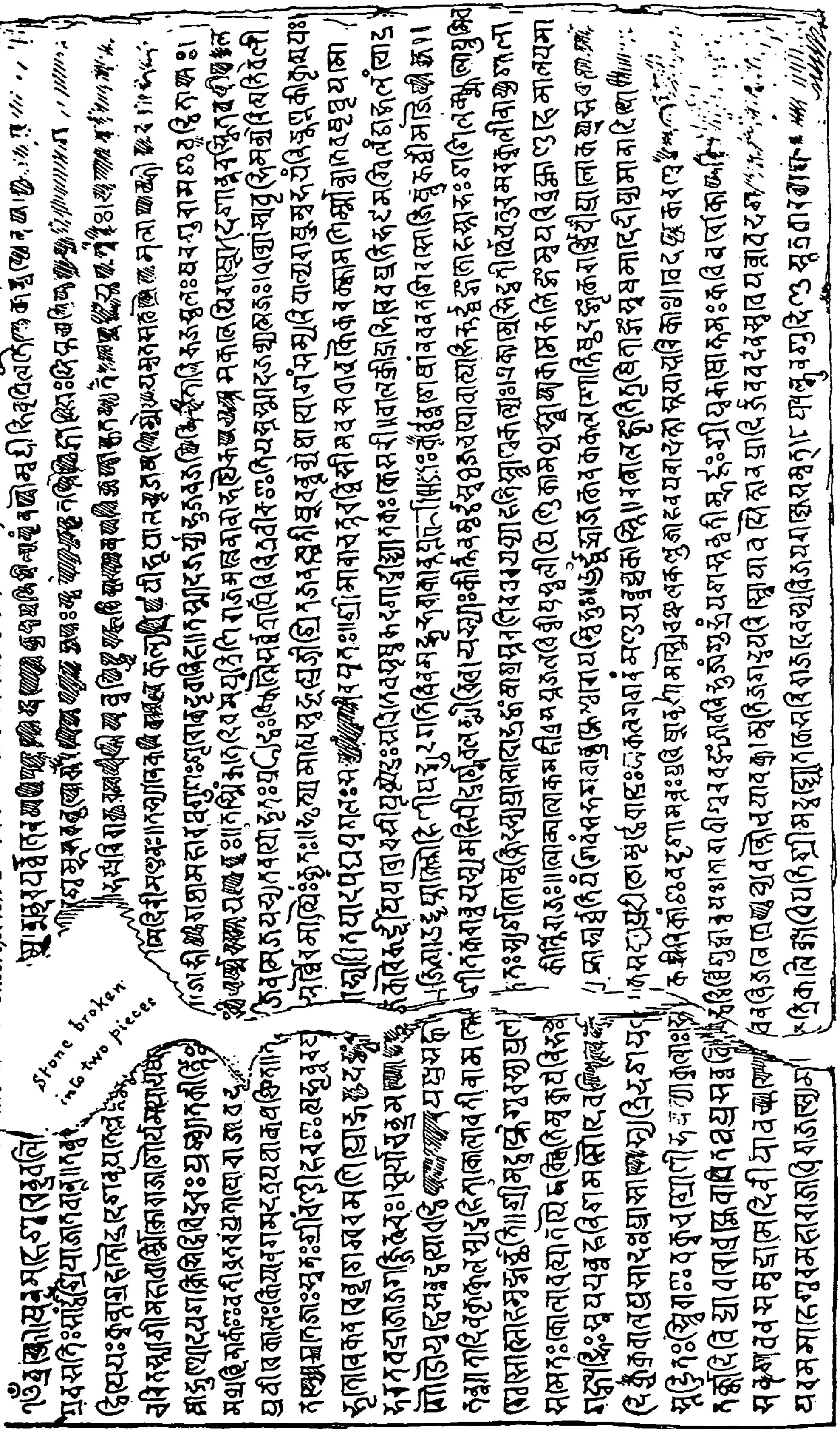
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17. This interpretation is wrong. See *I.H Q. loc. cit.—Editor.*

18. I read a paper entitled 'The Somakulī kings of Kosala and Utkala based on this as well as other inscriptions of this dynasty at the Indian History Congress, Madras, 1944. See *Proceedings of I. H. C.*, 1944, pp. 180–195.

19. The author has omitted two other known rulers of the family. The suggestions about the unknown elder brother of Nahusa (Naghusa) and about the latter's relation with Caṇḍīhara are wrong. For a correct and uptodate genealogical and chronological table of the Somavaṃśīs, see 'A Note on the Later Somavaṃśīs' in *I.H.Q.*, XXII, p. 307 —*Editor.*

Brahmeswara Inscription - on a Stone in the As. Society's Museum. 3ft by 1½ft



J Prinsep lith.

The Brahmeśvara inscription is probably the last [20] inscription of the Somakuli kings of Orissa and it gives the names of all kings from Janamejaya, the founder of the dynasty, to Uddyotakesari, as noted above. In verse 2 of this inscription Janamejaya has been described as *Triliṅgādhipati* [21] before his conquest of Oḍra-deśa and in line 20 Uddyotakeśari has the title of *Somakulatilaka* and *Trikaliṅgādhipati*, In a charter [22] of the third regnal year of Janamejaya he has been described as *Somakulatilaka Trikaliṅgādhipati*. The title *Trikaliṅgādhipati* in Janamejaya's earliest inscription suggests that he assumed it after the conquest of Oḍradeśa from Triliṅga. But the Bhauma predecessors of Janamejaya never used the title *Trikaliṅgādhipati*, although it was used by the kings of the early Gaṅga dynasty. I shall discuss the location of Triliṅga and Trikalinga in another paper.

TEXT [23]

Line 1. [24]ॐ ब्रह्मोपेन्द्रमहेश्वरेन्द्रवलि[भीरज्जुकृताहीश्वरै*]-
[भ्रा*]म्यन्मन्दरपर्व्वतेन [मथितात्त्विरोदधेमंध्यत: ।]
[विस्फीतामृतकौ]मुदीभि[र]खिल [त्रै][लो*] क्यमुद्योतय]-
[न्नाजेन्दु: सकला सम*]-

Line 2. प्रवसति: सार्द्धं श्रिया जातवान् ॥ 1
तद्व[ङ्शेजनि[25] शुभ्रकीर्त्तिरतुलो त्रि*]श्वम्भ[रावल्लभो]
रा[जा श्री*][जनमे]जय: [स रिपुहा भू]त[स्त्रीलि] ङ्गाधिप:[26]

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20. For inscriptions of two later members of the family of the Somavaṁśis, see *I.C.*, III, p, 124, B Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma kings*. p. 74 and Plate Cf also *I. H. Q* , *loc cit.—Editor.*

21, For the reading *Trilingādhipa*, see editorial note on line 2 (v.2) of the text below.—*Editor.*

22. *E. I.* Vol. XI, p 94.

23. From the eye-copy published by Prinsep in *J.A.S.B* , 1838.

24. *Siddham* or *Om*, *Siddhih* expressed by a symbol

25. Read वंशेऽजनि ।

26. The eye-copy published by Prinsep probably suggests the reading त्रिलिङ्गाधिप:; but it appears that the tracing was influenced by Vidyālaṅkāra's reading. This reading seems to go against certain known facts of history. Even if it is accepted, one may suggest an expression like *parabhūta-striliṅg-ādhipah*, to indicate 'one who has defeated the King of Striliṅga (Triliṅga)' —*Editor.*

दन्ता[दन्ति[27]क][राकरिश्रममिषाद् भग्ने रिपूणां*]

Line 3. द्विषे

यः कुन्ताग्रहतोड्रदेशनृपतेर्ल्ल[क्ष्मीं] [समाकृष्टवान्*॥] 2

[तस्यान्ते[28]सु*]भटारिराजरमणी सीमन्ति[वभ्रान्तिहृ]-

[द्विख्यातो नयविक्रमाद्भु]त[मतिः] [सप्ताङ्गराज्येश्वर*]: ।

[बाल्याद्दत्तवैधकर्म्म]-

Line 4 चरितस्त्यागी महाधार्म्मिको

राजा शौर्यमयो यया[तिरभवद् यो*] मेदिनीमण्डनः ॥ 3

तस्यान्ते क[लि]कालकल्प[विट]पी भूपाल[चू]ड़ा[मणि*]-

र्म्म[र्या*][दा]मृतसत्व[धैर्यक*]मला[गा*][म्भी][र्यरत्नाकरः* ।]

Line 5 माङ्गल्योदयशक्तिसिद्धिविदुरः प्रख्यातकीर्त्तिः [सदा*]

[रा]जा भी[म]रथो महारथगुणः शूरो बभूवारिहा ॥ 4

तस्मादजय्य भुजव[ञ्र]बिनि[र्जि]ताा[र]-

रु[र्ज]स्वलः परशुराम इव द्वित[ीय]: ।

Line 6 मध्यन्दिनार्क इव तीव्रतरप्रतापो

राजा बभू[व भु*][वि धर्मरथो प्रतीत]:[29] ॥ 5

तस्मिन्गते दिवमपुत्रिणि राजमल्ले

नानाभटैरु[पहृते] सकले(ऽ*)पि राष्ट्रे ।

देशान्तरस्थितव[ति प्रव]ल-

Line 7 प्रवीरे

कालः कियानगमदत्र यथाकथञ्चित् [॥]† 6

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27. The eye-copy does not support the reading दन्ता.—*Editor*.

28. Probably तत्सूनुः is better, as तस्यान्ते actually occurs at the beginning of the next verse.—*Editor*.

29. Traces in the eye-copy suggest the reading प्रवीरः The *visarga* changed in *sandhi* too in the preceding *aksara* shows that प्रतीतः is impossible.—*Editor*.

त[तोऽपि*[30]] जनमेजयस्य तनयो भूतः प्र[सि]द्धः क्षितौ
सर्व्वत्रापि बिचित्रवीर इति यस्तस्मादजन्यात्मजः ।
धन्यो(ऽ*)सा[व]भिमन्युरित्यतिबली

Line 8

तस्यो[प]तेजाः सुतः
श्रीचण्डीहर इत्यभून्नरप[तिः*] सर्व्वैरमात्यैः कृतः ॥ 7

भृत्यामात्यसुहृत्प्रजाश्रितजनज्ञातीष्ठबन्धून्यथा-
योग सम्परिपाल्य राष्ट्रमुभयं निष्कण्टकीकृत्य यः ।

Line 9 भूतो(ऽ*,नेकनरेन्द्रशेखरमणिप्रोद्र[च्छ*]दङ्शु[31][च्छटा*]-
[लोको*]द्भासितपादप[द्मयुग]लः स[र्व्ववनी*][वन्दि]तः[32] ॥ 8

श्रीमानाचतुरब्धिसीमव[सु]धाच[क्रै]करत्नामणि-
र्मान्धातेव पृथूपमो

Line 10

भरतवद्राजा जगज्जित्वरः ।
सूर्य्याचन्द्रम[सोः][समैर्न्नि*]जकरैरुद्दोपयन्नोद[र्शी]
पूर्व्वाद्रेः सवितेव सू[नु]रुदगादुद्योतकः केसरी ॥ 9
बालक्रीडाभिरेव प्रतिभटमखिलं डाहलं चोड्र-

Line 11

गौडी
युद्धे सन्नद्धयोधद्वि[रदबल*]घटास[ङ्ग][रं यो वि*]जित्य ।
उद्दप्राक्षौहिणीपद्गु[रु]गतिविनमद्भूभरा[क्र]न्तपृ[थ्व*]ी[33]
[राज्ञः] कुर्व्वन्नशेषानवनतशिरसो जिष्णुरुर्व्वीमजै[षीत् ॥ 10

Line 12 तन्माता दिनकृत्कुलस्य दुहिता कोलावती नामतो
[यासी*]च्छीतकरान्वयस्य महिषी दुर्गेव ल[क्ष्म]ीरिव ।
यस्याः कीर्त्तनमूर्द्धसु ध्वजचयो वात्याभिरुद्धङ्गतो
हस्ताभ शशिलक्ष्म लोप्तुमिव

Line 13

खे सोत्साहमुद्गच्छति ॥ 11

30. ततोपि is metrically absurd. I suggest तत्र श्री० - *Editor*.

31. Read .दंशु.

32. Traces support neither नन्दनः nor बन्दितः—*Editor*.

33. The use of the three synonymous words भू, पृथ्वी and उर्व्वी in the same verse would make the suggested reading rather doubtful —*Editor*.

श्रीमद्ब्रह्मेश्वरस्य प्रण[तमल*][ह्र]तः स्पर्शतो मुक्तिदस्य
प्रासादो(ऽ*)भ्रङ्कषाग्रस्तरणिरथरयव्या[ह]ति स्थाणुकल्पः ।
एकाम्रे सिद्धतीर्थे चतुरमरकुली [चारु]शाला-

Line 14 समेतः

कोलावत्या तयैषः क्षितिमुकुटनिभः [कारितः*] कीर्त्तिराजः ॥ 12

लोकालोकमहीध्रसप्तजलधिद्वीपस्थलीपिण्डिका-
मध्यस्था[यु]क्रमेरुलिङ्गमुपरि ब्रह्माण्डहेमालय[म् ।]
Line 15 गङ्गाद्भिः स्नपयन्नहर्निशमसौ देवि [त्रलोकी][पति*]-
[ब्र*]ह्मा स्वच्छेति यं शिवं स भगवान् ब्रह्मेश्वरो(ऽ*)म्विभुः[34] ॥ 13

ऊर्ध्वं भ्राजत्कनककलशोत्तिष्ठदङ्शू[35]त्करार्चि-
दीप्रालोकप्रस[रकृतः*]-

Line 16 दिक्चक्रवालप्रसादः ।

प्रासा[दो](ऽ*)स्य त्रिदशायु[व][तीव्रा*]तसं[न्ध्य]ाप्र[दीपो]
मूर्द्धबाद्रेः सकलगगनं मण्डयन्नुच्चकास्ति ॥ 14

रत्नालङ्कृतिभूषिताङ्गसुषमा देदीप्यमाना दि[वः]
[क्रीडन्त्य*]-

Line 17 स्तडितः स्थिरा इव कुचश्रोणीभरव्याकुलाः ।

[सु][न्दर्योक्षि*]कनीनिका[36]इव दृशामन्तःप्रविष्टा नृणा-
मस्मै चञ्चलकर्णजाह्नयना दत्तास्तया दारिकाः ॥ 15

वेद[व्या]करण[ार्थशास्त्रकविता*]-

Line 18 तर्क्कादिविद्याधरो

ब्रह्मेवावितथप्रसन्नबि[नयो*][द्व]द्विर्विशुद्धान्वयः ।
ताराधीश्वरवङ्श[37]जावनिभुजां शुभ्रं यशस्तन्वती-
म्मट्टः श्रीपुरुषोत्तमः कविवरो(ऽ*)का[र्षीदि]मां वर्णनाम् ॥*] 16

Line 19 सनगवनसमुद्रा मेदिनी याव[दास्ते]
[त्रिभु*]वननिजनेत्रे पु[ष्पवन्तौ च याव[त्] ।
अतिजगदुपरिस्थो यावदौत्तान[प]ादि-
र्जनवदनसुधेयन्तावद[स्तु] [प्रशस्तिः* ॥] 17

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34. Read 'यं वि'
35. Read 'दंशू'
36. Read 'कामिव'
37. Read वंश

Line 20 परममाहेश्वरमहाराजाधिराजसोम[कुलतिल*][क त्रिकलिङ्गाधिपति श्रीमदुद्योतकेशरिराजदेवस्य विजयराज्ये सम्वत्[38] १८ फाल्गुन शुदि ३ सूत्रधाररा[ये][ण उत्कीर्णम् ॥*]

Translation. [39]

(The translation of Sārada Prasād published in Prinsep's paper has been quoted in the case of verses 8, 9, 16 and 17 and has been freely utilized in the translation of other verses).

1. Let the full-moon which was born with Srī from the midst of the ocean called Ksīrodadhi (ocean of milk) when it was churned with the Māndara mountain, encircled by the king of serpents serving the purpose of the churning rope and pulled by Brahmā, Upendra (Vishnu), Mahesvara, Indra and Bali, spread over the three regions with the light as sweet as nectar.

2. In his (Moon's) family was born Rājā Janamejaya, the king of Trilinga, whose bright fame was incomparable among the kings. He was the destroyer of enemies and he drew to himself the fortune (Laksmī) of the king of the Odra country, who was killed by his *kunta* in a battle wherein his enemy's elephants were overcome with fatigue fighting with their tusks and trunks.

3. After him his son Yayāti was a celebrated king, who deprived the wives of his inimical kings of their pride of lovely treasures, who was the master of the king dom with its seven limbs, who was of wonderful understanding in power and morals, charitable and most virtuous, and whose lawful deeds and conduct remained unchangeable from his very childhood.

4 After him his son Bhīmaratha became king who was the *kalpa* tree of the *Kali* age and the crown jewel of the princes, modest, of boundless spirit, and whose steadiness, riches, gravity, depth of knowledge (was well-known) and who was wise in producing prosperity and three sorts of power and success, a hero and destroyer of his enemies, and who had qualities of a *Maharatha*

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38. Read संवत्

39. The translation is in some cases rather free and is not always satisfactory. Cf editorial notes on the text – *Editor*.

5 From him was born on the earth the powerful king named Dharmaratha as the second Paraśurāma, who suppressed his enemies by his invincible hand possessing strength of the thunderbolt and was powerful like the mid-day sun.

6. When he, the Rājamalla (best of the kings), departed unto heaven without issue, and all his kingdom was laid waste by various warriors of different countries, there was a lapse of short and eventless time.

7 Then Chaṇḍīhara, son of Abhimanyu and grandson of Vichitravīra, a lineal descendant of the celebrated Janamejaya, was made king by the ministers, and he was powerful and spirited like his father.

8. He reigned impartially, cherishing all his servants, ministers, people, those who sought refuge, kinsmen and desired friends and made both the kingdoms indisputable who was the cause of delight of all the earth, and whose lotus-like feet were brightened by the splendour of the head-jewels of many prostrate kings.

9. From him arose Uddyotakesarī, like the sun from the eastern mountain, illuminating the earth and heaven by his lustre, radiant as the sun and moon beams; who was rich and was the crown jewel of the circle of earth defended by its four oceans, and who was the conqueror of earth like Māndbātā, Pṛthu and Bharata.

10. He defeated the whole force of his enemies of Dāhala, Oḍra and Gauḍa, as it were, in child's play, with the help of well-armed warriors and elephants and he made the earth (tortoise) sink with the weight of the swift marches of his army, *akshauhiṇī* in number, and was victorious and made a large number of kings bow down at his feet.

11 His mother, Kolāvatī by name, was the daughter of the solar race and the chief queen of the lunar race and was like *Durga* and *Lakshmī* in beauty and action; her fame spread like the flags high up in the air, and seeing this the people thought that these are as if flying in order to destroy the black spot of the moon with the brightness of her fame.

12 By that Kolāvatī was caused to be erected this cloud-touching (very high) temple with four *caruśala* temples, which appeared to be the crown over the head of the earth-goddess and an obstruction

on the speed of the sun's chariot due to the height, for God Brahmeśvara, who destroys the sins of those who only bowed down their head and gives salvation to those who worship by actual touch, at a place called *Siddhatīrtha* in Ekāmra.

13 The *Lokāloka* mountain, the seven oceans and islands are the foundations, and the *Meru* mountain stands at the centre with the *Himalayaliṅga* as the peak. and Brahmā, the lord of the three regions, worships this *liṅga* with the water of the Gaṅges day and night here; this god Brahmeśvara is the very same one

14 Like the evening lamp on the summit of a mountain lighted by the youthful goddesses, the lustre of rays issued from the golden *Kalaśa* (pinnacle) of this temple lights up all the regions.

15 By her were dedicated to God Siva some beautiful women, whose limbs were adorned with ornaments set in gems and thus appearing as the everlasting but playful lightenings, and who were restless with the weight of loins and breasts, and whose eyes were fickle and extended up to the ears and who looked lovely like the pupils of the eyes of men.

16. Puroshottama Bhaṭṭa, the best of poets, indited the eulogy, which spreads the white fame of the kings of the lunar line, who was learned in the Vedas, grammar, political science, poetry, logic, etc.. and like Brahmā, of true, pure and humble understanding, and born of an innocent family.

17. As long as the earth with its mountains, forests and seas and the three regions with the eyes of the sun and moon, and *auttanapādi* (the Pole star) in the firmament shall endure, so long may this eulogy exist as nectar in the mouth of every one.

18. On the 3rd day of the bright half of Phālguna of the regnal year (Samvat) 18 of the victorious reign of Paramamāheśvara Mahārājādhirāja Somavamśodbhava Trikaliṅgādhipati Uddyotakesarī this inscription was incised by the mason Rāya.

8

HISTORICAL REFERENCES RELATING TO ORISSA IN SANDHYĀKARA NANDI'S RĀMACHARITAM *

Rāmacharitam is the mine of historical information not only on the history of Bengal, but also on that of Assam, Bihar, Central Provinces and Orissa. In this paper historical references found in the verse 45 chapter III and in the Commentary on *Simha* of the verse 5 chapter II [1] will be discussed. In the verse the author mentions that the king of Utkala (Utkalatra) who was the offspring of the ornament of Siva (Bhavabhūsanasantatibhū) and in the Commentary the name of the king of Utkala (Utkaleśa) was Karnakeśarī. So it seems that Karnakeśarī was the offspring of the ornament of Śiva. It is a fact that the verse was written by the author and the commentary was written by another person at an interval of time and so *Utkaleśa* of verse 5 chapter II may or may not be the same person with *Utkalatra* of verse 45, chapter III. No one excepting Mr. N. N. Dasgupta ever attempted to study the verse and Commentary together although the expression Bhavabhūsanasantati has been variously interpreted with all sorts of possibility of meaning based on stories from Puranas and fancy. Both Jayasimha and Rāmapāla have been wrongly attributed with works which are wanting in the text of each. As we do not possess the commentary on verse 45 Chapter III, we do not know what was actually meant by the expressions used by the author. Had there been no commentary, we would not have been able to interpret the word simha as Jāyasimha, the benefactor of king Karnakeśarī of Utkala. So the commentator should be credited with the intimate knowledge of the history of the reign of Rāmapāla. The commentary gives us information on the history of persons who would have remained unknown without this and therefore the history of persons relating to the period before their joining with Rāmapāla is

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* Reprint from Vol. X (1943) pp. 49-55 of the Journal of the Assam Research Society.

1. Ramacharitam V. R. M. Rajsahi 1939, p. 110 and p. 42.

less expected than that of the later period. So it is very reasonable that the commentary mentions the most important part played by Jayasimha which he performed on behalf of Rāmapāla and not in his personal capacity as the ruler of Daṇḍabhukti. But the passage of the commentary has been interpreted by all writers to this effect and Dr. R. C. Mazumdar's views are quoted below from a book very recently published. "We know from Rāmacharitam that Jayasimha, king of Daṇḍabhukti had defeated Karṇakeśarī, king of Utkala before he joined Rāmapāla in his expedition against Bhima. Rāmapāla's conquest of Utkala might have been a continuation of the old campaign and was undoubtedly facilitated by the success of his allied chief."[2] Daṇḍabhukti is an old kingdom, the existence of which has been proved by the Midnapore copper plates [3] belonging to the time of Saśāṅka. The Baudha copper plate of Tribhuvana Mahādevi of the Bhauma dynasty, the Irda plate,[4] The Tirumalai Inscription of Rājendra-chola and Rāmacharitam all mention Daṇḍabhukti which was situated on the north of Orissa most probably comprising the modern districts of Midnapore and Bankura. Before 1025 A. D. Dharmapāla of Daṇḍabhukti was defeated by Rājendrachola and as the family surname *Simha* is different from *pāla*, Jayasimha was perhaps not a descendant of Dharmapāla or Nayapāla. If he belonged to a new dynasty, it can be inferred that he was placed in that position by some powerful neighbouring king and so he cannot be considered to be powerful enough to wage war against a Keśarī king of Orissa. But if it is admitted that he was really powerful to defeat the king of Utkala, then he could have easily attacked all the neighbouring princes of South west Bengal and even Rāmapāla and Bhima. The author or the commentator of Rāmacharitam has not used a word which suggests either Karṇakeśarī's defeat by Jayasimha or Rāmapāla's conquest of Utkala and in support the text and commentary with English translation are given below :—

TEXT OF VERSE

Bhavabhūṣaṇasantatibhuvam—adūjāgrāhajitam—Utkalatramyah Jagat avatisma samastam Kalingātah—tan Niśācharān nighnan"

2 History of Bengal, Vol. I, Dacca University, 1943, p. 162.

3. Prabasi—Sravan 1350 (1943) p. 291-97.

4. E I. Vol. XXII, p. 152.

TRANSLATION

"He—(Rāmapāla) did favour to the vanquished king of Utkala, who was born in the lineage of the Nāgas (or Soma or Gaṅgā), the ornament of Bhava (Siva), and rescued the whole world (from the terror of) Kalinga after having extirpated those robbers (of that place)

TEXT OF COMMENTARY

" Simha iti Daṇḍabhuktibhūpatir – adbhuta prabhāvā-kara karakamalamukula tulitotkaleśa Karṇa keśarī saridvallabha kumbhasambhavo Jayasimha".

TRANSLATION

Jayasimha, the king (bhūpati) of Daṇḍabhukti and the mine of extraordinary prowess lifted Karṇakeśarī, the king of Utkala from his degraded position in his hollowed palm resembling the lotus petal in the same way as the sage Agastya (kumbhasambhava) lifted the ocean (Saridvallabha) occupying a place below the ground level."

In the verse we find the word *Anujagraha* in the sense of showing favour or affording protection, and in the commentary the word *tulita* in the sense of raising or lifting a thing or person fallen from a higher position to a lower one. None of these words suggest any sense of defeat or attack as has been interpreted by many The verse mentions that Niśācharas from Kalinga were extirpated Who were these Niśācharas from Kalinga who defeated the king of Utkala and deprived him of his royal position ?

The Dirghasi stone inscription 5 mentions that the king of Utkala was defeated by Vanapati the commander-in-chief of the army of Devendravarman Rājarāja I of Kaliṅganagara before 997 Saka era or 1075-76 A.D. Rājarāja ruled from 1069-1076 A. D. and the defeat of the king of Utkala cannot therefore be placed before 1072 A,D. It therefore seems that the verse of Rāmacharitam refers to this incident in the history of Utkala by Rājarāja's Commander-in Chief Jayasimha perhaps played the same part in the expedition of Rāmapāla against the army of Kalinga as Vanapati did against the army of the king of Utkala and for this reason the Commentator mentions his activities in so many

5. E I Vol. IV, p. 314-15.

eulogistic expressions. Rājarāja's son Chodagaṅga succeeded him, but from 1076 to 1112 A.D. no inscriptions mention his relation with a king of Utkala or Gauḍa. The Korni copper plate of 1112 A.D. mentions that Choḍagaṅga first replaced the fallen lord of Utkala in his former position in the eastern region. So it can be inferred from the inscriptions of Choḍagaṅga that he did not venture to attack Utkala so long as Rāmapāla was alive and so the date of Rāmapāla can be safely assigned to a period from 1070 A. D, to 1110 A. D. Dr. R. C, Mazumdar actually suggested this when he wrote that "It was not perhaps till after the death of Rāmapāla that the Gaṅga king succeeded in finally conquering Orissa and annexing it to his dominion"[6] History repeats itself and the political exigencies made Choḍagaṅga to reinstate the king of Utkala in the same way as he was reinstated by Rāmapāla before nearly 30 years. Like verse 45, the Korni copper plate does not mention the name of the king of Utkala and so it is difficult to say whether the protegee of Choḍagaṅga was Karṇa Keśarī or his successor Suvarṇa Keśarī who according to the *Madalapanji* was the last king of the Keśarī dynasty of Utkala Most probably the predecessor of Karṇa Keśarī was Udyota Keśarī who ruled at least 18 years according to his inscription and so the first year of his reign cannot be placed before 1050 A.D In the above light the verse and Commentary of *Rāmacharita* give us this historical fact that Rāmapāla with his ally Jayasimha afforded protection to the king of Utkala (Utkaltra &-Utkaleśa)named KarṇaKerśarī born in the lineage of Soma (Bhavabhūṣaṇasantativu) who was defeated by Rājarāja I and got back his lost kingdom. So the expression *Bhavabhuṣaṇasantati* was used by Sandhyākaranandin only to stand for Somakula to which the Keśarī dynasty of Orissa belonged and this interpretation supported by contemporary evidence rejects all possibility of the meaning of it as the *Nagavamśa* or Gaṅgavamśa. Nāgavamśī kings never ruled in Utkala or Kośala at that time and the Gaṅga king Rājarāja was a party against whom Rāmapāla had to send his expedition. Dr. R. C. Majumdar has come to this conclusion independently and writes thus—"It is therefore, more reasonable to hold that the king of Utkala, defeated by Rāmapāla, belonged to the Somavamśi dynasty which is known to have been ruling in Orissa in the 11th Century A.D.[7] Rāmapāla did not defeat the king of Utkala, but actually protected him.

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6. History of Bengal, Vol. I p 163.

7. *Ibid*. p 161.

The expression *Bhavabhuṣaṇasantati* was first interpreted by H. P. Sastri[8] as Nāgavaṁśa which was criticised by R. Chanda[9] who suggested that the expression would mean Somavaṁśa or Chandravaṁśa and assigned the epithet to be applicable to Codaganga who claimed descent from moon (Soma or Chandra). R. D. Banerji[10] supported the view of H. P. Sastri and suggested that Karnakesari was the ruler over North Orissa adjoining Daṇḍabhukti. Mr. J. N. Vasu[11] took Karnakesari as a provincial ruler of Daṇḍabhukti in Utkala and Jayasimha was established as a feudatory of Rāmapāla after the defeat of Karnakesari in Daṇḍabhukti. Pandit Binayak Misra[12] suggested that the epithet refers to Rajaraja. N. G. Mazumdar[13] accepted the meaning as Nāgavaṁśa but interpreted the verse in a roundabout way suggesting that Rāmapāla fought with Harivarma Deva or his son who vanquished the king of Utkala who belonged to the Nāgavaṁśa. The supremacy of Harivarmadeva of the Varman dynasty of Bengal in Orissa is no longer accepted as having any shade of historical truth.[14] Like N. G. Mazumdar who suggested an interpretation of the expression in a fanciful way on one hand, Mr. N. N. Das Gupta[15] has gone further to suggest the meaning of the expression *Bhavabhuṣaṇasantati* in a peculiar way of fancy. He writes as follows :

"But consistency of facts can only be preserved if it be supposed to imply what was called the Keśarī dynasty. Bhavabhuṣaṇa, or literally, the ornament of Bhava, an epithet of Mahādeva in his water presiding character, denotes the serpents which are but the mane (kesara) of him. Setting it in a historical background, it would be noticed that prior to the expedition of Rāmapāla against the Kaivartas the lord of Utkala was one Karnakeśarī, who was overthrown by Jayasimha, king of Daṇḍabhukti and an associate of Rāmapāla in that famous expedition. Because of the cognomen Keśara the house of Karnakeśarī had been, so it appears, claiming descent right from the

8. J. A. S. B. Vol. III, p. 15.
9. Gaudarajamala, p. 51.
10. Banglar Itihas, p. 293.
11. Midnapur Itihas p. 118-19.
12. Orissa under the Bhauma kings p. 73.
13. Inscriptions of Bengal p. 29.
14. History of Bengal p 202-3.
15. Indian Antiquary p. 244.

keśara (mane) of Bhava, just as the Chalukyas did from the *Chuluka* or water vessel of Brahma.

"While mentioning that Karnakeśarī was worsted by Jayasimha Sandhyakara Nandi otherwise designates the former as *sarid-vallabha kumbha-sambhava*,* that is, having originated from the pitcher of the lord of water (Cf. II, 5 Com,). This also tends to the same conclusion. It is a most befitting conception that Mahādeva, when viewed as a deity in association with the lordship of water, should also have a pitcher on his head, instead of the serpents, that being clotted together, ordinarily constitute his crest and mane."

Mr. Das Gupta was the first scholar who tried to interpret the verse and the commentary together and in a round about way of argument he came to the conclusion that Bhavabhūṣanasantati actually refers by the poet to the Keśarī kings of Orissa

The interpretation given above on the verse and the commentary of Rāmacharitam fully establishes the historical fact of Orissa during the last quarter of the 11th Century and the first decade of the 12th Century A. D. when the Keśarī kings of Utkala were finally crushed by the Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅganagara. Rāmapāla's help to the king of Utkala against the aggression of the Gaṅga Kings can be attributed to his political farsight for the safety of his kingdom which he maintained peacefully so long he survived. But the conquest of Choḍagaṅga right up to the bank of the Ganges seems to be due to Choḍagaṅga's ancient grudge against Rāmapāla who drove out his father Rājarāja from Utkala. By this conquest Choḍaganga took possession of the kingdom of Daṇḍabhukti and Apara Mandāra which find mention in the commentary The inscriptions of the successors of Choḍagaṅga refer to Choḍagaṅga's conquest of Mandara whereas

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* *Sarit-vallabha-Kumbhasambhava* seems to be a favourite expressoin of the poets. In the inscription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva the expression is found in verse 20 in which Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva has been described as Bauddhāmvodhi Kumbhasambhava munih" the very sage Agastya to the sea of the Buddhists.' The difference in the meaning of both the expressions is this that in the Rāmacharita the comparision stands for a portion only so far tho act of raising the sea with the palm by Agastya was concerned whereas in the Bhavadeva's inscription the full simile was used.

according to Rāmacharitam Lakṣmīśūra was ruling there. The Tirumalai inscription states that Rana Sūra was the ruler of Dakṣiṇa Rādha. So it is possible that Sūra dynasty continued to rule in Dakṣiṇa Rādha the capital of which was Mandāra or Apara Mandāra. M.M. Chakravarti has suggested that Sāmanta Sena was a feudatory of Choḍagaṅga and writes as follows :—

"Choḍagaṅga conquered and apparently killed Mandāra king on the back of the Ganges (Mandāra seems identifiable with Suhma) after he had conquered Utkala; and Utkala must have been conquered by him several years before Saka 1040 (A D. 1118-9). Is it therefore possible to infer that Choḍagaṅga after killing the king of Suhma, put Sāmanta Sena in charge as feudatory [16] ?

9

IDENTIFICATION OF "INDRARATHA OF ADINAGARA" FOUND IN TIRUMALAI INSCRIPTIONS OF RĀJENDRA CHOLA I. *

Parakesari Varman Rājendra Chola Deva ruled from 1012 to 1044 A D., and in his Tamil *Praśasti* of the 13th year recorded first in the Tirumalai Inscriptions, mention has been made of the conquest of a number of kings and countries lying between the Godavari and the Ganges, which are not found in his inscriptions of the 9th year and so it seems that during the period from the 10th year to 12th year of his reign, i e , from 1022 to 1024 A.D., he was engaged in the expedition to Bengal through the hilly tracts of Bastar, Sonpur and Sambalpur, Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj, Dhalbhum and Vishnupur. That this route is of ancient date is found to be true from the following description of Major Markham Kittoe who

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16. J. & P A S B Vol. I, 1905 p 51.

* Read at the Lahore Session of the Indian History Congress.

first surveyed in 1838 the Calcutta-Bombay Dak road from Midnapore to Sambalpur and of Mr J. D. M. Beglar who made an Archaeological survey as an assistant to Major-General A Cunningham in 1874-75 and 1875-76 in the same area.

After the survey of the open country Major Kittoe writes:—

" I reached the foot of the pass called "Nitai Maungur" (Nitāi Mānagaḍa) or the "Thācoorani" ghat from the hill of that name, which commands it; X X X it was here on this occasion where I observed a break in the hills to the northward of the pass, that led to the discovery of a defile by which this valley can be entered with a scarcely perceptible ascent, I further discovered that a fine road existed by which many years ago merchants used to travel, it is now blocked up with fallen trees, overgrown with high grass; there are several tanks and mango topes, one of the former called the Brinjarah's tank Judging from the vast number of large peepul and banyan trees of great size and age that occur by the road side, together with what information I was able to collect, I think that the road must be of great antiquity. 1"

Coming from the east, one meets with this first hill range called Similipal in Mayurbhanj and thereafter the Baitarani valley stretches from this place to the Gandhamardan range in Keonjhar State; on the west of the Gandhamardan range stretches the Brahmani valley separated by another hill range from the Mahanadi valley in the Sambalpur tract."

Mr. Beglar's report on this ancient road is quoted below :

'Some years ago a great find of gold coins containing, among others several of the Roman emperors, Constantine, Gordian, etc, in most beautiful preservation, were found near Bamanghati, X X X X. The finding of these coins at Bamanghati shows that it lay on some great line of road from the sea port Tamluk to the interior, for it is more probable that they came in *via* Tamluk than overland from the Roman empire A road from Tamluk to Barahat would pass through Bamanghati, Porahat, Konkelnagar, Barampur all said to be ancient places of note; further the road from Ratanpur and Rajam would also naturally pass through Bamanghati or Bamanhati and on through or near Kichong (Khiching) which last

1. J A S B. (1839), p. 675.

I have seen and the remains of interest which I will notice further on."[2] Several copper plates belonging to the 9th and 10th centuries A. D. of the Bhanja kings of Khijjingakoṭṭa, modern Khiching, the ancient capital of the Bhanja kings of Mayurbhanj, have been discovered from the Bamanghati Sub-Division of the Mayurbhanj State and the recent discoveries of Punch-marked coins there throw light on the earlier antiquity of the place.

Professor Nilakanta Sastri in his book on 'The Cholas' gives the full translation of the text of the Tirumalai inscription at pages 248-49 and the portion necessary for this paper is quoted below :—

"(He seized) × × × × × a large heap of family treasures together with many (other) treasures (which he carried away), after having captured Indraratha of the ancient race of the moon together with (his) family, in a fight which took place (at) Adinagara, (a city) whose great fame knew no decline; Oḍḍavisaya which was difficult of approach on account of its dense forest defence; the good Kosalai-nadu, where brahmins assembled."[3]

The text of the Tamil *Praśasti* of the Tirukkalar[4] copper plate of the 18th year and the Tanjore inscriptions of the 19th year is essentially the same with that of the Tirumalai inscription so far as the northern India expedition of Rājendra is concerned. Four other inscriptions belonging to the 16th and 17th year have been published in nos 464, 635, 636 and 639 of the *South Indian Inscriptions* Vol. V, but I have not been able to utilise these texts for want of the English translation.

In the Tirumalai inscription Hultzsch read the name of the king as 'Dhiratara' in 1890[6] and he changed his reading to 'Indiradan' in 1891[7] with the foot note stating that "this doubtful

2. Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. XIII, pp 72-73.
3. *The Cholas*, Vol. I, 1935, pp. 248-49.
4. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, pp. 465-69.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 105-9.
6. *Ibid.*, Vol, I, p. 99.
7. *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 108.

name might be the corruption of Indraratha. If the reading of the Tirumalai inscriptions should turn out to be the correct one, the king's name would be either Dhiratara or Iradaran." At that time the location of *Takkana ladam* and *Uttira ladam* was identified with southern and northern Lāta or Guzrat, and following Hultzsch's suggestion of the king's name as Indraratha, Kielhorn in his *Inscriptions of Southern India* No. 733, identified him with Indraratha of the Udayapur inscription who was at war with Bhoja-deva and since then the reading of the name of the king in the Tamil text has been accepted by all as Indraratha and Professor Nilakanta Sastri writes as follows in this connection :—

"Of Indraratha of the lunar race whose defeat at Adinagar led to the surrender of the Odra (Orissa) country and the (southern) Kośala, nothing can be added to Kielhorn's suggestion that he might be the same as the opponent of Bhoja of Dhāra mentioned in Udaipur inscription." 8

Mr. A. C. Banerjee in his paper on *"Chola invasion of Bengal"* wrote the following which corroborates Kielhorn's suggestion :—

"Indraratha : This king has not been identified with any known member of any Orissan dynasty. In the Chola records his family . . . . is described as belonging to the Lunar race. Very curiously, in the Udepur *Praśasti* of the Paramara king Udayāditya, mention is made of a king named Indraratha, defeated by Bhoja of the same family. The known dates of Bhoja range from V. S. 1076 to 1103, that is about 1019 to 1046 A.D. Mr. D. B. Diskalkar, taking into account the popular tradition about the duration of Bhoja's reign, has concluded that his reign period probably extended from V. S. 1056 to 1111. The known dates of Rājendra Chola range from A. D. 1010 to 1042. Therefore it is possible that this Indraratha is the identical king mentioned in the Chola records."9

In favour of Kielhorn's identification of this doubtful name Indraratha with the opponent of Bhoja of Dhāra, it can be safely said that Mr. Venkayya's subsequent suggestion for identification of Lādam with Virāta or Berar, was misleading to many due to the

8. *The Cholas*, Vol. I, p. 250.

9. J. R. A S., 1935, p. 658.

geographical proximity of both the countries, but now it has been definitely settled that Tamil *Takkana ladam* stands for Dakshina Rāḍha, an ancient kingdom in eastern India. So the king named 'Indraratha' belonging to the ancient race of the moon, is to be searched in eastern India in the neighbourhood of Oḍra and Dakshina Kośala and not in western India, and the correct identification of this king depends on the identification of 'Adinagara' the capital of the king.

Hiralal's identification of 'Sakkargottam' with Chakrakotya [10] in Bastar State and R. D Banerjee's identification of 'Tandabutti' with Dandabhutti [11] in Midnapore area and 'Takkana Ladam' with Dakshina Rāḍha[12] in South-west Bengal. made me curious regarding the location of the city of Adinagar in the area covered by the modern Province of Orissa and Orissa States in the Eastern States Agency and finding no place bearing that name, it struck me that the Tamil text of Yayātinagara mentioned in the copper plate grants of the Somavamśi kings of Utkala and Kośala had been incorrectly read as Adinagara. In November, 1939 I wrote to the Government Epigraphist for India suggesting the reading of Yayātinagara in the Tamil inscriptions of Rājendra Chola dealing with his expedition to Gānges and in reply the Assistant for South Indian Epigraphy wrote to me in his D O, letter dated the 30th November, 1939 as follows :—

" Though in the Tirumalai inscription the reading Adinagara is clear, in the Tirukkalar copper plate inscription of Rājendra Chola (S.I.I. vol. III, p. 407) the text may be read as *Yaiyatinagara* etc. In another inscription of this king (S.I.I. Vol- V, No. 464) the portion concerned reads *Van-girti Ayadinagar* etc It is not impossible that *Yaiyatinagar* and *Ayadinagar* in these two records may have been meant for Yayātinagara "

Up till then I had no knowledge in the existing literature on the Chola kings and in December 1939, I sought help from Professor Nilakanta Sastri at Calcutta during the 3rd session of the Indian History Congress and he was very kind to advise me to refer to his book on "The Cholas" on procuring which I found a reference to Dr. S K.

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10. E. I. Vol IX, p. 179.
11. Memoirs of the A S.B., Vol. V., *The Palas of Bengal.*
12. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

Aiyangar's paper on 'Gangai-konda Chola '[13] in which Dr. Aiyangar wrote as follows :

"It seems to me that Indraratha was the dominating ruler of whole region and these were places of importance in his territory; and Indraratha must have belonged to the dynasty of the Somavamśis of Cuttack, a ruler who has not yet come within the ken of the epigraphist though no doubt the late Professor Keilhorn noted an Indraratha among thoes defeated by king Bhoja of Dhāra. His capital Śādinagar (Sādinagar of Tamil hitherto read Adinagar, Jajnagar of the Muhammadan historians) is not other than Yayātinagar, believed to be the foundation of one of the early Kesari kings of Orissa. This Yayātinagar is identified with a place called Binka (Sonepur Binka of the maps) on the river Mahanadi by Pandit Hiralal. [14]"

Dr. Aiyangar correctly guessed the identification of the ruling family to which 'Indraratha' belonged and 'Adinagar' with Yayatinagar the capital of the Somavamśi kings of Kośala and Utkala but he failed to give his reason for writing "Sādinagar of Tamil hitherto read as Adinagar" and on this ground Professor Sastri rejected his suggestion stating that Dr. Aiyangar "did not say how he got his new reading Sādinagara."

Let us see how the records of the Somavamśī kings help us in the identification of Yayātinagara and the name of the king mentioned in the Chola records. Pandit Binayak Misra has dealt with 21 inscriptions of this dynasty in his book '*Dynasties of mediaeval Orissa*' pp. 66–71 with a genealogical table. Dr D. R Bhandarkar has also included all these 21 inscriptions in his "*Inscriptions of Northern India*" and has given also a genealogical table at pp. 403–4 under "Somakulis of Trikalinga" In Pandit Misra's list there are two Yayātis whereas in Dr. Bhandarkar's list there are three Yayātis. I will discuss this point below but I am giving here the names of kings according to Dr. Bhandarkar's list with the places of residence of the kings or places of issue of the copper plates against each king for my purpose.

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13. Sir Asutosh Mukerji's Silver Jubilee Volumes, *Orientalia*, Part II, pp. 541-587

14. *Ibid.*, p. 550.

Names of kings according to Dr. Bhandarkar's list.		Year of the grant	No. in L.I.N.I.	Place of residence or issue of the grant	
1. Mahāśiva-gupta Yayāti deva I,	(1)	Samvat 3	No. 1556	Vijaya Kataka	Pattana Subarnapura
2. Mahābhava gupta	(2)	,, 3	No, 1557	,,	Suvarnapura.
Janamejaya	(3)	,, 6	No, 1558	,,	Muraśīma
	(4)	,, 6	No. 1559	,,	,,
	(5)	,, 8	No. 1560	,,	,,
	(6)	,, 31	No. 1562	,,	,,
	(7)	,, 31	No. 1563	,,	,,
	(8)	,, 31	No 1564	,,	,,
3. Mahāśīvagupta	(9)	,, 8	No. 1565	,,	Vinītapura
Yayatirāja deva II	(10)	,, 9	No. 1566	,,	,,
	(11)	,, 15	No. 1567	,,	,,
	(12)	,, 24	No. 1568	—	Yayātinagara
	(13)	,, 28	No, 1569	—	,,
4. Mahābhava.gupta	(14)	,, 3	No. 1570	,,	,,
Bhīmaratha	(15)	,, 13	No. 1561	—	,,
5. Mahāśivagupta Dharmaratha		—	—	—	—
6. Mahābhava gupta Nahusha		—	—	—	—
7. Mahāsiva gupta Yayāti III ,		—	—	—	—
8. Mahābhava gupta	(16)	,, 4	No. 2076	—	Yayātinagara
Udyota Keśari	(17)	,, 18	No. 1572	—	—
9. Abhimanyu		—	—	—	—
10. Someśvara	(18)	,, 1	No. 1744	—	Suvarnapura

The inscriptions Nos. 1568 and 1569 mention that Yayātinagara was on the bank of the Mahānadī,

Suvarnapura of the above inscriptions has been correctly identified with modern Sonpur situated at the confluence of the Tela river with the Mahānadī Messrs B. C. Mazumdar [15] and Hiralal [16] have identified Vinītapura with modern Binika or Binka on the Mahānadī in the Sonpur State. Hiralal further suggests as follows :—

" The name Yayātinagara was apparently imposed upon Vinītapura during the reign of Yayāti otherwise known as Mahāśivagupta. It is noteworthy that prior to his time the name Yayātinagara does not occur in any inscription. In fact he himself used the older name Vinītapura in the records of the 8th and 9th years of his reign, which fact shows that till then the idea of naming the town after himself had not occurred to him. It was probably sometime between the 15th and 24th years of his reign that the town changed its name. Since then the official name seems to have become Yayātinagara, and we have in all four inscriptions mentioning it, two of which belong to the 24th and the 28th years of his own reign, and two to the 3rd and 13th years of his son's. This name apparently continued to be used as long as Vinītapura was the capital, at least in official circles, but as is well known the original name usually sticks so persistently in the popular mind that it is difficult to eradicate it. Many a monarch has endeavoured to change the names of big cities after his own, but the old name has naturally asserted the ground, and I suppose the same happened with Vinītapura, which name can now be traced in the corrupted form Binka."[17] Pandit Binayak Misra suggests that "Yayātinagara should be in the Sambalpur District. Rai Bahadur Hiralal identifies this place with Binka in the Sonpur State, but there is no relic of antiquarian interest to support this identification."[18]

Yayātinagara finds mention in the *Pavanadutam* or the wind messenger composed by peet Dhoyi Kavirāja whose date according to the calculation of M. M. Chakravarti falls "in the fourth quarter of the 12th century."[19] Interesting details of the ancient geography of India are furnished in the description of countries

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15. E I., Vol. XI, p 102.
16. *Ibid.*, p 189
17. *Ibid.*, p 189.
18. Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa, p. 75.
19. J. & P A.S.B., Vol. I, Ns , p. 45.

and people the wind messenger would have to pass over from the hill range called Malaya in southern India. The poet then described Kalinganagari from where following the foot of the Vindhya range inhabited by the Sabara tribes, the wind messenger is directed to visit Yayātinagara (Nagarīmākhyayatām Yayāteh) and then it would move on to Suhma-desa on the Ganges and then arrive at Vijayapur the capital of Suhma. Prof. Nilakanta Sastri in commenting on Bhima's conquest in eastern India (Sabhā-Parva) remarks "*Suhma Radhah*"[20] The route of the wind messenger from Yayātinagara to Vijayapura in Suhma (same as Rādha) in south-west Bengal lay in the same direction to that of Rajendra Chola in 1022-24 A.D. Again the Muslim historians of the 13th and 14th centuries of the Christian era called Orissa as Jajnagar and this shows that the name of Yayati-nagara continued to be remembered long after the invasion of Rajendra Chola Modern Binka town in Sonpur may or may not be the site of ancient Yayātinagara but it is certain that Yayāti-nagara was situated on the bank of the Mahānadī somewhere in the Sonpur State or the Sambalpur District which was the capital of the Somavamśī kings of Utkala and Kośala in the beginning of the 11th century A,D., when Rajendra Chola invaded the kingdom. but the knowledge of the exact site of Yayātinagara would no doubt, help us to investigate further the forgotten past of the kingdom. The geographical situation and the archaeological remains of the Sonpur town go in favour of the identification of Yayātinagara there and not at Binka according to Hiralal's argument, but it is better to wait for the discovery of the archaeological evidence.

This identification of the locality of Yayātinagara, the capital of the Somavamśī kings whose genealogical list furnishes us with two kings named Bhīmaratha and Dharmaratha with 'Ratha' endings in their names, helps us to conclude that the Tamil text of the inscriptions of Rajendra Chola recorded the King's name as Dharma-ratha and his capital as Yayātinagara; but unfortunately these names were not correctly deciphered from the inscriptions carelessly written by the scribe who was ignorant of pronouncing Sanskrit words. Much ink has been split over the question and much ingenuity has been displayed in conjectures as to the route by which the army of Rajendra Chola reached Bengal and I hope to discuss other questions of this invasion later on in a subsequent paper.

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20. J. & P A S.B, Vol. IV, p. 284.

Now an objection may be raised as to how I have suggested that the correct reading of the king's name in the Tamil inscription is Dharmaratha and not Indraratha which is found in the Sanskrit text of the Tiruvalangadu copper plate [21] verse 114. In reply, I can say this much, that by the time when Sanskrit verses were composed for Tiruvalangadu plates, the people forgot the name which was perhaps copied from the Tamil inscriptions in which it was written as pronounced by the scribe. When Hultzsch read it he found the name as 'Dhiratara' and he left a remark that " the doubtful name might be the corruption of Indraratha." Unfortunately I have not been able to consult with any Tamil epigraphist and so I am not very sure about the suggestion; but the readings of Hultzsch tempted me to suggest the king's name as Dharmaratha. It has been shown above that Indraratha of Udaipur inscription has nothing to do with Rajendra Chola's Invasion of Bengal. If the reading of the text of Rajendra Chola's Tamil inscription will not permit us to accept the name of Dharmaratha, then there would be no harm in assuming a king named Indraratha in the family; but the genealogical list as prepared from the Narsinghpur and Ratnagiri copper plate grants and Brahmesvara inscription does not allow us to arrive at such a conclusion. The Brahmesvara inscription was first published in the journal of the Asiatic Society in 1838 pp. 557-62 and as its original inscription slab is missing now, no one attempted to prepare a text from the facsimile print of it. Dr D. R. Bhandarkar has remarked that "some more kings of this dynasty seem to be mentioned in No. 1572 but this inscription requires to be carefully edited before we can utilise it for genealogical purposes."[22] I have prepared a correct and revised reading of the text of this inscription from the facsimile print and in this inscription the genealogical list of the Somavamśi kings of Kośala line is given according to that of Narsinghpur copper plate and the *Praśasti* gives also the list of the Utkala line. The titles of Mahābhavagupta and Mahāśivagupta are not found in the *Praśasti* of the Brahmesvara inscription and on the other hand the text of Narsinghpur copper plate altogether omits the names of Vichitravīra, Abhimanyu and Chandīhara (*alias* Yayāti II). This is rather strange to see such differences in one official document and in another private one belonging to the same king. The verse 9 of the Narsinghpur copper plate goes to state that Yayāti II was made

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21. S. I. I., Vol. III, Part 3, p 400.
22. L. I. N. I., page 404.

the king of two kingdoms Utkala and Kośala by warrior chiefs 23 and in the verses 7 and 8 of the Brahmeśvara inscription similarly narrate that Chandīhara was made king by the ministers and well managed both the kingdoms. However from the study of both the inscriptions one can prepare the following genealogical list:—

Mahābhava gupta Janamejaya
(Nos. 1557-60, 1562-64)
Nos. 1572, 2076-77.

Kośala Line

1. Mahāsiva gupta Yayāti I (1565-1569) Nos. 2076-77
2. Mahābhava gupta Bhīmaratha (1561 & 1570) Nos 2076-77
3. Mahāsiva gupta Dharmaratha (1572 & 2076) Nos. 2076-77 Died childless. He was wrongly identified with Indraratha of the Rājendra-Chola's inscription and died in 1022 A.D.

Other line

1. Vichitravira (No. 1572)
2. Name not given
3. Abhimanyu (No. 1572)

Descendants

4. (Mahābhava gupta ?) Nahuśa (No. 1572 & 2076-77)
5. Mahāśiva gupta Chandīhara (No. 1572) *alias* Yayāti II (Nos. 1556) 2076-77
6. Mahābhava-gupta, Udyota Keśari. Joint ruler of Utkala and Kosala. (No. 1572 and 2076-77)

Names of kings mentioned in No. 1744 cannot be reasonably connected with the above list and so it is omitted.

It seems that there is a direct reference to Rājendra Chola's invasion in the verse 6 of Brahmeśvara Inscription. In the Narsinghpur

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23. J B. & O R.S. Vol, XVII, p. 21.

Copper plate no out-side attack on the country is mentioned and this is due to perhaps the panegyrist's intentional omission of the defeat of his patron's ancestor ; on the other hand the Brahmesvara inscription is not strictly an official document and as its *Praśasti* is the composition of a famous poet who perhaps did not hesitate to record the historical events. The verse runs as follows :—

Tasmin—gate divam—aputrini rājamalle
Nānābhaṭair—upahate sakalepi rāṣṭre
Deśāntara—stitavatī pravala—pravīre
Kālah kiyān—agamad—atra yathā kathanchit.

" When he the Rājamalla (the best of the Rājas) departed into heaven without issue, and all his kingdom was laid waste by various warriors of other countries, sometime passed away until the arrival of the powerful hero who was residing in another kingdom in the neighbourhood."

The above arguments leave no room for any doubt as regards the correct identification of the king Dharmaratha of lunar dynasty of Yayātinagara with ' Indraratha ' of the ancient race of the moon of ' Adinagara ' as mentioned in the Tamil inscriptions of Rājendra Chola.

Up till now no inscription of the Somavamśī king of Utkala and Kośala or no reference to these inscriptions was found which threw light on the definite date of this dynasty and by this identification we are now in a position to ascertain the period of these kings who were famous in the history of Orissa and were known as belonging to the Keśarī dynasty of the Mādalāpānjī (Chronicles of the Jagannātha temple at Puri) tradition .

10

THE KESARI DYNASTY OF THE *MĀDALĀPANJI*[*][1]

In 1825, Andrew Stirling published an historical account of Orissa[2] entirely based on the *Rajacaritra* of the *Madalapañji*, the chronicle of the Jagannātha temple at Puri. In this account, he dealt with 36 generations of the Keśarī kings beginning with Yayātikeśarī As the date of Yayātikeśarī was given in the Saka era, Stirling placed the beginning of Kesarī rule in A.D 473, from which date he counted 'the commencement of the real history of the province'[3] But, as the Saka era was not current in Orissa before the tenth century A. D its use in the *Madalapañji* in the above context cannot be accepted as genuine.

In 1843, Bhabani Charan Bandyopadhyaya published his *Puruśottamacandrika* which is a poetical work in Bengali based on the *Madalapañji*, and, in 1872, W. W. Hunter in his *Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 198-99, paid high tribute to Bandyopadhyaya for his researches, Hunter chiefly derived his material from the *Puruṣottamacandrika*, the account in which he considered fuller and more carefully prepared than Stirling's, He says, 'It contains, however, rather germs of history than an historical narrative. It furnishes a list of a hundred and seven kings of Orissa from 3101 B. C. to the British accession in A.D. 1803 with the exact dates of their reigns'. It is unfortunate that Hunter totally disregarded the views of the then Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, who rightly pointed out that the inclusion of king Bhoja of known date in the *Mādalapañji* and his ascription to an age earlier than Vikramāditya and the inclusion also of Vikramāditya in it are both against history and chronology.[4]

Of the five Somakulī copperplate grants discovered at or near Cuttack between 1874 and 1884, two were edited by Rangalal

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* *From the Journal of the Asiatic Society, Vol IV, No. I, 1962.*

1. The article has been edited for the *Journal* by Professor D. C. Sircar.
2. A. Stirling, *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, 1825, pp. 163-338.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 264.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 262.

Banerji [5] and one by Rajendralal Mitra, [6] while Volumes I and II of Mitra's *Antiquities of Orissa* were published in 1875 and 1880 respectively. Both Banerji and Mitra identified Yayāti of the copperplates with Yayātikeśarī, the founder of the Keśarī dynasty of the *Mādalapāñjī*, who was regarded as a feudatory of the later Gupta kings of Magadha.

M. M. Chakravarti read a paper on two copperplate inscriptions of Gaṅga Narasimha IV at a meeting of the Asiatic Society in 1891, though the paper was published in its *Journal* in 1895. While referring to the evidence of the *Mādalapāñjī*, he clearly states that 'unless corroborated, its statements cannot be fully relied upon'[7] In another paper read by Chakravarti at a meeting held on the 6th of July, 1892, an abstract of which was published in the Society's *Proceedings*, 1892, pp. 140-41, the learned author observed that the *Mādalapāñjī*, being based on unsatisfactory, imperfectly reported and contradictory traditions was a very unsafe and confusing guide. 'The work', he says, 'should be deposed from the high pedestal which it now occupies and placed in the proper rank.'

Credit thus goes to Chakravarti for his bold evaluation of the evidence of the *Mādalāpāñjī*, the unreliability of which he also demonstrated in his papers on the Eastern Gaṅgas [8] and the Sūryavamśīs.[9]

Six Somakulī copperplate grants were published by J. F. Fleet in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol III, 1894-95 pp. 323-59. Fleet regarded the donors of the charters as 'Kings of Kataka' apparently because Rangalal Banerji had translated *Vijaya-Kaṭaka* occurring in the description of the place of their issue as 'the great and glorious Kaṭaka', though it really means 'the Victorious Camp'. But a distidct service to the cause of historical research was rendered by Fleet by elaborately discussing the palaeographic peculiarities of the inscriptions in order to determine their date as well as the date of the compilation of the *Mādalapāñjī* and the historical value of the tradition regarding the kings of the Kesarī dynasty

5. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, 1876, pp. 55ff.; *J.A.S B*, Vol. XLVI, 1877, pp. 149ff.
6. *A.S.B. Proc.* 1882, p. 11.
7. *J. A. S. B* Vol. LXIII, 1895, p. 128.
8. *J.A S B.* Vol. LXXII, 1903, pp. 97-148.
9. *Ibid.*, Vol. LX, 1900, pp. 180-89.

Fleet showed that the inscriptions should be assigned on palaeographical grounds to a date later than A D. 900, preferably to the eleventh century, so that the kings who issued them may have flourished between A. D. 1000 and 1100.[10] He compared the *Madalapañji* with the *Kongudeśarajavali* and *Rajāvalikatha* of South India and pointed out that 'these annals are in reality absolutely worthless for any purpose of ancient history',[11] and while expressing doubts about the historicity of the majority of the names in the list,[12] further observed that 'everything relating to ancient times which has been written on the unsupported authority of these annals has to be expunged bodily from the pages of history'.[13] Finally, Fleet drew attention to the reference to the Yavana invasion and pointed out that the *Mādalāpāñji* could not have been reduced to its present form before the sixteenth century A. D [14]

While generally agreeing with Fleet's observations, M. M. Chakravarti disagrees with the statement that the names of the Kesari kings 'may be possibly real names of the later rulers, misplaced in order to make out a consecutive chronological series',[15] and refers to the Brahmeśvara temple inscription at Bhubaneswar, which is not later than the tenth century A. D., but mentions Udyotakesari and his ancestors Janamejaya, Vichitravīra, Caṇḍīhara and Kolāvatī, of whom the names of Janamejaya and Kolāvatī are found in the *Madalapāñji*. Chakravarti therefore concludes that the Kesari kings need not be considered as mythical or later rulers as suggested by Fleet,[16].

In the Brahmeśvara inscription, however, no ancestor of Udyotakeśarī bears a *Kesari*-ending name and, in the *Mādalāpāñji*, there is no mention of Udyotakesarī at all. The latter mentions Vasukalpa-kesarī and his queen Kolāvatī (according to Chakravarti's reading) who according to the Brahmeśvara inscription, was the queen of Caṇḍīhara and the mother of Udyotakesarī. There is no mention of Vasukalpa-

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10. *Op. cit.*, p 333
11. *Ibid.*, p. 335.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 336.
13. *Ibid*, p. 338.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 340.
15. *Ibid.*, p, 336
16. *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXVII,1898,pp.332ff

kesarī in the Brahmeśvara inscription. The *Mādalāpāñjī* account is thus distorted and cannot be satisfactorily reconciled with the evidence of the Brahmeśvara inscription. It should also be noted that the printed Oriya text of the *Mādalāpāñjī* 17 mentions the queen of Vasukalpa-kesarī as *Tulāvatī* and not as *Kolāvatī*. Since the text of the Brahmeśvara inscription 18 as published in 1838 was defective, Chakravarti took it to be a Kesarī record and the mention of Udyotakesarī in it was regarded by him to be a strong evidence against Fleet's remarks. As the name of Karṇakesarī was traced in Sandhyākaranandī's *Ramacarita* 19 and that of Udyotakesarī in the *Bhaktibhāgavatamahākāvya* 20 by Kavidiṇḍima Jīvadevācārya, Chakravarti now found no difficulty in supporting the existence of the Kesarī dynasty in the historical chapter in the *Gazetteers* of the Cuttack 21 and Balasore 22 Districts. Thus the tradition regarding the rule of the Kesarī dynasty, being supposed to be corroborated by epigraphic and literary evidence, came to be regarded as historical.

R. D. Banerji's *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, published in 1930, accepts the *Mādalāpāñjī* tradition of the Kesarī dynasty as partly true. Benerjī draws our attention to the *kesarī*-ending name of the Bhauma-Kara king Unmatta-kesarī and those of kings Udyotakesarī and Karṇa-kesarī and also to Sylvain Levi's reference to the Chinese mention of an early Orissan ruler with name ending in a word meaning 'the lion.' 23 He thought that Udyotakesarī did not belong to the Bhauma-Kara family and expressed his doubt whether Karṇakesarī should be assigned to the Bhauma-Kara or Somakulī dynasty.24

This uncertain position was solved by the publication of the Balijhari (Narsinghpur) copperplate grant 25 of Udyotakesarī in 1931,

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17. Published by the Prāchi Samiti in 1940.
18. *J.A.S.B.* Vol, VII pp. 557-62.
19. *Mem.A.S.B.* Vol, III, p. 36.
20. H. P. Sastri : *Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, 1901 to 1906 pp. 14-18.
21. *Op. cit.*, p. 22.
22. *Op. cit.*, p. 21.
23. *Op cit.*, p. 156
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 157-58.
25. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVII, 1931, pp. 1-24; *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 300ff., Vol. XXXV pp. 93ff

as it definitely proved that the Brahmeśvara inscription is a Somakulī record. In the light of the Balijhari inscription, I re-edited the Brahmeśvara inscription. [26] In 1930 was published the first plate of the Ratnagiri grant,[27] which contains the same text as the earlier part of the Balijhari grant and was therefore supposed to be another record of Udyotakesarī. The recent publication of the second and third plates of the Ratnagiri inscription has shown that it is a charter of the Somakulī king Karna [28] who was the younger brother of Purandara, the son of Janamejaya and the grandson of Udyotakesarī.

The genealogy of the Somakulī kings is given on the next page.

Among these Somakulī kings, only the name of Udyotakesarī ends in the word *kesarī*. When none of the names of Udyotakesarī's predecessors and successors ends in *kesarī*, it is sufficient proof that the name ending of that king has no special dynastic significance. It is well known that the Sanskrit words *kesarī* and *simha*, meaning 'a lion' are often used as suffixes to personal names.

As regards Chakravarti's reliance on the mention of Karnakesarī, king of Utkala, in the *Rāmacarita*, we feel that, since the name of Karnadeva of the Ratnagiri copperplate grant does not end in *kesarī*, he is certainly different from Karnakesarī of the *Rāmacarita* [29] I tried formerly to prove that Karnakesarī was the immediate successor of Udyotakesarī. But now I think that the identification of Karnakesarī of the *Rāmacarita* should be deferred until further light is forthcoming.

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26. *J.A.S.B* Letters, Vol. XIII, 1947, pp. 63-74.
27. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVI, 1930, pp. 206-10.
28. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 263ff

29. [It is difficult to agree with this view since there are numerous, instances e.g., of a king named Saṅgrāmasimha being mentioned as Saṅgrāmadeva, Saṅgrāmarāja, etc. There is little doubt that some of the later Somavamśi kings(e.g.,Udyotakesarin and Karnakesarin) had names ending in *kesarin* and that this fact was responsible for their being popularly known as belonging to the Kesari dynasty. It has to be noticed that it was Uddyotakesarin's father who was the first Somavamśi king of the Puri-Cuttack region with which only the *Mādalapāñji* is concerned— D. C. SIRCAR].

Coḍagaṅga, mentioned in the *Mādalāpañjī*, is known from inscriptions to have conquered Utkala before A.D. 1112. The defeated Utkala king was certainly a Somakulī, though we are not sure whether

Sivagupta

1. Janamejaya I Mahābhavagupta I
(*c.* A.D 940)

2. Yayāti I Mahāśivagupta I
(*c* A. D. 975)

Vicitravīra

3. Bhimaratha Mahābhavagupta II
(*c.* A D. 1000)

4. Dharmaratha Mahāśivagupta II
(*c.* A. D. 1015)

Abhimanyu

5. Indraratha Mahābhavagupta III
(killed by Rājendracola's army
shortly before A. D. 1025)

6. Naghuṣa Mahābhavagupta IV[30]

7. Caṇḍihara Yayāti II Mahāsivagupta II
(*c.* A. D. 1030–55)

8. Udyotakesari Mahābhavagupta V
(*c.* A. D. 1055–75)

9. Janamejaya II Mahāśivagupta IV
(*c.* A. D. 1075-85)

10. Purandara Mahābhavagupta VI
(*c.* A. D. 1085-1100)

11. Karṇa Mahāśivagupta
(*c.* A.D. 1100-11)

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30. [Naghuṣa (Nahuṣa), probably styled Mahābhavagupta III. was the younger brother of Dharmaratha while Caṇḍīhara Yayāti Mahāśivagupta III was the son of Abhimanyu and a younger cousin of Naghuṣa. The adoption of the names Mahābhavagupta and Mahāśivagupta by the kings of this family alternately would suggest that Indraratha, whose name is mentioned in the records of other dynasties was just another name of Naghusa ·Mahābhavagupta III. See *The Struggle for Empire*, ed. Majumdar, pp. 209-10.—D. C. SIRCAR]

he was Karṇadeva or his successor. The name of Suvarṇakesarī, given in the *Madalapāñji*, is entirely imaginary Bandyopadhyaya and Hunter mention Suvarṇakesarī whereas the printed text of the *Mādalāpāñjī* gives the name as Sūnyakesarī.

The rule of the Kesarī dynasty, according to the *Madalapāñjī* covers the long period ot over 550 years from A.D. 474 to 1132, But during this period, a large number of inscriptions belonging to the Vigraha, Māna, Gauḍa, Bhauma and Somakulī dynasties, which flourished from the middle of the sixth century A.D., have been discovered. These epigraphic records do not allow any scope for the rise of the Kesarī dynasty in the fifth century A.D. and their uninterrupted rule up to the beginning of the twelfth century A.D [31]

Chakravarti's third argument in favour of the existence of the Kesarī dynasty is the *Bhaktibhagavata*, composed in A.D. 1510 by Jīvadevācārya, the minister and spiritual guide of the Sūryavamśi Gajapati king Pratāparudra who ruled from A.D. 1496–97 to 1533–34. This work specifically mentions the Kesari-kula and Udyotakesari. [32]

Thirty-six verses at the close of the *Bhaktibhagavata* give an account of the author's ancestors who were the spiritual guides of the ruling dynasties of Orissa, namely the Bhojas, Kesaris, Gaṅgas and Sūryavamśis. In these verses, Jivadeva claims that his forefathers were at first the spiritul guides of the Bhojas who were the devotees of Virajādevi at Jājpur. Next they became the spiritual guides of the kings of the (Kesari-kula(Kesari dynasty) that constructed the temple of Bhubaneswar.[33] Then they also served the Gaṅga and Sūryavamśi kings of Orissa as their preceptors.

H. P. Sastri first reported the discovery of a manuscript of the *Bhaktibhagavata*, as already indicated above, and published only an

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31. [For a detailed examination of this question, see our paper entitled ' The *Madalapañji* and the Pre-Sūryavamśi History of Orissa ' published in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol XXXI December, 1953, pp. 233-46 —D C. SIRCAR]

32. [The expression is *Uddyotakeśari-kulasya*.—D. C. SIRCAR]

33. [This appears to be based on a wrong interpretation of one of the stanzas —D.C. SIRCAR]

English translation of the stanzas at the end of the work. Some years ago, K. K. Kar published a paper entitled 'Gajapati Pratāparudraṅka Guru Kavidiṇḍima Jīvadeva' in the Oriya monthly journal, *Navabhārata* 34 in which he published the full text of the verses with their Oriya translation. The *praśasti* verses of Jivadeva are reproduced in the Appendix below.

H. P. Sastri's translation of verses 6, 7. 9, 10, 11 and 13 runs as follows :

6. 'When the Bhojas were dethroned for their misbehaviour, the Kesarīs became supreme in the country 35 [*Kesari-kula* of the text has been translated as 'the Kesarīs.']

7. One Bhavadeva with great spiritual powers was the spiritual guide of Udyotakesarī. 36 [*Uddyotakesarī - kulasya gurur - babhūva, teṣu prasidha-mahimā Bhavadeva-nāmā.*]

9. The kings of the Kesarī dynasty having perished by the fire of inflicting injuries to Brāhmaṇas, some kings belonging to Gaṅga-vaṁśa, devoted to gods and Brāhmaṇas, came to the power.'

10. 'The first king of this dynasty was Coḍagaṅga, practised in *mantras* and great in the favour of Sakti.. He had for his spiritual guide Gaurīguru, versed in Tantras like Bṛhaspati, belonging to the Vātsa-gotra

11. 'In the Gaṅga dynasty was born Lāñgulīya 37 Nṛsiṁha whose body had a tail, who was the hero of the world, who was celebrated for the favour he enjoyed of the gods, and who destroyed the army of the king of Delhi.'

13. 'In course of time, a king named Nṛsimha (another king) rose in the Gañga-vaṁśa, a ready poet, who buit the temple of Koṇārka, the banner of the steeple of which struck the heaven.'

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34. Ed. Pandit Nilakaṅtha Das, Vol. VI, pp. 221–25. 293.96.

35. [This is Sastri's translation of only the first half of the stanza— D. C. SIRCAR]

36. Found in the text.

37. [It is not found in the text of the verse— D.C. SIRCAR]

It is not possible to say as to how Jīvadeva came to know the name of the *Kesari-kula* which he mentions before Udyotakesarī and Coḍagaṅga of the Gaṅga dynasty. Jīvadeva does not mention the king from whom Coḍagaṅga got the kingdom, but only that the kings of the Kesarī dynasty perished by the fire of inflicting injuries to the Brāhmaṇas. After Coḍagaṅga, he mentions Narasimha I omitting his predecessor Anaṅgabhīma who is credited with the construction of the Jagannātha temple in the *Mādalāpāñji*. He does not say that Coḍagaṅga built the Jagannātha temple. Although, according to the copperplate grants of Narasimha II, the Koṇārka temple was built by his grandfather Narasimha I, Jīvadeva states that the said temple was built by Narasimha II. He has attributed the epithet *Lāṅguliya* to Narasimha I in whose body there was a tail, a fact also mentioned in the *Mādalā-pāñji*. All this considered together raises a serious doubt about the authenticity of the account of Jivadeva though it has some historical basis Whatever that may be, it seems that the *Bhaktibhagavata-mahākāvya* is the source of the account of the Kesari dynasty in the *Mādalāpañjī*.

Jīvadeva mentions the Kesari dynasty for the first time. There is no corroborative evidence in its support ; but his reference to Udyotakesari. Coḍagaṅga, Narasimha I and II, Nihśaṅka Bhānu, Gajapati Kapilendra, Gajapati Purusottama and Gajapati Pratāparudra are corroborated by inscriptions. Thus the tradition recorded by Jīvadeva is trustworthy with the exception of his reference to the *Kesari-kula*. In our opinion, M.M. Chakravarti's argument is not valid and the Kesarī dynasty should be considered as mythical as suggested by Fleet.

As has been stated above, Fleet suggested that the *Mādalāpāñji* was compiled in the sixteenth century A.D. Rama Prasad Chanda also came to the same conclusion and referred the compilation of the work after the Mughal occupation of Orissa. 38 The *Mādalāpāñjī* mentions the name of Bhoja and his descendants and then refers to the Yavana (Mughal) rule, Yayātikesarī of the Kesarī dynasty being assigned to A.D. 474, 146 years after the foreign conquest. After the Kesarī family the Gaṅga dynasty is stated to have ruled.

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38. [Chanda's paper on the subject was published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XIII, 1927, pp. 10-27—D.C. SIRCAR]

We are not concerned with the kings of the legendary period from Yudhiṣṭhira, whose names were perhaps borrowed from the Purāṇas, especially the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* of which an Oriya translation was available in the sixteenth century. It is certain that no textbook on history was available to the compiler of the *Madalapañjī*. What was then the source from which he derived material for the history of the Kesarī dynasty, the founder of which is credited with the re-establishment of the worship of Jagannātha ? The work is primarily an account of Jagannātha and his worshippers. In the latter part of the sixteenth century, some traditions may have been current about the Jagannātha temple which was built by Coḍagaṅga ; but the *Madalapañjī* gives the credit of building the temple to Anaṅgabhīma. The account of the Koṇārka temple as given in the work, however, finds corroboration. But the story of 18 generations,namely six successive kings called Deva, six Narsimhas and six Bhānus, is not corroborated by the genealogy found in the grants of the family.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a large number of local Māhātmyas in Sanskrit (e.g., *Kapilasamhitā*, *Virajāmāhātmya*, *Ekāmracandrikā*. *Ekāmra Purāṇa* and *Svarṇādrimahodaya*) were written in Orissa. It is strange that although these works deal with the temples ascribed in the *Madalapañjī*, to the Kesarī dynasty, 39 they do not at all refer to the Kesarī dynasty These works prove the late origin of the tradition regarding the Kesarī dynasty. I have therefore come to that the conclusion the *Bhaktibhāgavta* is the source of the *Madālapañjī*. The compiler has borrowed the list of Puranic king from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and that of the kings of the historical period from the *Bhakti-bhāgavata* which mentions the Bhojas followed by the Kesarīs and, in order to fill up the gap in the chronology, he brought in names either from the Purāṇas or local tradition. 40

Thus it is clear that the tradition of the Kesari dynasty is not earlier than the sixteenth century A D., when Jīvadeva wrote, and found its place with much elaboration in the *Madalāpañji* towards the end of that century. One interesting fact needs mention about the increase in the number of the kings in the *Madalāpañji*. In 1822 or

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39. [See above, note 3—D C. SIRCAR]

40. [It is difficult to accept the suggestion. — D. C. SIRCAR

1825, Stirling gave a list of 36 kings. In 1872, Hunter quoted a list of 63 kings with exact dates of their periods of rule.[41] In 1940, the Prāchi Samiti of Cuttack published the text of the *Mādalāpāñji* which contains a list of 65 kings.

In conclusion, I have no hesitation to say that the whole traditional account of the Kesari dynasty as recorded in the *Mādalāpāñji* lacks corroboration from contemporary records and hence it is entirely unauthentic. I agree now with Fleet that the whole account should be expunged bodily from the pages of history.

APPENDIX

[*Navabhārata* (Oriya), Vol. VI, Nos. 5 and 6, pp. 221–25, 293–96 ; *Utkula University Souvenir*, 1948, pp. 108ff]

अस्ति प्रशस्तिललितो लवणाब्धितीरे
नीलाचलाञ्चलतटीमुकुटायमानः ।
एकस्त्रिमूर्त्तिकुहनाकृतचित्रमूर्त्ति-
लक्ष्मीपतिः सकलदैवतबन्दनीयः ॥ १

तत्पादपद्मतुलसीदलसंप्रसूत-
सौरभ्यहूतहरिदन्तरवैष्णवालिः ।
देशः स उत्कल इति प्रथितः पृथिव्यां
निव्यजिभुक्तिसखमुक्तिसमर्थहेतुः ॥ २

तस्मिन्नृपाः समभवन्किल भोजवंशा-
स्तद्देशशक्तिविरजापदपद्मभक्ताः ।
तैः पूजिता विमलवत्सकुलप्रभूतः[42]
केचिन्नृपालगुरवः प्रथिता द्विजेन्द्राः ॥ ३

मृत्युञ्जयः[43] समभवत्प्रथितः स तेषा-
माचार्यवर्यचरणः सकलागमज्ञः ।

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41. *Orissa*, Vol. I, p 237 Jagabandhu Sinha published a book entitled *Prācīna Utkala* in which it is stated that Hunter's list omitted the names of many kings of the Kesari dynasty.

42. [प्रभूताः—D. C. SIRCAR]

43. [मृत्युञ्जयः—D. C. SIRCAR]

यः पञ्चतामुपगतं नरपालसूनुं
मृत्युं विजित्य सहसा पुनरानिनाय ॥ ४

वात्स्या हरार्ध[44]तनुभागपदाब्जसेवाः
ख्यातास्तदीयकुलवृद्धिकरा बभूवुः ।
भोजान्वयक्षितिभृतां गुरवः पवित्रा
मन्त्रैकसाधनपरा भुवि याजजूकाः ॥ ५

भोजेषु तेष्वविनयादिव राजपीठाद्
भ्रष्टेषु केशरिकुलं तदलंचकार ।
तैरर्चिता द्विजवरा गुरवस्तथैव
जाता जगत्प्रथितवत्ससगोत्रिणस्ते ॥ ६

उद्द्योतकेशरिकुलस्य गुरुर्बभूव
तेषु प्रसिद्धमहिमा भवदेवनामा ।
सोमेश्वरो नृपकुलस्य समचनीया
वंशः स तेन कृतिनैव कृतप्रतिष्ठः ॥ ७

येनोद्धृते सकलविस्तृतयन्त्रसारे
तन्त्रार्णवे महति मज्जति सर्वलोकः ।
यत्स्थापितामरकुलैरिह कृत्तिवासः[45]
क्षेत्रं बभूव बत तद्विपुलावकाशम् ॥ ८

भूपेषु केशरिकुलप्रभवेषु तेषु
विप्रापकारदहनैः प्रलयं गतेषु ।
देवद्विजातिपदपङ्कजचञ्चरीका
भूपा बभूवुरथ केचन गङ्गवंश्याः ॥ ९

तेष्वादिमः समभवद्धृतमन्त्रसिद्धिः
शक्तिप्रसादपरमो भुवि चोडगङ्गः ।
गौरीगुरुरगुरुभूत्प्रथितोऽस्य वत्स-
वंशे गुरुः सुरपतेरिव तन्त्रचित्तः ॥ १०

गङ्गान्वये समुचितेऽवततार तस्मिन्
देवप्रसादरसिको भगवान्नृसिंहः ।
भि(दि)' ल्लीविभञ्जनचनः प्रथितानुभावो
लाङ्गुलचुम्बिततनुर्जगदेकमल्लः ॥ ११

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44. [हरार्ध '—D. C. SIRCAR]
45. Better [कृत्तिवास '—D. C. SIRCAR]

आचार्यराज इति वत्ससगोत्रसिन्धु-
शीतद्युतिः समभवद्गुरुरस्य राज्ञः ।
अद्यापि यत्कुलभवा निवसन्ति काश्यां
श्रीमन्नृसिंहनरपालकृतप्रतिष्ठाः ॥ १२
गङ्गान्वये क्रमवशादुदियाय तस्मिन्
ख्यातो नृसिंहनृपतिः कविताधुरीणः ।
कोणार्कदेवसदनं घटयांबभूव
यः केतुदण्डपटताडितनाकलोकम् ॥ १३
तस्याभवत् गुरुरसौ विदितानुभावः
श्रीवामदेव इति पूजितवामदेवः ।
कर्णातिशायिमहिमा भुवि दानशौण्डो
यस्यानुजो हरिरभूत्प्रहरधिराजः ॥ १४
प्रासादमण्डपसरःशतशासनानि
भूमौ निधाय निजकाव्यकथामृतानि ।
श्रीवामदेवचरणौ वपुषैव तेन
सिद्धो बभूव समुदञ्चितयोगसिद्धिः ॥ १५
गङ्गान्वये समभवन्प्रथिता नृपाला
वत्सान्वये हि गुरवो विदिता हि तेषाम् ।
भानुर्बभूव नृपशूरतमः स तेषु
यो वारुणीपरिहितो[46]ऽस्तमितो बभूव ॥ १६
निःशङ्कभानुनृपतौ मदघूर्णमाने
तच्चापलान्निपतिते भुवि गङ्गवंशे ।
भूयो धृतो गुणगणैः कुलपुरुषाणा-
मुच्छिश्रियै कमलबान्धवतुङ्गवंशः ॥ १७
तत्राभवद् गजपतिः कपिलेन्द्रनामा
प्रौढप्रतापभरनिर्जितचण्डधामा ।
निर्जित्य सर्वधरणीधरवारणेन्द्रान्
पृथ्वीं वशमकृत यो गुणरज्यमानाम् ॥ १८
गोपालदेवसुमतौ नृपसेवनायां
वैराग्यभाजि भवभोगविरक्तचित्ते ।
यज्ञे[47]गुरुर्गजपतेरनुजस्तदीयः
श्रीवासुदेव इति वत्सकुलावतंसः ॥ १९

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46. [परिहृतो०.—D. C, SIRCAR]
47. [जज्ञे.—D. C. SIRCAR]

दत्त्वा द्विजाय स नृपो धरणीधनानि
रत्नानि नीलगिरिकन्दरमन्दिराय ।
द्वात्रिंशदब्दमुपलाल्य धरां स्ववर्मै-
र्वैणीतटे भगवतोऽन्तिकमाससाद ॥ २०

तस्यात्मजो गजपतिः पुरुषोत्तमोऽभू-
ल्लीलावतारपुरुषोत्तम एव साक्षात् ।
लक्ष्मी समानमधुरप्रणयेन वाणीं
यस्तुल्यमेव चतुरो रमयांबभूव ॥ २१
विद्यापुरीं भुजबलेन विजित्य देवो
रत्नानि काञ्चनचयं द्विजसाच्चकार ।
यस्याननेन्दुरसकाव्यसुधां पिबन्तो
भूमीसुरा न कलयन्त्यमृताभिलापम् ॥ २२
गोपालदुग्धजलधेरुदितः सुधांशु-
स्तस्याभवद्गुरुरसौ गणनीयकीर्तिः ।
श्रीमत्त्रिलोचनसुधीः कविराजराजः
ख्यातो गभीरतरशास्त्रविचारधीरः ॥ २३
दानोद्धुरे गजपतौ पुरुषोत्तमेन्द्रे
कीर्त्या जगन्ति सुधया धवलानि कृत्वा ।
त्रिंशत्समाः समभिनन्द्य धरां भुजाभ्यां
चित्रोत्पलापरिसरे पदमाप विष्णोः ॥ २४
श्रीमत्रि[48]लोचनगुरुगुरुरस्य राज्ञो
यागान्विधाय विविधानपि शासनानि ।
अध्यास्य मुक्तिकरमुक्तिशिलां स योगैः
सालोक्यमाप सहसा पुरुषोत्तमस्य ॥ २५
स्वर्लोकभोगरसिके पुरुषोत्तमेन्द्रे
तस्यात्मज[49] सुरतरुर्मुवि वीररुद्रः ।
भर्ताभवत्समुचितो धरणेनवीनः
सौन्दर्यसप्तदशवत्सरमत्स्य[50]केतुः ॥ २६
सद्योऽभिषेकसलिलैः कृतमौलिरेव
संख्ये विजित्य रणजित्वरगौडराजम् ।

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48. [श्रीमत्त्रि॰.—D. C. Sircar]
49. [तस्यात्मजः.—D. C. Sircar]
50. मत्स्यं.—[D. C. Sircar]

नद्यां निवापसलिलेन स विष्णुपद्यां
प्रातर्पयत्पृथुयशाः पितरं त्रिपद्ये ॥ २७

यो वैरिपक्षपरितक्षणदक्षदीर्घ-
दोर्दण्डपालितमहीवलयो नरेन्द्रः ।
अद्वैतवादपरिसिद्ध[51]तरान्तरात्मा
द्वैतं तनोति वसुदेवसुतावतारे ॥ २८
गोपालमूर्तिरुचिरा नवहेममुद्रा
यन्नामवर्णलिखनाङ्कनभासमाना[52] ।
सर्वासु दिक्षु विहरन्ति यदीयसूक्ति-
मुक्ताश्च कण्ठकुहरे सुधियां लुठन्ति ॥ २९
तस्याभवद् गुरुरसौ कविराजराज[53]
श्रीमत्त्रिलोचननृपालगुरोस्तनूजः ।
श्रीजीवदेवकविडिण्डिमपण्डितेन्द्रो
रत्नावतीशिशुरनारतकृष्णभक्तः ॥ ३०
श्रीरुद्रदेवनृपतावथ वङ्कटाद्रौ[54]
कर्णाटदेशविजयेन वसत्युदारे ।
तेनास्य शीघ्रकविना जगदीश्वरस्य
काव्यं निबद्धमिदमुज्ज्वलभक्तिसिद्धम् ॥ ३१
अङ्केऽस्य सप्तदशके नृपतेः सपञ्च-
त्रिंशाब्दचुम्बितवयाः कविडिण्डिमोऽयम् ।
गोदावरीपरिसरे निवसन्नकार्षीन्-
मासेन तत्र मकरेण महाप्रबन्धम् ॥ ३२
विज्ञस्य दूषणमपि स्पृहणीयमेव
कान्ताधरे पतिरदक्षतवद्विभाति ।
अत्यादरोऽपि कुटिलस्य खलस्य नेष्टो
व्यालस्य चुम्बनमिव प्रथमं भयानाम् ॥ ३३
एषा कृतिः सुकृतिभिर्मम शीलनीया
कृष्णस्य पादतुलसीदलशीतलेति ।

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51. [परिशुद्ध.—D. C. SIRCAR]
52. [°मानाः.—D. C. SIRCAR]
53. [Better °राजः.— D. C. SIRCAR]
54. [वेङ्कटाद्रौ.—D. C. SIRCAR]

रत्नाकराः कति न सन्ति तथापि शर्वः
सर्वोत्तमे शिरसि विष्णुपदीं बिभर्ति ॥ ३४
तेभ्यो नमोऽस्तु भववारिधिजीर्णपङ्क-
संलग्नमोक्षणविचक्षणपादुकेभ्यः ।
कृष्णेति वर्णयुगलश्रवणेन येषा-
मानन्दथुर्भवति नर्तितरोमवृन्दः ॥ ३५
एकः परं रचयितुं प्रहरात्प्रबन्ध-
मेकः परं षडपि खण्डयितुं मतानि ।
शक्तो मुकुन्दपदपङ्कजचिन्तनेन
श्रोजीवदेवकविडिण्डिमपण्डितेन्द्रः ॥ ३६

इति श्रीमद्व्यवहर्तृ महापात्रकविराजराजगुरुश्रीमत्त्रिलोचनदेवाचार्यतनय-श्रीमद्व्यवहर्तृ महापात्रकविडिण्डिमगजराजराजगुरुजीवदेवाचार्यविरचितं भक्ति-भागवतं महाकाव्यम् ।

11

ON BĀLAVALABHI OF RĀMACHARITA and THE EPITHET BĀLAVALABHI-BHUJANGA OF BHATTA BHAVADEVA *

The epithet Bālavalabhi-bhujanga, the another name of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, finds mention in the *stone inscription* 1 now fixed on the compound wall of the Anantavāsudeva temple at Bhubaneswar (to which it did not originally belong before 1837) and in the colophons of Bhavadeva's works entitled *Karmānuṣṭhāna-paddhati*,2 *Prāyaschitta-nirūpana* 3 and *Tautātimata-tilaka*.4

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* Published in the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Aligarh Session, 1944.

1. N. G. Mazumdar *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III 1929. pp. 34-35.
2. J. & P. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, 1912. p. 333.
3. *Ibid* p. 335 and E. I. Vol. VI, p. 204.
4. E. I. Vol. VI. p. 205.

The inscription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva was first edited in 1837 by Prinsep and then it has been re-edited by R. L Mitra (1880), Keilhorn (1900-01). N. N. Vasu (1804-05), M. M. Chakraverti published a paper on *Bhatta Bhavadeva of Bengal* in 1912 but none of them treated Bālavalabhi as a place name. In the case of M. M. Chakra verti the omission of reference to *Bālavalabhī* in *Rāmacharita* published in 1910, may be due to over-sight, but all other scholars noted below have treated *Bālavalabhī* as a place name. It will be shown in this paper that the occurance of Bālavalabhi signifying a kingdom is the result of wrong reading of the text of Rāmacharita and Bālavalabhi of Bālavalabhī-Bhujanga has no geographical meaning and the epithet only signifies the literary merit of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva.

M.M. H. P. Sastri edited the Rāmacharita in 1910. He read Bālavalabhī in the text of the commentary on Vikrama of verse 5 of Chapter II and identified it with Bagadi taking the same to be a name of a province in Bengal. His reading of the text of the commentary and note in English are quoted below :—

Text

" X X Vikrama iti Devagrāma prativadha vasudhā Chakravāla - Bālavalabhī (bhi) taranga-vahala galahasta-prasasta-hasta-vikramo Vikramarāja X X. " [6]

Note in English

" Vikramarāja, the Raja of Devagrama and the surrounding country, washed by the waves of the rivers Bālavalabhī or Bagadi, one of the five provinces into which ancient Bengal was divided. "[7]

R.D. Banerji criticised this identification of Bālavalabhī with Bagadi and wrotethus :—

" The identification stands without any support. From the description given in the commentary on the Rāmacharita it appears that Bālavalabhī was pre-eminently a land of riveres and must be identified either with eastern or southern Bengal. " [8]

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6. Mem. A. S B. Vol. III. p. 36.
7. *Ibid.* p. 14.
8. Mem. A, S. B *Palas of Bengal* 1915, Vol. V. p. 99.

Nagendranath Vasu wrote as follows in Bengali on Devagrāma and Bālavalabhī :—

" Devagrāma prativadha-Bālavalabhī : Devagrāma was the chief place in this country and even now it is known as Devagrāma in the district of Nadia. Vikrampur, the capital of Vikramarāja is now situated at a distance of 4 miles south-east of Devagrāma. The country surrounded by the rivers Bhāgirathī and Ichhāmatī like the horizon, was known as Bālavalabhī." 9

R. D. Banerji rejected this identification as follows :—

"There are hundreds of villages in Bengal bearing the name of Devagrāma, and I do not find any reason to confine it to one of them. Even in Nadia District itself there are several Devagrams, and so the attempt to identify it with the materials at present at our command is premature." 10

R. D. Banerji was right in rejecting the above identification of Bālavalabhī but supported MM. Sastri as regards the reading of Bālavalabhī accepting it to be a name of a country and wrote thus :—

" The position of Devagrāma in Bālavalabhī, the king of which Vikrama Kesari, comes next in order, is far less certain.

" X X X The explanation of this (the commentary) is not quite certain and nothing can be made out beyond what has already been stated by M.M. H. P. Sastri. Vikrama Kesarī was the king of Devagrāma, and the surrounding country which was washed by the rivers of Bālavalabhī, " 11

It is not understood as to how J.C Bose has identified Vikramakeśarī of the love story of *Sasisenā* 12 with Vikramarāja of the Rāmacharita. The story of *Sasisenā* composed by Fakirarāma is found to be composed in Oriya by Banamāli Dāsa in his Chāta-Ichhāvatī, which records the name of the Raja as Bhoja and not Vikrama Keśarī at Dantan which is not corroborated by the story current in Orissa.

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9. *Banger Jatiya Itihasa* - Rajanya Khanda. p. 198.
10. Mem. A. S. B. *Palas of Bengal* p. 89.
11. *Ibid.* P, 89.
12. J. C. Bose's *Midnapore Itipasa* p. 124 & Arc. Survey of Mayurbhanj pp. 112-119.

N. G. Mazumdar first suggested connection of Bālavalabhī of Rāmacharita with the epithet Bālavalabhī-bhujanga of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva and wrote as follows :—

"The epithet Bālavalabhī-bhujanga has been the subject of much speculation but it has not yet been satisfactorily explained. The word 'Bālavalabhī' occurs, however, as a place name in the Rāmacharita commentary. The situation of Bālavalabhī is not known. The commentary places it in or near Devagrāma which also is equally obscure. It is impossible to ascertain at the present state of our knowledge, why Bhavadeva was called 'the serpent of Bālavalabhī'. A place called Vriddhavalabhī situated in the Gauḍa country is mentioned in the colophon of a MS. of *Sarvadeva-pratiṣṭha-paddhati* of Trivikrama Suri. Thus it appears that there were valabhī major and also valabhī minor in Bengal 12." The above quotation is mentioned in the foot note 2 of *History of Bengal* (1943) at page 320.

Dr H C. Roy in his *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 341 writes that "Vikramarāja" was "the ruler of Bālavalabhī which was close to Devagrāma". His view on Bālavalabhī is quoted below :—

"The next principality is Bālavalabhī which is described by the Commentator as *Devagrama Prativadha*. We have already pointed out that the name occurs in the Bhubaneswar *Praśasti* of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva Pandit H. P. Sastri has identified it with Bagdi (Vagadi), one of the five provinces into which ancient Bengal was divided, while others locate it in Nadia district. There is no evidence in support of either of these identifications. It is likely that it was the name of a district in West Bengal. It is to be noted that Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, who is described as Bālavalabhī-bhujanga was a resident of Rādha." He further writes in the foot note on the same page that "Bāla has the sense of 'new'; so the principality may be designated 'New-valabhī'. Is it possible that it was a colony of the people of Valabhī in Kathiawar which was destroyed by the Arabs in the second half of the 8th century A.D. ?" He has written the following elsewhere. "In the Bhubaneswar inscription Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva is called Bālavalabhī - bhujanga.

12. Inscriptions of Bengal 1929, Vol. 12, p. 31.

Keilhorn could not explain the word. The commentary of the Rāmacharita II, 5 mentions a Sāmanta of Rāmapala, Vikramarāja, the ruler of Bālavalabhī. There is no doubt therefore that Bālavalabhī was the name of a place. In the Rāmacharita it has been placed near Devagrama which has however not been identified. It was probably a place in West Bengal".13

Rāmacharita has been re-edited by Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, Dr. R G. Basak and Pandit N. Banerji and published by the Varendra Research Society of Rajsahi in 1939. In this edition the learned editors have done their best to present the book to the public in a way for which they deserve thanks for their labour and scholarship. The commentary of V. 5 of Chapter II of the Rāmacharita is very important for historical purpose and the improved readings, such as 'Kānyakuvja-rāja-vāhinī-ganjana-bhujang' and the insertion of the word 'Vāla' between the words 'taranga' and 'Vahala' have made the commentary very valuable. Although they have written in the foot note at page XXVI that "M M. Sastri identifies Bālavalabhī with Bagdi, but there is no evidence in support of it", yet they have accepted the reading of the text as Bālavalabhī and its interpretation as a place name originally given by M.M. H P. Sastri and so in the 'Introduction' at p. XXVI they have written as follows :— "3 Vikramarāja - Ruler of Bālavalabhī which included Devagrāma". Mr. P.L. Pal also calls Vikramarāja as the ruler of Bālavalabhī 14

History of Bengal, edited by Dr. R. C. Mazumdar and published by the University of Dacca is the latest and the best book so far published in India by Indian authors. In this book Bālavalabhi has been treated as a country vide text and foot note at page 157, text at pages 202 and 305, foot note 2 at page 320 and index page 699. At page 202 it is written that Bhavadeva "was also known as *Balavalabhī-bhujanga* The first part of the compound is the name of a kingdom, also referred to in the *Ramacharita*, but the exact source of the expression is difficult to understand." At page 157 the following is given in the foot note :—

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13. *Ibid.*, p. 336.

14. *The Early History of Bengal* Vol. I, p. 61.

" MM. H. P. Sastri identified it with Bāgdi. Bala-Balabhi, according to RC. was close to Devagrama which is located by N. Vasu in Nadiya. Ain-i-Akbari mentions 'Deul' which is identified by Beams with the ancient stone fort of Deulgaon on the boundary of the districts of Midnapore and Balasore. If this Deulgaon represents ancient Devagrama, we may find in the Pargana of Bibli a contracted form of old Bāla-Balabhi. Bibli has been identified with Pipli, the site of the earliest English factory in Bengal, at the mouth of the Suvarnarekha river."

Bibli cannot be taken as Apabhramsa of Bālavalabhi due to the fact that Bibli is a wrong reading of the Persian text Pipli of the *Ain* Piplipatau in De Barros' map (c1570) clearly proves that the place was known then as Pipli in Orissa. Deulgaon cannot be taken as an apabhramsa of Devagrama for the reason that there is no antiquarian evidence at the place in support of the identification. Deula is the apabhramśa of Devālaya.

The commentary under ' Vikrama ' is given below from the text of the Rāmacharita which shows that there is no such word as Bālavalabhi in it.

" Vikrama iti Devagrama prativaddha- vasudhachakravāla-valavalabhita-rangavala - vahala - galahasta - prasasta hasta vikramo Vikramarāja."[15]

Before giving the meaning of the passage in English, I like to give below the equivalent English words for the Sanskrit words.

1. Prativaddha - being surrounded by.

2. Vasudhachākravālavalavala-the elephant force (valavala) or metaphorically the mountains on the horizon of the land. Mountains are described by poets as the Dik-vārana and here the poet's word Chakravalavāla vala means elephant and the poet's choice for this word may be attributed only to the alliteration of the word vala here.

3. Bhīta ranga-vala vahala- all the army of four categories (Chaturanga) who are frightened at

4. Galahasta-prasasthahasta-vikramah—one who was capable of driving out the enemies in seizing by the neck.

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15. The *Ramacharita* 1939, p. 42.

Thus the idea of the Sanskrit passage can be given in English as follows :—

The kingdom of Devagrāma was surrounded on all sides by hills at the sight of which enemy army consisting of four categories become frightened and retreat with fear without being able to attack the country and thereby it appears that these enemies as if have been turned out being seized by their necks by the ruler Vikramarāja.

The interpretation on ' Vikrama ' in the above light clearly shows the power and strength of Vikramaraja of Devagrāma and is in full tune with the passage of the Sanskrit commentary in which the military activities of other rulers are described. But the printed text with the reading of *Vālavalabhi-tarangavala* gives no meaning whatsoever. The word taranga after Bālavalabhi at once suggests that Bālavalabhi was either a lake or a river and R. D. Banerji therefore suggested that Bālavalabhi was pre-eminently a land of rivers In verse II, Chapter III of the Rāmacharita rivers called ' Valabhi ' and 'Kāli' in Varendra are mentioned. If it is accepted that Bālavalabhi and valabhi are the same, we must have to locate Devagrama in Varendra which was excluded from the area in which the *Samanta chakra* (allies or the confederacy of the neighbouring princes) was formed at the request of Rāmapāla for the recovery of *Janakabhu varendra*. So Devagrama cannot be located in North Bengal. R. D. Banerji's suggestion for the location of Bālavalabhi in Eastern Bengal is impossible according to the contents of verse 44 of Chapter III which narrates that " the Varman king of eastern country sought his own safety by conciliating Rāmapāla with the offer of his chariots and elephants force. "[16] The editors of the Rāmacharita therefore very rightly have come to the conclusion that " an analysis of the list shows that leaving aside localities whose identifications are unknown or doubtful, almost all the allies of Rāmapāla belonged to South Bihar, South east Bengal, and the border land between Bengal and Orissa." [17]

The identification of Vikramarāja of Devagrama of Rāmacharita may be made with one Vikramāditya of the Aditya dynasty of Patkum in the Manbhum District. Devapura-Dalmi was their capital where there are ruins of ancient monuments. The Manbhum is surrounded

16. *Ibid*, P. XXXIII.
17. *Ibid*, p. XXVIII.

on all sides by mountains and its geographical situation fully corroborates the description given in Rāmacharita.

As Bālavalabhī is not a place name, the epithet Bālavalabhī-bhujanga of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva must be considered as a personal title only.

After the first publication of the Rāmacharita in 1910, M M Chakraverti's paper on "Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva of Bengal" was published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VIII pp. 333-348 in 1912; he added a note on the significance of the title of Bālavalabhī-bhujanga but he did not say a word on the locality of Bālavalabhī, identified with Bagdi, by M M Sastri

"This section I conclude by drawing attention to the peculiar title of Bhavadeva, Bālavalabhī bhujanga. Vālabhī, the word found in some of the MSS, must be correct as it appears in the contemporaneous inscription. Vādabhī is not exactly incorrect, for I think it represents the correct pronunciation in the vernacular, and in Prakrited changes to l and r and vice versa. But Vādabhīyā in H. P. Shastri's MS No. 240 is found in no other MSS, and goes against the inscription. I suspect it is a clerical mistake, probably arising from the idea that Vādabhīyā should be derived from some gain (village) or family name. Such surnames were not uncommon in later Smrti writers of Bengal, e.g, Campahotti or hittiya of Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa, Kanjiviliya of Kubera, Naraya of Bhīma, Sābudiyan of Sulapāni, Paribhādriya of Jimutavāhana. But I think the epithet Bālavalabhī-bhujanga is not derived from the family, but is a personal title of Bhavadeva, like the title Sphurita of his great grand father Budha. Being a personal title it is not now capable of explanation, the literal meaning being "a young serpent of the turret" [19]

The text – 'Iti Sri Bālavadabhī (Valabhī in India office MS) bhujanga paranamno Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva" of the colophon of "Prāyaschittanirupan" seems to be a copy of the last line of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva's inscription – Praśasthriyām Bālavalabhī-bhujanga – paranamna Bhaṭṭa Sri Bhavadeva. "Such a similarity of texts of two different writings of long intervals is very significant and it seems that at the time of composing the verses of the Praśasti of Bhavadeva;

19. J. & P.A S.B. Vol. VIII, p. 341-42.

the poet Vāchaspati was aware of this titles and the verse 24 " Yāsya khalu Bālavalabhī etināma nādrita kena, Mīmāmsayāmapi sapulaka-makarnitodgitam," was composed while possibly the manuscript Tautatimata-tilaka, an authority on the Pūrva Mimāmsā by Bhavadeva, was in his possession in which the title was perhaps written in one of the colophons, So far only one incomplete manuscript has been noticed and the fragmentary manuscript contains only two colophons without any such title. In many works of reputed authors it is found that the contents of all the colophons are not the same and in many cases the author's distinctive titles occur either at the beginning or end. As the first and the last portions of this MS are lost, the titles of Bhavadeva in the colophons are lost In *Sahityadarpava* the author Visvanātha kavirāja has given his titles in the colophons of the chapter I and the colophons at the end of the other nine chapters do not mention any title. The first colophon runs as follows.

"Iti Srīmannārāyanacharanāravinda-madhuvrata, Sāhityārnava karnadhāra Dhvani prasthāpana paramāchārya kavisrutiratnākara-*Asthadasabhasa-vara-vilasinibhujanga* Sāndhivigrahika Mahāpātra Sri Visvanatha kavirāja etc."

The title '*Asthādasabhasavaravilāsini bhujanga*' of Visvanātha clearly proves that Bālavalabhī-bhujanga of Bhavadeva is a literary title. The epithet *Kanyakuvjarāja - vāhinī - gañjana - bhujanga* of Bhīmayasa, the king of Magadha mentioned in Rāmacharita seems to have been used in the same sanse. But the meaning of the epithets of Visvanātha and Bhimayasa is quite clear, whereas that of the epithet Bālavalabhī-bhujanga of Bhavadeva is not so. Captain Marshall noted the following on 'Bālavalabhībhujanga'.

" The meaning of this surname is not apparent ; it is compounded of these words ' Vāla ' ' Young, ignorant etc,' Valabhī ' the frame of a thatch, a turret ; also I believe the name of a city and a dynasty and Bhujanga ' a snake, an adulterer." 21

M M. Chakraverti and N.G. Mazumdar are of the same opinion with Marshall vide quotations given above.

Let us see how the Sanskrit lexicons help us in our attempt in interpreting the epithet.

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21. J. A. S. B. Vol. VI. 1837. p. 96.

1. The word 'Bāla' has different meanings in the lexicon but its meaning 'abhinava,' 'new' is well applicable here.

2. The words vālabhī, valabhī, vadabhī, vādabhīa all are used in giving the same meaning as in the lexicons. The Monier William's Sanskrit English Dictionary gives the following meanings of valabhī :—

(i) Ridge of a roof, (ii) top or pinnacle, (iii) turret, (iv) Upper room.

3. The above Dictionary gives the meaning of bhujanga as (1) Serpent (2) dessolute friends of a prince, (3) any constant companion of a prince, (4) a lover, (5) a paramour of a prostitute and (6) the keeper of a prostitute. The meaning under (5) and (6) is quite clear in case of *Asthadasabhasa varavilasini bhujanga* of Visvanātha But it is not clear in the case of *Balavalabhibhujanga* unless we take the meaning of Valabhi in its figurative sense as lofty or of high merit in a feminine sense and with its reference to Tīkā or gloss on the Mimāmsā which was perhaps called *Valabhī*, it can be interpreted that Bhavadeva superseded all others on the subject. The epithet 'Baudhāmvodhī Kumbhasambhava munih'—the very sage Agastya to the sea of the Baudhas of Bhatta Bhavadeva indicates that he was a supporter of the Vedic rituals with which Mīmāmsā deals.

12

THE BONAI COPPER PLATES OF UDAYA VARĀHA DEVA*

This copper-plate is one of the two copper- plates from the Bonai State published without facsimile plates in Vol.VI, pp. 236-245 of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society in 1920 by late Mahāmahopādhyāya H.P. Sastri, M. A., C. I. E, I happened to see at Ranchi in May 1936 the original copper-plate in possession of late Rai Bahadur S C. Roy, M. A., B. L., who first collected it, and on cursorily going through the lines I detected the mistake in reading of the text in lines 2 and 7 where *Vanāimondala* has been clearly written but the late editor read it as *Talaimandala*. This made

* From the Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Vol. XXXI, Part III, 1945.

me curious to redecipher the plate a photograph of which is enclosed with this article. At my request Raja Dharanidhara Indra Deo, the Ruling Chief of the Bonai State of Orissa, was very kind to request Rai Bahadur S C Roy for sending me the plate, and thus I had the ample leisure to study it carefully. It throws light on the existence of a ruling fam ly about which even the tradition is silent. I gratefully thank Raja Saheb of the Bonai State for giving me the opportunity of examining the original plate.

My readings given below are improved in many places. Mm H. P Sastri read only "Vaśiṣṭha vāsaka Sri Chitrakūta vinirgatarā" in line one of the plate but letters here give definitely the following reading :—

Om Svasti prahasitasamastaṛṣivāsakāt Sri Chitrakūta vinirgata rā

Although the first few letters are worn out to some extent yet no one can actually find there any reading of 'Vaśiṣṭha Vāsaka'. 'Prahasita-samasta-ṛṣivāsakāt' is the concluding portion of the text which describes the place of issue of the copper-plates of the Tuṅga dynasty, and particularly the Bonai copper-plate of Vinita Tunga which was edited along with this plate by late Mm. H. P. Sastri gives the following text.

1 1. Om svasti ävaddhoddhata dvipagaṇḍasthala-mada-malina-madhukarāvali-samku

1 2 laireka pradoṣādvibudhyate yo vipravarai rksāmaya-jurvedadvanibhirnnivaha,

1 3 pratikṛtah sakalajanapada-anavaratadvijahuta-huta-vahodgatadhūmasamchaya.

1. 4. prahasita-samasta-ṛṣivāsakāt"

This similarity of text dispels all doubt about the accuracy of my reading. In his "Dynasties of the Mediaeval Orissa" P. 62 Pandit Binayak Misra remarks that "the eulogical text of the grant of the Mayur family is a replica of that of the Tunga grants." In support of this it may be stated that the portion ,'Samvīryāschahūto nija bhuja mahimoparjitā nischalā yasya Lakṣmī" in the line 3 of this grant seems to have been taken from the following verse of the grant of Vinita Tunga :—

" Samvīryāscha bhūto nijabhujamahimoppārjjitā śrī balavān
Rājāvanāryaśatro satatamapivala nischalā yasya lakşmī "

Now the question naturally arises as to why the portion of the text of the inscriptions of the Tunga rulers was borrowed or adopted by the Varāha rulers. No connection of the Tunga family with the Varāha family has yet been found. It is curious that the name of one Vilāsa Tunga is mentioned in the Jayapura copper-plate of Devānanda Deva.[1] Pandit Binayak Misra has suggested that "Vilāsa Tunga seems to be an adjective of Devānanda,"[2] The name of one Vibhrama Tunga has been found in the same manner in the Adipur copper plate grant of Narendra Bhanja Deva of Khijjinga Kotta [3] (modern Khiching in Mayurbhanj). I am unable to suggest any explanation excepting this that there was some family connection of these ancient ruling families with each other. The stone inscription on the pedestal of the image of Avalokiteśvara of Khiching mentions the name of one Dharaṇī Varāha who installed the image in the reign of Rāya Bhanja. It is not exactly known who was this Dharaṇī Varāha.

As regards the reading of Vaṇāi plate in lines 2 and 7 I am sure that it is absolutely correct. The shape of other letters of *Va* and *va* found in line 2 and elsewhere is similar and quite distinct from letters of *ta* and *la* that occur in this inscription. The importance of reading of Vaṇāi lies in the fact that there now exists an Indian State in Orissa bearing the same name and its has Ruler got the emblem of the peacock like that of the Bhañja ruling families of Orissa, which has been carved out in the seal of this copper plate. Although the ruling family of Bonai claim descent from Kadamva family of Sākaladip or Ceylon according to tradition, yet it records that "in gratitude for this service the peacock was adopted as the family crest" by the founder of the family who was rescued from danger by the bird peacock under a Kadamva tree [4] So it may be said that the tradition of the Kadamva origin of the Raj family of the Boṇāi State is a modern one.

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1. J B. and O.R S., Vol. XV, pp. 87-97.
2. Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa, p. 35.
3. E I. Vol. XXV, P. 155-56.
4. Gazetteer of Orissa Feudatory States, pp. 143-144.

Mm Sastri's another inadvertent mistake in reading is the village name Kolāmcha which he read as Konara, whence the Brahmins came. The strokes of *a* and *m* are clear and the other letters *ra* and *va* in the same line are different. Many inscriptions of Orissa and Bengal go to show that Brahmin families came as donees from Kolāmcha and other places of Madhyadeśa.

The plate mentions that Udaya Varāha had the title 'Paramasaugata' or devout worshipper of Sugata or Buddha, but he granted villages to Bhahmins. An inscription on the pedestal of the image of Avalokiteśvara of Khiching mentions that one Dharani Varāha established the image there and so it seems that he was a Buddhist. Such Buddhist titles are met with in the copper-plate inscriptions of Bhauma family [5] and Simha family [6] of Orissa who granted villages to Brahmins. This shows that in those days the followers of the Buddhistic and Brahmanic faiths maintained no distinction at all in Orissa.

The following office bearers have been addressed in connection with the grant by the donor :—

"Rājānaka--Rājaputra-Mahāsāmanta-Kumārāmātya-Uparika-Sāndhivigrahika—Tadāyuktaka--Daṇḍapāśika—Stānāntarikānanyānapi Rājaprasādina-ṣchāṭa-bhaṭa-vallabhajātiyān".

Here I intend to discuss to some extent the significance of these terms. Dr. Vogel in his *Antiquities of Chamba State* has discussed at pages 110-136 on the terms of Rājānaka, Rājaputra Kumārāmātya, Uparika, Daṇḍapāśika, Chāta, Bhaṭṭa etc. Dr. Prananath, [7] Mr. V. R. Ramchandra Dikhitar [8] and C. V. Vaidya [9] have made attempts to explain some of these obsolete terms. Dr. U. N. Ghosal's [10] attempt on the interpretation of some Revenue

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5 Dynastics of Mediaoval Orissa, p. 16.

6. *Ibid* P, 24.

7. A study in the Economic condition of Ancient India.

8. Hindu Administrative Institutions.

9. History of Mediaeval Hindu India Vol. 2 and 3.

10. Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue system.

terms and Pandit Binayak Misra's note[11] on some of these terms from Bhuma grants of Orissa deserve notice also. Besides these authorities there are many other notices in the volumes of the *Epigraphia Indica* and other Journals which do not require specific mention.

Rājānaka :—Dr. Vogel notes that " in the *Rājataranginī* it is used in exactly the same sense as Rajānaka to denote a feudatory chieftain [12] " This word is not found in the classical literature of India and seems therefore, to be a Sanskritised rather than Sanskrit word."[13] "It is the title by which the vassals of the Rājās of Chamba designate themselves in their inscriptions. It corresponds to modern *Rānā*. It will be noticed that *Rānaka* as well as the following *Rājaputra* is a title of nobility or a class-name and not the designation of an official But the fact that the members of those noble classes were commonly entrusted with important State offices explains their being mentioned in the beginning of the list " [14] I think the significance of the title is the very same here also.

Rājaputra—Dr. Vogel writes—' As to the word Rājaputra, literally 'a king's son or a prince'. Dr. Fleet is of opinion that in such passages as the present it has some technical official meaning. He adduces Marāṭhi rāut or rāūt and, 'Gujarātī rāvat, a horse soldier, a trooper,' which he derives from Skr. Rājaputra and believes to indicate its technical meaning. But on account of its connection with Rājānaka and for the reason stated above I see no necessity to assign it here any other than its ordinary meaning. It is, however possible that from its original sense of 'the son or near relative of a rājā' it has already like the modern Rājput, come to be used for the nobility in general "[15] Vaidya interprets it as " Kṣhatriya warriors related to the kings." [16]

Pandit Binayak Misra notes that "Rājaputra (descendants of degenerated ruling families) In Orissa a class of people call themselves Rajput which seems to be the contracted form of Rājaputra.'.' [17]

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11. Orissa under the Bhauma kings.
12 Antiquities of Chamba State, P. 110
13 *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid,* P. 121.
15. *Ibid.* P. 121.
16. History of mediaeval Hindu India. Vol. 11, p. 231.
17. Orissa under the Bhauma kings, p. 97.

In Orissa there is a caste called Rajput whose status is equal to or little less than the Khandāyatas from which the *militia* of the country was generally recruited. There is an Oriya proverb "Rājput, āpanakāmaku majhabhut" that is, a Rajput is a very careful about his own business. So it cannot be said definitely whether the modern word Rājput can convey any sense of the ancient meaning of the word which has been attributed to it by Dr. Vogel.

Mahasāmanta :—Literally Sāmanta signifies that the owner is a vassal under the Ruling Prince and Mahāsāmanta therefore may be taken as the head of a number of Sāmantas, Dr. Prannath has discussed fully on the significance of the term Sāmanta in his book on "A study in the economic condition of ancient India" Chapter I sections II and III and chapter VI and nowhere mentions anything about the term Mahāsāmanta. Mr. Dikshitar has also quoted from Sukranīti giving the meaning of the term According to Sukraniti the officer of one hundred Grāmas [18] is a Sāmanta, whereas according to Mandanapandita a ruler of 1000 grāmas [19] is called a Sāmanta. So it is very difficult to understand the real significance of the term Sāmanta or Mahāsāmanta. Vaidya interprets it as " the chief officer over the Sardars [20]

Kumarāmatya :— Dr. Vogel tried to explain the terms as follows:—"The office of Kumārāmātya is well known from Gupta Inscriptions. Whereas the word Rājāmātya [21] as stated above, means 'councillor of the king', the term Kumārāmātya may be rendered by 'councillor of the crown prince'. It seems that in the days of the Imperial Guptas, there existed, side by side with the State council, a special council to advice the heir-apparent who usually takes part in the State affair as coregent (Skr. Yuvarāja). The office of Kumārāmātya appears to have existed throughout the Gupta epoch." [22]

At the conclusion referring to an inscription on the stone Lingam preserved in the Lucknow Museum he writes "The inscription, which is dated in the Gupta year 117 (A.D 436) mentions a Prithvīsena who was Mantrī and Kumārāmātya and afterwards general

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18. Hindu Administrative Institutions, p. 323
19. A study in the Economic Conditions of ancient India, pp. 37-38.
20. History of Mediaeval Hindu India Vol. II, p. 231.
21. Vaidya interprets it "ministers of the king" (*Ibid*, p. 231).
22. Antiquities of Chamba State, p. 123.

(Mahāvalādhikṛta) under Kumāragupta I As his father Sikhara.Svāmin is stated to have been Mantri and Kumārāmātya under Chandragupta II, we may conclude that the office in question was hereditary.[23] Mr. Vaidya interprets Mahākumārāmātya as "the chief officer over king's sons [24]' Pandit B. Misra has separated the word Kumārāmātya into Kumāra and Amātya and has translated Kumāra as the prince that is the younger son of a king and Amātya as the minister.[25] Mr J. C. Dey has objected to the probablity of this sort of interpretation and has written that the title-holders as Kumārāmātya and Rāja-sthāniya were not the sons of the reigning kings in many cases and concludes that "it seems to be a fact that an extension of political power and a greater degree of administrative organisation necessitated the creation of these two classes."[26]

Dr. K. P. Jayaswal's following note clearly interprets the term supporting the view that the title has no connection with the blood relation of the sovereign of the country.

"We get light on this official term from Bhāṣa (Pratijñā Yougan dharāyana, II). When Salaṅkāyana, Minister to king Prodyota Mahāsena, having captured king Udayana of Kauśāmbī, brings him to one of the gates of Ujjayinī and the news is announced to the Mahāsena the latter ordered the Chamberlain, : 'Gachha, Bharatarohakam bruhi "Kumāra-vidhi visiṣṭhena satkāreṅa . . . . . pravesyatām Amātyah (ed. 1912 P. 33)." Go and tell Bharatarohaka to receive the Minister with the honours due to a (royal) prince.' Bharatarohaka was the Prime Minister of Ujjayini. The king is here conferring an honour and a dignity on the minister Sālaṅkāyana whose title has been simply tatrābhavān Amātyah (p 30) for the distinguished act of capturing Udayana, son of Satānikam, grandson of Sahasrānika, the Vatsa king whose, 'Bhārata pedigree goes back right into the Veda. It was the honour and dignity of Kumāra, that is, although not of royal blood, by virtue of the royal degree, the Amātya was titled *Kumāra* and became entitled to the status of a real prince of the blood in court etiquette. He is distinguished from the real princes by being called Kumārāmātya 'the prince the Minister,'

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23. *Ibid.* p. 123.
24. History of Mediaeval Hindu India, Vol. II, p. 231.
25. J. B. and O. R. S. Vol. XVI, p. 81 and Bhauma dynasty, p. 97.
26. *Ibid*, Vol. XVII, 1931, p. 199.

"This seems to be the real significance of the Kumārāmātya title of the inscriptions, Though not a prince by birth the grantee was made a titled prince."[27]

Uparika :—This term is generally found either before or after the Kumārāmātya and Antaranga and Dr. Vogel writes that "There is nothing to indicate its meaning."[28] Mr. J. C. Dey however writes that "the English equivalent for Uparikas will be Governors,"[29] Mr. Vaidya interprets Rājastāniyoparika as the chief district officer." The real meaning is uncertain.

Sāndhivigrahika :—The term indicates that the officer was in charge of Sandhi (peace) and Vigraha (war) and it stands for the minister of peace and war or foreign minister in modern sense. Vaidya interprets it in the way stated above.[30]

Tadāyuktaka :— Here the word *Tat* makes the term very complex to understand. If it refers to Sāndhivigrahin then it will mean the officers concerned to the affairs of peace and war. According to *Kāmandakiya NitiSāra*, quoted by Dr. Pran Nath, 'Ayuktakas' are "Servants employed by kings and feudal chiefs,"[31] from whom people are afraid of being oppressed. Ayuktakas were officers entrusted with Police duties according to the interpretation of Dr. Pran Nath. Mr. Vaidya's interpretation of Ayuktaka as 'Agent' is not clear at all.[32]

Daṇḍapāśika :— Dr Vogel writes—"The term Daṇḍapāśika is derived from *Daṇḍa* and *Pāśa*, the latter words meaning 'sling or snare'. The compound Daṇḍa and Pāśa, may therefore, be rendered as 'rod and rope' the latter expression indicating punishment by confinement. From this it is evident that the Daṇḍapāśika originally at least was an officer entrusted with the punishment of criminals.'[33] Mr. Vaidya interprets it as "executor of punishment."[34]

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27. *Ibid*, P. 399.
28. Antiquities of Chamba State, p. 123.
29. J. B. and O. R. S. Vol. XVII, p. 199.
30. History of Mediaeval Hindu India, Vol. II, p. 231.
31. A study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India, p. 58.
32. Vaidya Vol. II, p. 232.
33. Antiquities of Chamba State, p. 129.
34. Vaidya Vol. II, p. 232.

Stanantarika :—Mr. Dikshitar writes that Stānikas were one of the important officials in the rural areas according to Arthaśāstra. "The Stāniya was the officer in charge of the Stānika or a group of eighth hundred villages. He was answerable to the finance minister or the Samāhartā."[35] Dr. Pran Nath writes :— "A country (deśa) had an average area of 1 00 yojanas, so it was probably divided into 10 Janapadas, and each Janapada in its turn was divided for administrative purposes into 4 *Stanas*, each stāna being under the administration of a Stānika."[36] He again writes :— "From the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya we learn that each Janapada was divided into four *Stanas* and each Stāna was governed by a Stānika (corresponding to the modern thāṇādār or Darogā). In that work the word Stāna generally contained a fort called Stāniya, which again was garrisoned by a force — half soldiers, half police— who are frequently referred to in copper-plate grants and other inscriptions as *Cara-bhaṭas, Chāṭa-bhaṭas, Chāḍa bhaḍas Chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*"[37] etc. But here we get the word Stānāntarika and not Stānika and after it, we have *Chatabhaṭa* whose station was the *Stana* which was a place of terror. So the mention *Stanantarika* along with *Chāṭa-bhaṭa* may not have any connection with *Stana*. Here it may be suggested that Stānantarika may be interpreted as Customs officers.

Chāṭa bhaṭa :—Dr. Vogel took up first the thread of discussion and Dr Pran Nath has elaborately discussed on the meaning of these terms. Dr. Pran Nath writes as follows "Chātas and Bhaṭas were persons employed for watch and ward, for collecting revenue and for arresting thieves and robbers. Some of them were in the services of Estate owners, and others under the officers in charge of Praganahs and Janapadas [38] Mr. Vaidya takes them to be as "Policemen and soldiers,"

Vallabha :—Pandit Binayaka Misra translates this term as the "favourite of king" Mr. Dey writes that "Vallabhas were apparently minor government servants."[39]

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35. Hindu Administrative Institutions, p. 320.
36. A study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India, p, 49.
37. *Ibid*, p. 59-60.
38. *Ibid*, p. 64-65.
39. J. B. and O. R. S. Vol. XVIII, p. 201.

Chātas, Bhaṭas and Vallabhas have been given the epithet Rajaprasādinah which has been translated as those who were granted royal bounties. As these office bearers of one copper-plate grant differ from those of another, it is not possible to ascertain the complete list.

Conditions of Grants.

The conditions of the grants consist of the following terms :—

1. Nividharma. The term nividharma has been interpreted by Dr. U. N. Ghosal as "the condition that the donee should not destroy the principal but should make only use of the income arising from it."40 Here the term is *Nibidharmenā karatvena* and I am unable to suggest any interpretaton for it.

2. Sakheṭāghāṭānadyetatstānadigulmakah :— In Bhauma grants of Orissa these very conditions occur with many other privileges. Pandit B. Misra interprets them as follows 41 :— Kheṭa means 'hamlet', ghāṭa means landing places on the bank of the river, nadyetatstāna or nadītara stāna means 'ferry places' and gulmaka means 'thickets. Dr. Ghosal has discussed only *Tara* or Taradeya interpreting as 'ferry dues' and gulmadeya interpreting as the "dues paid at the military or police stations"42 Dr. Pran Nath also interprets in the same way and writes "the king's taxes and other dues were first collected at the gulma headquarters.."43 So Gulmaka means an officer commanding a Gulma. Pandit Misra's interpretation therefore seems untenable. Similarly his interpretation of Ghāṭa as 'landing places' is equally untenable." I think the modern Oriya word for Ghāṭa, a place where customs dues etc. are collected. In early British records it is found that at a place called *Khunta Ghāt* the rulers of Mayurbhanj used to collect pilgrims' tax from the pilgrims proceeding to Puri for their safe travel in the territory of Mayurbhanj. I have not been able to interpret the term Kheṭa.

In conclusion I intend to discuss the relation of this Varāha dynasty using the emblem of the peacock which is also the emblem

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40. Hindu Revenue System. P. 295.
41. Orissa under the Bhauma kings p 95.
42. Hindu Revenue System. pp. 292 and 298.
43. A study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India, p. 53.

of the Bhanja dynasties of modern Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Baud, Daspalla, Kanika and now extinct Gumsar in Orissa and the ruling family of the Bonai State.

It is found in this grant that the founder, a Rāṇaka of the Varāha family was an imigrant from Chitrakūta, modern Chitorgarh in the Udaipur State in Rajputana. According to tradition recorded by Major Kittoe in 1837 in J.A.S.B pp. 665-671, the founder of the Bhanja family came from Chitorgarh in Rajputana. The modern tradition of all the Bhanja families in Orissa goes to state that the founder was an imigrant from Jaipur in Rajputana and this also gives the same geographical area of Chitorgarh. Mahāmahopādhyāya Gourisankar Ojha and other authorities have shown that there was established a branch of the *M*aurya family at Chitorgarh from the study of inscriptions. According to this tradition it seems that the Bhanja family may be the same as the Varāha family. Mm H. P. Sastri was of opinion that both the families belong to one dynasty and wrote as follows :—

Varaha rulers belonged to "the Mayur or the Bhanja dynasty" and " in this charter we got three new names of the Bhanja dynasty. It is not yet possible to connect this group of kings with other groups of the same family." 44

The copper-plate grants of the ancient Bhanja kings of Orissa had a bull in their seal but all the modern Bhanja dynasties together with the ruling family of the Bonai State, have got a peacock in their seal. In the tradition of Mayurbhanj as recorded in the Gazetteer of Orissa Feudatory States p. 239 we find that a Ruler of Mayurbhanj extended his territory by defeating one who had a peacock in his banner (Mayuradhvaja) and according to that dying king's prayers the conqueror adopted the seal representing peacock as his own. If this tradition is to be believed we have to assume that a king of the Mayura or Varāha family was defeated by a Bhanja king and this possibly gave rise to the naming of the State as Mayurabhanja. Pandit Binayak Misra holds this view and writes that " however, Mayurbhanja the name of the State suggests itself that it owes its origin to the names of Mayura and Bhanja families."45 Pandit Misra's suggestion

44. J. B. and O. R. S. Vol. VI., p. 241-242.
45. Dynasties Mediaeval Orissa, P. 62.

finds support from the following account of Sir W. W. Hunter :—
"But a fourth great city flourished under Hindu dynasties and Tamluk now, an island river village of Bengal, formed the maritime capital of Orissa. One local legend relates how its kings conquered the latter province in pre historic times and gave their name to a great district within it ; while a later tradition ascribes the foundation of Tamluk to the monarchs of Morbhanj, the largest and most powerful of the Orissa Tributary States. Certain it is that a most intimate connection subsisted between the two. The first king of Tamluk bore the title of "The Peacock Banner" (Mayuradhwaja and Sikhidhwaja) and begot a long line of thirty-two princes of the warrior caste This dynasty bore the heraldic device of the peacock exactly as the Morbhanj family does at the present day and it was succeeded by another line of four peacock kings who invaded Tamluk from the Morbhanj State thus giving rise to the later legend The great district of Midnapore now stretches between Tamluk and the Morbhanj State ; but the hereldic bird of the latter, the peacock, still surmounts the temple at Tamluk and Morbhanj Rajas long retained property in the intermediate tract." 46

In Bhagavatī Sutta the following finds mention :—

" Ihaiva Jamvudvīve bhārate vāde Tāmalittīnāmam nagari hothvā tathvanam Tāmalittīe nagarie Tāmalī nāmam Moriya putto gāhāvai hothvā "47

"In this Jambudvipa Bhāratavarsa, there was a town called Tāmalitti (Tāmralipti, Tamluk) and in this Tāmalitti there was a king named Tāmali of the Moriya Mayura) family." From this it is clear that Mayura family was established in Tamluk in the early days of the Indian History. The whole thing has been so much shrouded in legendary tales that without getting any contemporary evidence it is not safe to accept anything definitely but it seems that these traditions are not altogether useless for historical purposes,

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46. Hunter's Orissa, Vol. I pp. 308-09

47. History of Midnapore in Bengali by J, C. Bose, p. 311.

COPPER PLATE OF UDAYA VARAH

The Seal

There is a Peacock facing to the left and below it there is an inscription *Sri Udaya Varaha.*

TEXT

(*Obverse*)

१। ॐ स्वस्ति प्रहसित-समस्त-रुषिवासकात् श्री चित्रकूट विनिग्र(र्गत)रा-
२। णक बणाइमण्डले बास्तव्य: प्रथितपृथुयश: मयूर(बशोद्ध-
३। व संवीर्य्याश्चभूता निजभुजमहिमोपार्जित निश्चला यस्य ल
४। क्ष्मी:, राजा उदित बराह:, रूप-बीर्य्य-गुणान्वित: तस्यान्वयो तेज
५। वराह श्रीमा जितविक्रम:, तस्माद् बभूब धर्मज्ञो दुग्धाब्धेरिव
६। चन्द्रमा परमसौगत समधिगतपञ्चमहाशद्व महाराज राणक
७। श्रीउदयबराह कुशली । बणाइमण्डले एतद्विषयेस्मि(न्)भावि-
८। नो राजानक-राजपुत्र–महासामन्त-कुमारामात्योपरिक सान्धिविग्र-
९। हिक तदायुक्तक-दण्डपाशिक-स्थानान्तरिकानन्यानापि राजप्रसादिन
१०। श्चाटभटबल्लभजातीयान् मानयति बोधयति कुशलयत्याज्ञापय
११। तिश्च विदितमस्तु भवतां एतद्विषये रोकेलविषय सम(म्भ)न्ध को-
१२। दसमाग्रामः ताम्रशासनीकृत्य अक्षयनिविधर्मेणाकरत्वेन

(*Reverse*)

१३। प्रतिपादित: तदेषांस्मद्धर्मगौरवाद् भवद्भि: परिपालनीय: ।
१४। प्रा(परा)स(श)र गोत्राय वशिष्ठशक्तिप्रवराय वाजसन(नेय) चरणाय कोलाञ्च
१५। विनिर्गताय भट उजो(ज्ज्व)ल पौत्राय केशव भट पुत्राय भट पुरो(रु)
१६। षोत्तमाय उत्तरायणसंक्रान्तौ ताम्रशासनीकृत्य आचन्द्रार्क भवता
१७। कौशिकगोत्राय त्रियर्ष्यप्रवराय भट्टत्रिविक्रम भट पुरु
१८। सो(पोत्त)म सुताय भट उच्छाहधर्मसुनाय भट वच्छपाय धर्मेण करत्वे
१९। न प्रतिपादित: । उक्तंच धर्मशास्त्रे–बहुभि:र्वसुधादत्ता राजाभि: सग—
२०। रादिभि:, यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् माभूद् फ

२१ । ल शङ्का यः परदत्तेति पार्थिवः, स्वदत्तात् फल मानन्त्यं परदत्ता-
२२ । नुपालने, स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुन्धरां स विष्ठा-
२३ । यां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते । सखेट घ ऽ नदीतटस्था-
२४ । नादि गुल्मक सर्वपीडावर्ज्जितो लेखनीप्रवेशित, मातापित्रोरा
२५ । त्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये, दुन दशेन ग्रामोयं चतुःसीमा पर्य्यन्ता कीर्ण्ण-
२६ । चेति, ग्राम तक्का मालभूम, सपद्र अरण्यः तालगच्छ

13

NOTE ON THE ORIYA PORTION OF THE VELIGĀLINĪ COPPER PLATE GRANT OF KAPILEŚVARA*

Thanks are due to Dr. D. C. Sircar for the care and interest with which he edited the above-named copper-plate grant 1 as it is an important document for the history of Orissa. Kapileśvaradeva or Kapilendradeva (as in the *Mādalapāñji*), the greatest king of Orissa, is described in the *Mādalāpāñji* as a beggar boy and a thief. It is stated that it was through the grace of Lord Jagannātha of Purī that he was selected as the successor by the last Gaṅga king named Bhānudeva. But the discovery of contemporary records like the grants of Raghudeva,2 the nephew and Viceroy of Kapileśvara, which have also been carefully edited by Dr. Sircar, has conclusively proved that Kapileśvara belonged to a respectable ruling family of the Solar dynasty.

In his paper published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXIII, Dr. Sircar wrote as follows : 'In these lines, I am placing before scholars my transcript and translation of this interesting docu-

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* From the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. I, No. 4, 1959.

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXIII, 1959-60, pp. 275-92, for a separate treatment of the Oriya portion see *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXIII; 1957, pp. 13-17.

2 *E I*, Vol XXXIII, 1959-60, pp. 1-32.

ment with the hope that improvements on them may be suggested by more competent students of Orissan epigraphy.'[3] By expressing his views in the above manner, Dr. Sircar has shown his humility only. Dr. Sircar is not a scholar in Oriya and Telugu; but the manner in which he has edited this trilingual inscription, written in Telugu and Oriya scripts deserves great credit This very inscription was edited first by the late Raja Sahib Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadeva of Tekkali, who was a scholar in both Oriya and Telugu, in the *Journal of the Bombay Histori al Society*, Vol VI, pp 94–111, but he failed to do any justice to this interesting document. Raja Sahib of Tekkali also published a paper in the Oriya monthly *Sahakara*, Vol. XX, pp. 756-763, in December, 1939 which included the text of the Oriya portion and his transcript there is not all intelligible. Dr. Kunjabihari Tripathi, M A., Ph. D. (Lond.), has edited also this Oriya portion in the first issue of the *Kovarka*, pp 95-97, for September, 1958 an Oriya quarterly which is published by the *Orissa Sahitya Academy* Dr. Tripathi's reading is in no way helpful. We are fortunate that the inscription was re-edited by Dr Sircar in the *Epigraphia Indica* and the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* for the benefit of scholars in general.

After going through Dr. Sircar's paper published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, I found that improvement is possible both in regard to his transcript and translation as well as his interpretation. I therefore requested Dr. Sircar to send me a reprint of his paper on the 'Veligālinī Grant of Kapileśvara, Saka 1380' published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, and I am very thankful to him for complying with my request.

The grant was made on the occasion of the *Simha-Bṛihaspati-puṇyakala*. This occasion occurs every 12 years when Jupiter enters Leo and, during the period of one year when Jupiter remains in Leo, a bath in the river Godāvarī is considered most meritorious. Kapileśvaradeva, the king of Orissa, made the gift of lands in the form of *śasanas* to Brāhmaṇas in order to commemorate himself, his father Jāgeśvaradeva and his mother Belamādevī on this auspicious occasion most probably at Rajahmundry in the river Godāvarī on the Vaiśākhī purnimā day. The astrological works called *Jyotirnibandha* and *Nirṇayasindhu* discuss the significance of the *Simha-Bṛhaspati-yoga*

3. *J. A. S.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 13,

in relation to the river Godāvarī. The *Jyotirnibandha* quotes verses from the *Brahma Purāṇa*, *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* and *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* and these Puranic references appear to be older than Saka 1380. It seems that Dr. Sircar has missed this significance and therefore has translated this portion of the text as follows: '*(while the king was taking bath for the purpose of making a grant)* in the bed of the river Gautamī (i.e. Godāvarī) the Srī-hasta (i e. the king) poured water (i.e made gift of the village Veligālinī by pouring water in the hands of the donees) at a time when the *kāla* (i e. *tithi*) was Pūrṇa (i e Pūrṇimā), *(the week-day)* Bṛhaspati *(and the lagna)* Simha.'[4]

While dealing with the date of the grant given in the Sanskrit portion of the copperplate grant, Dr Sircar has written as follows: 'The Sanskrit portion states that the grant was made by king Kapileśvara while he was camping on the bank of the Godāvarī on the occasion of the Vaiśākhi (i.e. the full-moon day of the lunar month of Vaiśākha) in the year 1380 of the Saka era, otherwise styled Bahudhānya. The Vaiśākhī-pūrṇimā in Saka 1380—Bahudhānya began on Thursday, the 27th April, A D 1458, and ended next day. Normally therefore the date of the grant should be taken as the 28th April, A D 1458. But the Oriya part of the inscription edited here seems to give the name of the week day on the said date as Bṛhaspati, i e. Thursday It is therefore possible that the grant was made on the 27th April, A D. 1458.'[5] Elsewhere also he has written, 'The Oriya part of the inscription seems to supply the name of the week-day Bṛhaspati. i. e. Thursday.'[6]

From the above observation of mine, it will be clear that actually there is no mention of the week-day (Thursday) in the Oriya part of the inscription. The reference is to the planet Jupiter. The Vaiśākhī-pūrṇimā in Saka 1380 fell on Thursday, the 27th April, A. D. 1458, and this is the date of the Veligālinī copperplate grant.

The text of the inscription may be divided into three parts, Part I dealing with the locality and the occasion of the grant, *Part II* with the donees and *Part III* with the conditions of the grant,

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4. J.A.S., Vol. XXIII, p. 17.
5. *Ibid*, pp. 13–14.
6. *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 277.

My transcript of the Oriya text is given below. The corrections have been shown within brackets.

TEXT

Obverse

1. Medura-thala-madhye Belagālini-kābākera-7 nāmā-khaṇḍe āti-
2. to(thye)-bhogyama-Daṇḍapāṭa-mūla-koṭha-desa(śa)ru pheḍi Srībasta 8
3. santake Gau(Gau)tamī-uadi(dī)-garabha(garbha)-nīre Singha-(Simha)-Bre(Bṛi)haspati-punya 9 (punya)-
4. kāli(kāla)-smae(samaye) Srī-haste pāṇī(pāṇi) chhāḍilā-bhumī(mi)-dānanāṇā-gotra-Brā-
5. mba(hma)ṇaṅku (।*) Bi (Vī)ra-Srī Gajapti(pati) Gau(Gau)ḍe-sa(śva)'a ṇṇa(na)ba(va)-koṭī-Karṇṇāta-
6. Kalabarage(varge)sa(śva)ra-Pratāpa Kapī pi)lesa(śva)ra-deba(va)-mā(ma)hārājā-
7. ṅkara data(tta) Jagesa(śva)rapura-sā(śā)sana-Belamapura-sa(śā)sana-Pratāpa-Ka-
8. pī(pi)lesa(śva)rapura-sā(śā)sana(।*) E tini sā(śā)sanaku bhā 40 lekhāe bhāga 120 madhye, 10
9. Bāḍi-tolā 11 (ṭā)-jalabhumī(mi) madha (dhya) kari dei-hoilā (।*) E gā(gāṅ)ara bhumī

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7 Dr. Sircar reads the word as *koshtha-karana*. There is no o sign with *kā* which is clear. The letter after *ka* is of peculiar shape. It looks like *ha* (cf *hā* in *mahārāja* at the end of line 6). If it is a conjunct it may be *mbha*. The fourth letter is of peculiar shape and I read it as *ra*. Thus Dr. Sircar's *koshṭha-karaṇa* stands for *kāhākara* or *kāmbhakara* according to my reading. It is a Telugu place name which has been used in Oriya.

8. This form of *ha* is still in use in the Karaṇī script. There is no sign of super-script *r* with it.

9 Dr. Sircar's reading is *purva*. The *y* sign in this letter is the same as that *nya* in *mainya* line 10.

10 This stands for *madhye* in Karaṇī writing.

11. This letter is *la*; but the word *tolā* does not give any sense. *Bāḍi-tola-jala-bhumi* means homestead land, garden land and cultivable land.

10 gā(gāu)a aimbhe(āmbhe) sarva māinya(mānya) chhatisa(śa) ābadāna(avadāna) madha(dhya)kari chhāḍilāke bho-

Reverse

11 ga karāibā (॥*)

TRANSLATION

Beligālini-kāhākara-khaṇḍa (or Kāmbhākara-khaṇḍa) situated in the holy place of Meḍura and allotted for the hospitality and entertainment of guests is separated from the original Koṭha-deśa (or *Khasmahal*) of the king by the seal and signature *(Srī-hasta-santake)* of the king who poured water on the gift of land *(pāṇi-chhaḍila.bhumi)* or donated the land to Brāhmaṇas of various *gotras* on the auspicious occasion of Simha-Brihaspati (when Jupiter is in Leo) in the stream of the river Gautamī (i.e. Godāvarī).

The gift of *Vīra-śrī-Gajapati-Gauḍeśvara-navakoṭi-Karṇaṭa-Kalavargesvara Mahārāja* Kapileśvaradeva consists of Jāgesvarapura-śāsana, Belamapura-śāsana and Pratāpa-Kapileśvara-pura-śāsana and these three *śasanas*, consisting of 40 *bhāgas* (shares) each comprise 120 *bhāgas* in total including homestead land, garden land and cutlivable wet land.

I make the donees enjoy the lands of the village and the village itself declaring it free from all imposts including thirty-six taxes.

14

TRILINGA, TRIKALINGA, KALINGA, ODRA & UTKALA.*

In verse 2 of the Brahmesvara inscription Janamejaya has been described as lord of Trilinga (Triliṅgādhipa) and the conqueror of Odradeśa. Janamejaya's copper plate grants mention that he had the title of Trikaliṅgādhipati and not Triliṅgādhipati. This inscription mentions in the last line that Udyotakeśari had the title of Trikaliṅgādhipati which was assumed by all his predecessors. The omission of the title of Triliṅgādhipa in all the earlier inscriptions of the dynasty

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* From the Orissa Historical Research Journal, Vol. I, No. 1, 1952.

seems to be rather confounding and its occurance in the latest inscription as a title of the founder of the family gives no clue to suggest any satisfactory explanation.

But Trilinga as a geographical term possesses an interesting history which is discussed below.

A. *Trilinga from other epigraphic sources :—*

1. *Akkalapundi grant of Singaya-Nayaka* [1] of the Saka year 1290 (1368 A D.) mentions Deśastriliṅganāmā and Triliṅgadeśādhipati.

2. *Srirangam plates of Mummandi-nayaka* [2] of the Saka year 1280 (1358 A. D.) gives the boundary of Tilinga as follows :—

Paschāt-purastādapi yasya desau,
Khyātau Mahārāṣṭra-Kalimga-sañjou,
Avāg-udak-Pāndyaka-Kānyakuvjau
Deśasoba tatrāsti Tilimganāmā, V. 5

"To the west and the east, two famous countries Mahārāṣṭra and Kaliṅga; to the south and the north Pāṇḍya and Kānyakuvja, it is that country which is called Tilinga."

These two inscriptions belong to the same family and we find Trilinga in one and Tilinga in another which shows that Tilinga was derived from the Sanskrit Trilinga.

3. The *Thana plate of Ram Chandra* [3] of the Saka year 1194 (1272 A. D.) mentions the defeat of the Tilingas (Tiliṅga-tuṅga-taran-mulana-damtāvala)

4 *Purle plates of Indravarman* [4] the lord of whole Kalinga, (Sakala Kaliṅga) mentions that the donee came from Trilinga and got land in Kalinga. The date of this plate has been assigned to 631 A. D. by Sri Subba Rao.[5]

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1. E. I, Vol. XIII, p. 262.
2. *Ibid.* Vol. XIV, p. 90.
3. *Ibid.* Vol XIII, p. 199 & 202.
4. *Ibid.* Vol. XIV, p. 362.
5. J. A. H. R .S. Vol. VI, p. 79

These inscriptions give a history of Trilinga from the 7th century A. D. to the 14th century A. D.

B. Mention of Trilinga in the Purāṇas and Sanskrit literature.

Sylvain Levi writes as follows :—

Trilinga "takes diverse forms which presents the terrible perplexity of the scribes in face of a kind of monster. The P.W. records the forms Trilinga and Tailanga; the Mārkaṇḍeya P. 58, 28 and the Vāyu P., 45, 11, write; Tilinga."[6]

This Tilinga no doubt, is derived from Trilinga

Rājasekhara's Viddhasālabhanjikā [7] mentions Trilinga twice at pages 43 and 139 and so also Vidyānātha's Pratāparudriya [8] at pages 118 and 154. Rājasekhara's date is in the 1st. quarter of the 10th century A.D.[9] and the date of Vidyānatha is the first few decades of the 14th century A.D. Rājasekhara's patron was the Chedi King Keyuravarṣa Yuvarāja I and Vidyanātha's patron was Kākatiya king Pratāparudradeva.

It will not be out of place here to discuss on the historical value of Viddhasālabhañjikā and Pratāparudriya.

The historical bearing of Viddhasālabhañjikā was first discussed by Hultzsch [10] in 1905 who suggested the identification of its hero Karpuravarṣa with Keyuravarṣa Yuvarāja I, the Kalachurī king. He further suggests that Trilingādhipati corresponds to the title Trikalingādhipati which is applied to the Kalachurī Kings in their copper-plate inscriptions. Prof. V. V. Mirashi discussed its historical value in a paper entitled 'Yuvarājadeva I of Tripurī'[11] in 1930. Then Sri D. Sharma referred to its historical bearing in a paper called 'The Staging of Viddhaśālabhañjikā [12] in 1931. Sri Sharma writes that "the king has been called the 'lord of Trikalinga' and refers to the

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6. Pre-Aryan & Pre-Dravidian pp. 75-76
7. 'Balamonorama series' Madras, p. 931
8. Jibananda Vidyasagara's edition, 1883
9. Kavyamimamsa, p. XII.
10. I. A. Vol. XXXIV, 1905, pp. 177-79
11. J. B. O. R. I. Vol. XI, 1930, pp. 361-73
12. I. A. Vol. LX, 1931, pp. 61-63.

book edited by Jibānanda Vidyāsāgara which gives the text Trilingādhipati at p. 43 and Trilingādhipa at p. 138. This change of text is certainly misleading. Prof. Mirashi has also published a paper called 'Historical data in Rājasekhara's Viddhaśālabhanjikā in 1933.[13]

In the Act IV of Viddhaśālabhanjikā, the king is addressed twice as 'Karachuli-tilaka', at pages 145 and 148 and Hultzsch took it to be the same as Kalachurī-tilaka (the ornament of the Kalachurī) He also suggests that 'Nripurī' of the text stands for 'Tripurī. In some copper-plate inscriptions of the Somavamsī kings we find the use of vowel ri for ṛ such as (श्री) for (श्रृ). This sort of change of spelling is due to the ignorance in Sanskrit of the scribe. The text for the original 'Tripuri' was perhaps read by the scribe as Nṛpurī' from the similarity of letters *ta* and *na*. From this it appears that Rājasekhara's original text of 'Karpuravarṣa' 'Karachuli-tilaka' and 'Nṛpurī' was coined as such by him or the original text of Keyuravarṣa, Kalachūri-tilaka and Tripurī was changed to Karpuravarṣa, Karachuli-tilaka and Nṛpurī by the careless copyists. As the hero has been addressed as Trilingādhipati and Kalachurītilaka, it may be that these titles were used to signify the same country having two names, or Trilinga was an adjacent country to Kalachurī country in the early 10th century A. D. when the Kalachuri King assumed the title of Trikalingādhipati. So Trilinga cannot be taken as a mistake for Trikalinga

Mr. G. Ramdas has quoted a verse from a work called Trilinga Grammar belonging to the 12th century A.D.[14]

Vidyānātha was the court poet of king Pratāparudradeva of the Kākatiya dynasty of Warrangal and wrote a treatise on Alamkāra called *Pratāparudriya*. The date of this has been assigned to the last few decades of the 13th century or the first few decades of the 14th century as Pratāparudradeva is said to have ruled from 1268 to 1328 A.D. In the book, king Pratāparudradeva has been addressed as "Trilingādhipati' (p. 118) and Trilingadeśa-parameśvara" (p 151). The commentator interprets that Trilinga is the same as Andhradeśa.

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13. *Ibid.* Vol. LXII, 1933, p. 35-37
14. *Ibid.* Vol. XLII, 1925, pp. 35-37.

The mention of Trilinga kingdom in Viddhasālabhanjikā of the early 10th century A. D. and in Pratāparudriya of the early 14th century A. D. gives an idea of the extent of the kingdom in the central belt of India from the valley of the Narmadā in the north to that of the Godāvarī in the south and it practically gives us the same boundary as quoted above. Rājaśekhara's Kāvyamīmāmsā deals with the geography of India in detail. Although he was at the court of Yuvarājadeva I of the Kalachurī dynasty and wrote on Trilinga, yet he is silent on *Chedī* or *Dāhala* and *Trilinga* countries in Kāvyamīmāmsā. He only mentions that Kośala was then included under Purvadeśa lying to the east of Banaras. It seems that kingdoms of Kalachurī and Trilinga were then included in Kośala, otherwise Rājasekhara would not have left them out if these kingdoms would have had separate existance. It is a fact that we do not get any clear boundary of these kingdoms from the works of Rājasekhara.

C. *Trilinga from foreign sources :*

(i) "Tārānātha" writes Caldwell "repeatedly designates the Telugu country Trilinga" and describes Kalinga as a portion of Trilinga and Kalingapura as its capital"[15] Tārānātha's Tibetan History of the propagation of Budhism in India' was written in 1573 A. D.[16]

(ii) The Arab and Persian authors write Tilong and Tilingana.[17] Hobson Jobson contains quotations from passages translated into English under 'Telinga' and these give us dates from 1309 to 1590 A.D.

(iii) Ptolemy's (C. 150 A D.) writing has been transliterated as *Triglypton* or *Trilingon*.

Sylvain Levi referred to all these sources excepting Rājasekhara and Vidyānātha and remarked thus :

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15. Caldwell's Comparative Grammer of the Dravidian languages 1913—p. 28.
16. *Ibid.* p. 9.
17. Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian p. 76.

"But on the other hand it is astonishing that the name of the country is not met with till a late period, only after the year 1000 A.D. By a singular anomaly Ptolemy is the only guarantee of the name for all the earlier period."[18]

Rājaśekhara's reference to Trilinga is certainly earlier to 1000 A. D. but it was not known to Levi; and as the commencement of the Ganga era was not established in 1923, he perhaps took the date of Purle copper plate grant as a document belonging to the 11th century A.D. The date of this inscription is fixed now as 631 A.D.

The above references clearly show that the antiquity of Trilinga is well established for a period of 1000 years from 150 A. D. from the time of Ptolemy to Tārānātha.

Cunningham suggested that the Sanskrit equivalent of the Greek *Trilingon* is Trikalinga and Trilinga.[19] But Caldwell very rightly doubted this identification and wrote thus :—

"General Cunningham thinks Telinga derived, not from Trilinga, but from Trikalinga, but this derivation of the word needs to be historically confirmed. Kalinga and linga may probably in some way be connected, but the nature and history of connection has not as yet been made out"[20]

Elsewhere he writes :—

"The foreign name Trilinga must have been the name by which the place was called by the natives of the place, whilst Trigly-pton or Triglyphon must have been a translation of the name which had come into use amongst the Greeks. Hence the antiquity of Trilinga, as the name of the State, or of the capital city of a State, situated somewhere in India in Ptolemy's time, must be admitted to be established[21]

McCrindle fully agrees with Caldwell and writes as follows :—

"The Andhras and Kalingas, the two ancient divisions of the Telugu people are represented by Greeks and Gangetic nations. It

18. *Ibid.* p. 77
19. Ancient Geography of India, 1924, p. 594.
20. Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian languages 1913, p. 29.
21. *Ibid*. p. 28.

may be taken as certain that Triglyphon, Trilinga or Modogalinga was identical with Telingāna or Trilingam, which signifies the country of the *three lingas*, The Telugu name and language are fixed by Pliny and Ptolemy as near the mouths of the Ganges or between the Ganges and the Godāvarī Modo or Modoga is equivalent to *mudu* of modern Telugu. It means three."[22] McCrindle's Ptolemy was published in 1885 and Yule and Burnell's Hobson Jobson was first published in 1886 and from the following note on Telenga, it appears that the authors had not the occasion to take advantage of McCrindle's views because this note seems to support the views expressed by Cunningham in his 'Ancient Geography of India' which was publ shed in 1871.

"Though it has not, perhaps, been absolutely established that this name from a form Trilinga, the habitual application of Trikalinga, apparently to the same region which in later days was called Tilinga, and the example of actual use of Trilinga both by Ptolemy (though he carries us beyond the Ganges) and by a Tibetan author quoted below, do make this a reasonable supposition."[23]

McCrindle's researches on Ptolemy's Geography are confined to the study of places in India proper but Girini's researches on Ptolemy's Geography are extended to further India and Indo-Malayan Peninsula. Girini writes that "the Andhras of Orissa and Telengana. in conjuction with their near relatives, the Kalingas, founded, it appears, in that region, kingdom consisting of three districts or separate communities called Tri-Kalinga or Trilinga, a name from which the town Telengana was derived and employed to designate the country of Kalinga proper, on the western side of the Gulf of Bengal, as well as the country of Mons or Telenga (Talaings) on the opposite shore, which had been colonized by them "[24] The identity of Trilinga with Trikalinga in the above extract is perhaps due to the influence of Cunningham on Girini. No direct reference to or even tradition of Trikalinga has been recorded in any work on this subject of the Further India up till now.

The history of the colonisation of Burma by the people of Kalinga or Trilinga of India proper is forgotten in such a way in Eastern India that the tradition is even silent; but the study of history

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22. Ptolemy's Ancient India by McCrindle 1927, p. 234
23. Hobson Jobson 1903, p. 912
24. Gerini's Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia, 139,

in Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Java etc. has dispelled the obscurity to a great extent and thereby the dark period of the then-history of Eastern India has become brighter now. Kalinga is mentioned as a civilised country in the Dhauli edict of Asoka and the title of Kalingādhipati of Khāravela is found from the Hātigumphā inscription.

"The coast of Kalinga appears to be that part of the continent which commenced with the Archipelago at an early date, and emigration thither was most ripe; and the name appears to have been in great measure adopted in the Archipelago as the designation of India in general or of the whole of the peninsular part of it. Throughout the book of Malay historical legends called *Sijara Malaya* the *word Kalinga or Kling is used for India* in general but more particularly for the southern parts."[25]

The geographical and ethnical names such as Srikṣetra[26] Utkala[27] Kalingarāttah [28] and Tilangs [29] in Burma shows the influence of the people of Eastern India on the western side of the Bay of Bengal who established their colony there before the Asokan period. But we have not yet got any reference from Indian sources to Trikalinga in that period. The remark of the reviewer of the Gazetteer of the Pegu District is worth while quoting here in this connection.

"The only city of Pegu is referred to in inscriptions of the eleventh and twelveth centuries as Ussa Pegu, and the identification of Ussa with Orissa has been placed beyond doubt by Mr Duroiselle, the Government Epigraphist. The long debated question of the origin of the name Talaing may also be looked upon as settled According to Mr. Stewart the non-inhabitants of the country were confounded by the Burmese with Indians from Kalinga (Taleing) and Orissa (Ussa)" J. R. A .S. 1918, p. 150.

Cunningham writes that "the Mahābhārata names the Kalingas three separate times and each time, in conjuction with different peoples."[30] Sylvain Levi has discussed all the three appelations which

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25. Hobson Jobson, Kling, p. 488
26 Girini p. 66
27. *Ibid.* p. 73
28. *Ibid.* p. 32
29. *Ibid.* p. 30
30. The Ancient Geography of India 1924, p. 594

do not help us to find out the term Trikalinga from them. Asoka's Edicts only mention Kalinga and "after him under Khāravela, Kalinga became the centre of a powerful empire of which the Chief assumed the title of Chakravartin "[31] As Khāravela's inscription omits Trikalinga it is unsafe to think of Trikalinga in those days. Pliny mentions *Macco-Calinoae, Gangarides Calingae* as separate peoples from Calingae and this led Cunningham to write that the name Trikalinga is probably old and was known as early as the time of Megasthenes, from whom Pliny chiefly copied his Indian Geography [32] Cunningham's chief sources of information on Trikalinga are the (1) *Copper plate grant from near Jabalpur* in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol. VIII. p. 485 and Colonal Francis Wilford's article on the Indian Geography published in the said Journal Vol. XX, 1851 which was written as early as 1811.

Wilford writes as follows on Trikalinga :—

"Sri Karna Deva takes the title of king of *Trikalinga* or the three shores to the east, west and south of India. × × × In his grant found lately at Benares he calls himself Sri Karna Deva King of *Trikalinga* or India."[33] "The sea coast of Calinga of India is divided into three parts emphatically called Tricalinga or three shores. The first Calinga includes the sea coast about the month of the Indus; the second extends all round the peninsula; and the Gangetic shores, from Cuttack to Chatganh constitute the third No emperor in India, would pretend to celebrity, and lasting fame unless he was the master of these three shores when he assumed the title of Tricalingādhipati; the lord-paramount of Tricalinga."[34] Elsewhere in the same paper he writes :— "This is a well known legend in India and these three towns are styled Tripuri or Traipuri under Tripūrasura who was Tricalingadhipati and had a town in each Kalinga. These were destroyed at once by unerring arrow of Siva who was standing in the district of Tipperah. One of these towns was to the east-wards of the Ganges, the other near Amaracantaca, and the third to the west of Indus."[35] Unfortunately Wilford has not given the reference from which

31. Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian, p. 75
32. Ancient Geography of India 1924, p. 594
33. Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX, 1807 p. 104 and 107
34. J. A. S. B. Vol· XX 1851, p. 233
35. *Ibid*, p. 484.

Purāna he got this title of Tripurāsura and no Sanskrit Dictionary gives the meaning of Kalinga as sea shore. But it is certain that he got Trikalinga of India from the Benares copper plate. According to Wilford's interpretation Pliny's three Calingas may be interpreted as the three shores of India and Further India, and we have found it historically true that the two shores on the east and west of the Bay of Bengal represents two Kalingas but there is nothing to support that the western coast of India was known ever as Kalinga.

In Harṣacharita (Book VIII) the epithet 'Trisamudrādhipati' is found and it reminds us Trikalingādhipati in the same sense as put by Wilford.

Caldwell writes that " Dr Kern also in his translation of Varāhamihira's 'Brihat Samhitā' mentions that the name Trikalinga is found in one of the Purānas. "[36] But in Hobson Jobson is quoted his translation at page 498 in which there is no reference to Trikalinga.

Burnell however writes " Western and Eastern Kalinga "[37] and in the foot note he adds :—

" Kalinga, or rather Trikalinga is very old name for the greater part of the Telugu coast on the Bay of Bengal. Dr. Caldwell took this (Pliny's Modogalingam) to be for the old Telugu, 'Modaga' and 'linga', and to mean three lingas, and, thus accepted the native chronology of Telugu. There can be no doubt about that it is merely Mudu Kalinga or three Kalingas and has nothing to do with linga. In his second edition, however, Dr. Caldwell gave up this explanation ...... The Trilinga theory is certainly not supported by Ptolemy's Triglypton or Trilingon which is most probably a copyist's error for Trikalinga. At all events a derivative of 'Glypto' could never mean linga. Cunningham recognises three Kalingas and rightly doubts the name having any thing to do with linga."[38]

I am not sure how far Kalinga is to be taken in the sense of Trikalinga as accepted by Burnell. The misconception, I suppose,

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36. Dravidian Grammar p. 29.
37. Elements of South Indian Palaeography, 1878, p. 23.
38. *Ibid*, Foot note 1. p. 23.

rests with Pliny's mention of three nations of Kalinga, coupled with Sanskrit Trikalinga which has led the scholars to interpret Ptolemy's Trilingon as Trikalinga. But the evidence of the preservation of 'Taling' and 'Kalingarattah' in Further India and 'Tilang' in the Arabic and Persian languages deserve consideration and definitely supports the explanation that Ptolemy's Trilingon refers only to Trilinga and not Trikalinga, a Sanskrit word, which after translation became Modogalinga by Pliny.

As the term Trikalinga possesses considerable historical importance in the mediaeval period of the history of Eastern India, I am giving below the references arranged according to the dynasties which claimed the title of Trikalingādhipati or whose records mention Trikalinga as a kingdom.

I *The Eastern Gangas of Kalinga*

A. Early Gaṅgas ;—

(i) The Jirjingi plates of Indravarman 39 of the Ganga era 39 (533 A. D.)

(ii) Sāmantavarman's C. P. grant 40 of the Ganga era 64

B. Later Gaṅga kings

(i) Vajrahasta V (1038—1070 A. D.)

(ii) Chodagaṅga (1076—1147 A. D.)

(iii) His successors upto Naraśimhadeva II (1278-1305 A. D.)

The copper-plate grants 41 of Vajrahasta V mention that his predecessor Gunamahārnava came from Trikalinga kingdom which was ruled by the Gaṅgas.

Sāhityadarpana, a treatise on Alamkāra written by Visvanātha (early 15th. Century A.D.) mentions that the then king of Orissa possessed the title of *Trikalingabhumitilaka* (chapter IV). From this it appears that the title was assumed by the Gaṅga kings from 1038 A. D. to 1420 A. D. for nearly 400 years.

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39. J.A H.R.S. Vol. VI p. 71.
40. *Ibid.* Vol. XIII. pp. 94-95.
41. (i) E. I. Vol XI Narsipatna plate (ii) *Ibid.* Vol. IV Nandagam plate (iii) *Ibid.* Vol. IX. Madras Museum plate (iv) *Ibid,* Vo XXIII. Ganjam C. P 71.

2. The *Eastern Chalukya* inscriptions show that there was a kingdom called Trikalinga adjoining to Veṅgimaṇḍala. The Masulipatam plates of Amma I (918-925 A. D) tell us that king Vijayāditya IV (918 A. D.) ruled Veṅgimaṇḍala joined with Trikalinga forest (Trikalingāṭavi-yuktam) (950-970 A. D)" 42

3. *Somakuli kings* of Utkala and Kosala had this title from 950 A. D 43

4. *Kalachuri kings of Dāhala.*

Among the Kalachuri kings the following possessed the title of Trikalingādhipati.44

(i) Gāṅgeyadeva Vikramāditya (C. 1030-40 A. D.)
(ii) Lakṣmikarṇadeva (C. 1040–70 A. D.)
(iii) Yasakarṇadeva (C. 1073-1125 A. D)
(iv) Gayakarṇadeva (1151 A. D.)
(v) Narasimhadeva (1155-70 A. D.)
(vi) Jayasimha (1175 A. D.)
(vii) Vijayasimhadeva (1180–95 A. D)

5. *Chandatreyas of Jejakabhukti.*

Among the kings of this dynasty only Trailokyavarmadeva (1205-1247 A. D.) assumed this title and his Rewa grant of 1240 A. D. mentions the title 45

6. The Paithan plate of *Yadava king* Rama Chandra of the Saka year 1193 (1272 A. D.) mentions that Jaitungi I " slew the king of Trikalinga and seized the whole of his kingdom and rescued king Ganapati from the prison."46

The above references clearly prove the existence of the Trikalinga kingdom on the north of the Godāvari. It seems that this kingdom was first established by the early Gaṅgas. It is also possible that Janamejaya's predecessor of Trilinga conquered Trikalinga from

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42. *E. I.* Vol. XXIII p. 69.
43. Proceedings of the I H. Congress 1944. pp. 180—195
44. D. H. N. I. Vol. II Haihayas of United and Central Provinces.
45. *Ibid* p. 724.

the eastern Chālukyas and assumed the title of 'Trikalingādhipati' which is found in the earliest inscription of Janamejaya as he inherited it from his father. The fall of the eastern Chālukyas has a bearing on the rise of the Somakuli kings and thereby help us in assigning the date of Janamejaya.

The geographical extent and significance of Trikalinga have been interpreted by many writers as follows Under Trilinga necessary quotations have been given above.

1. In 1871 Cunningham said that "Trikalinga or three Kalingas must be the three kingdoms of Dhanakataka or Amaravati on the Krishna, Andhra or Warrangal, and Kalingas, or Rajamahendri." 47

2. In 1874 Burnell wrote that Kalinga or rather Trikalinga is the very old name for the greater part of the Telugu coast on the Bay of Bengal. 48

3. In 1888 Keilhorn wrote that "regarding the expression Trikalingādhipati, 'lord over the three Kalingas', I agree with Sir A. Cunningham in considering the term Trikalinga to denote, or to be an older name of, the province Telingana"[49] and he referred to this note in Epigraphia Indica Vol. II, p. 298 which was publishd in 1894.

4. In 1895 Fleet wrote on the significance of the title *Trikalingadhipati* of the Somavamsi kings of Cuttack as follows :—

"They were paramount kings of Kośala country ; for, the charters issued in the thirty-first year of Mahābhavagupta I style him *Kosalendra* or lord of Kośala and convey villages in different divisions of the Kośala territory, X X X and, unless one of their titles, Trikalingādhipati, was simply a meaningless attribute, they were also paramount kings of the territory that was known as the three Kalingas, and which included evidently Kataka, or Cuttack, and probably the whole of Orissa." 50 Elsewhere he writes "lords of Kalinga or three Kalingas."

47. Ancient Geography of India 1924 p. 594.
48. Elements of South Indian Palaeography p. 23.
49. I. A. Vol XVII p 225.
50. E. I. Vol. III. pp. 327 & 337.

5. In 1898 M. M. Chakravarti wrote the following :—

"Lastly, Dr. Fleet thinks that Sivagupta and his descendants were kings of a dominion which included 'probably the whole of Orissa', and who had their capital at Kataka (327 . This conclusion does not appear to be borne out by the facts. The epithet 'Trikalingā dhipati' is merely an honorific title, just as the old kings of Orissa used to style themselves as 'kings of Gaura and Karnāta' without having the smallest bit of land in those countries. The word Kataka should be taken as a common noun denoting 'camp' the old name of modern town Kataka being 'Baranasi Kataka'. × × All these facts and a careful earding of the grants lead me to the conclusion that Sivgupta and his descendants were really kings of Kosala or Daksina Kosala (identifiable with the N. E. part of Central Provinces)". 1

6 In 1905 G. M. Laskar wrote as follows :—

"The title of Trikalingādhipati (lord of the three Kalingas) used by these kings requires a little consideration. The word Trikalinga is a vague term to us. But it seems to be sure that it included the whole of Kalinga with at least a few districts in the neighbourhood. Now Kalinga was a strip of country between the sea coast and the Eastern Ghats, It extended to about Vizagapatam in the south. Its northern limit is said in the Mahābhārata to be the river Vaitaraṇī (mod. Byterni), which river and the Kalinga people the Pāndavas are described to have reached at the same time on their southward progress from Bengal in the course of pilgrimage According to this account, Kalinga would include a considerable portion of Orissa. But the limits of countries fluctuated from time to time and there is no certainty that the same river was the northern boundary of Kalinga also at the time of inscriptions under notice. Be that as it may, we find in these inscriptions some points which would indicate that Kosala was included in the countries known as Tri-Kalinga (or the three Kalingas). The grantors of these charters have the title Tri-Kalingādhipati attached to their names, but not the title Kośalendra (lord of Kośala), although they were undoubtedly the masters of the Kośala country, Indeed, by the latter title Mahā-Bhavagupta I is referred to in charters B, C & D. But this title is not used along with their names nor is it joined to the title Trikalingādhipati, which is almost invariably prefixed to their names. This seems to to show that the title Trikalingādhipati was thought sufficient by these

51. J. A. S. B 1898, p. 378.

kings to imply their possession of Kosala also. It is therefore probable that Kośala, (i. e., Southern Kośala) was included in Trikalinga (three Kalingas). Thus we see that they possessed at least a part of Trikalinga and therefore the title Tri-Kalingādhipati was not altogether an honorific one as thought by Mr. M. M. Chakravarti. I do not mean to say, however, that the whole of Trikalinga was under their rule."[52]

7 In 1926 and 1928 Sri G. Ramdas discussed on the significance of the title of Trikalingādhipati [53] and wrote as follows :—

"Thus Trikalinga means high or elevated or hill Kalinga and signified in those days the region of the Eastern Ghats from the upper course of the Mahanadi to about the source of the Languliya river in the south. It cannot be understood to signify the country occupied by the Kalinga proper, Koṅgada and Orissa; nor does the affix 'Tri' means three".

8. B. C. Mazumdar [54] has interpreted Trikalinga as denoting three countries Kalinga; Koṅgada and Utkala. He has further identified Koṅgada and Kalinga with the modern Puri and Ganjam districts respectively. Pandit B. Misra and Dr. R. G. Basak [55] have accepted Mazumdar's identification.

9 R.D. Banerji writes as follows on Trikalinga :—

"The country of Kalinga was divided from very early times into three parts and was called *Tri-Kaliṅga* × × The existence of the term *Trikalinga* in Sanskrit tempts us to accept Mudu Kalinga as a direct translation of the Sanskrit form or *vice versa.* The natural division of the northern extremity of the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal is very well suited to the term Tri-Kalinga × × × The vast country of the western shore of the Bay of Bengal, which extended from the Delta of the Ganges to that

52. J. & P. A. S B., Vol. I NS. p. 3
53. J.A.H.R.S. Vol. I, pp. 16-23 and J.B. & O.R.S. Vol. XIV, 19-28, pp. 539-47.
54. Orissa in the making, p. 172, 187 & 194.
55. J. B. & O. R. S. Vol. XIV, p. 145 & History of North Eastern India by R. G. Basak, 1934, p. 161.

of Godavari was called Kalinga in the ancient times; [56] but at pages 204 & 218 he writes that Trikalingādhipati is "the high sounding title" and "the meaningless title" respectively.

10. Sri R. Subba Rao writes that 'Trikalingas' are Utkala or north Kalinga, Kalinga proper and Tel Kalinga or south Kalinga" and Trikalinga country "extended from the river Ganges in the north to the river Godāvarī in the south." [57]

11. From the geographical existence of a country called Madhyama Kalinga in the Ganga inscriptions [58] Dr. D. C. Gangooly was of opinion that it "corresponds roughly to the modern Vizagapatam District. X X The designation was probably given to this province in order to distinguish it from south and north Kalinga which corresponded roughly to the modern Districts of Godavari and Ganjam respectively. These three divisions seem to have constituted the country known as Trikalinga." [59]

12. Dr. R. C. Mazumdar's note on Trikalinga is very illuminating and it runs as follows :—

" In Eastern Chalukya records of the 10th and subsequent centuries Trikalinga is distinguished from Kalinga and is obviously regarded as a place of less importance than Kalinga. Without entering into further discussion on this point, I think we have to admit that we cannot take Trikalinga in the Present record to denote the whole Kalinga, and that it was the designation of a separate region, most probably the hilly tract to the west of Kalinga." [60]

13. Dr. H. C. Ray at first took the title of Trikalingādhipati as a conventional [61] one. His notes at page 392 Vol I and pp. 783-84, Vol. II on Trikalinga only refer to Pliny. He has also criticised the interpretation suggested by G. Ramdas. But in the map No. 1 of Vol. II he has shown the position of Trikalinga as the very same

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56. History of Orissa p. 1-3.
57. J. A. H. R. S. Vol. VI p. 201, 203.
58. I. H. Q. Vol. VIII. p. 29.
59. *Ibid* Vol. VIII, p 29.
60. E. I. Vol, XXIII. p. 69-70.
61. D. H. N. Vol. I. p. 231.

as Dakṣina Kośala comprised in the modren area covered by the Ex-States of Kanker, Patna. Kalahandi, Sonpur and Baud and the Districts of Raipur in M. P. and Sambalpur and Ganjam in Orissa.

There are a few other references to Trikalinga but I have omitted them for the reason that they do not contain any new interpretation.

The Jirjingi copper plate of Indravarman of the year 39 of the Gāṅga era is assigned to the period of the first half of the 6th. century A D, (538 A.D.) and this is supported by the palaeographic evidence (475-550 A. D)[62] Prof M. Somasekhara Sarma writes that a copper-plate of Sāmanatavarman dated 64 of the Gāṅga era mentions Trikaling. The term *Sakala Kalinga* shows that the kingdom of Kalinga was divided into different parts and the term *Madhyama Kalinga* shows that it was divided into at least three divisions. In eastern India we find from inscriptions that countries are generally divided into north and south such as Uttara Rāḍha and Dakṣina Rāḍha, Uttara Toṣala and Dakṣina Toṣala and so we shall not be wrong if we assume that there were Uttara Kalinga and Dakṣina Kalinga as suggested by Dr, Gangooly. If this interpretation is accepted; we can safely say that Trikalinga comprised northern, central and southern divisions of Kalinga and Trikalinga was used in the same sense as *Sakala-Kalinga.* The kingdom of the Gangas in the Kalinga country of the early period was known as Trikalinga as we find in the expression "Trikaliṅga-Mahibhujām Gaṅgānām" in the copper plate inscription of Vajrahasta V. who ruled from 1038-1070 A D. and although we do not find this expression in other inscriptions it seems that the Ganga kings were known as kings of Trikalinga. The Eastern Chalukya inscriptions support this assumption. But the significance in the use of the title by the kings of the Somakuli dynasty followed by the Gaṅgas, Haihayas and Chandrātreyas seem to be very different from that of the original meaning which was then considered perhaps to be of highest honour as suggested by Wilford.

The Gaṅga and Vigraha inscriptions clearly prove their independence in the 6th century A. D., but in the 7th century we find Saśāṅka, the king of Karnasuvarna as the overlord of the Sailodbhava king Madhyamarāja.[63] Just at this period Harṣavardhana also tried

62. E. I. Vol XXV. p. 286.
63. *Ibid.* Vol. VI, p. 143-46.

to establish his supremacy in Kongada. [64] At the same time Pulakesi II had also conquered Southern Kosala and Kalinga [65] This goes to show the weakness of the Gangas in this area. The kingdom of the Sailodbhavas was known as Kongada Maṇḍala which formed a part of Dakṣiṇa Toṣala under the rule of the Bhauma kings. The Talcher copper plate of Sivakara III of the Harṣa year 149 mentions that Unmatasimha conquered Rāḍha and his son Subhākara Deva subjugated the Kalinga people. [66] The copper plate inscription of Jayavarmadeva[67] of the Ganga dynasty of Kalinga mentions Unmatakeśari as his overlord. From this it appears that the title of Trikalingādhipati had no specific regal significance for Sasāṅka or Harṣavardhana or the Bhauma kings The Bhaumas ruled long and it was natural for them to use this title but they have not done so. But it is not understood what led the kings of Somakuli dynasty to use this title after 400 years and the significance of this title of Trikalingādhipati used by the later Ganga kings of Kalinga and Utkala, the Haihayas and the Chandrātreyas is equally unintelligible to us. Thus it appears that it was simply honorific in the 10th century A. D. and onwards

The Brahmesvara inscription is definite about the fact that Janamejaya conquered Oḍra while he was the ruler of Trikalinga and Kosala. The titles of Mahāśivagupta and Mahābhavagupta of the copper-plates of Janamejaya suggest that he was connected with the Sirpur family. Dr. H. C Ray has suggested that the family of Janamejaya is different from that of the Sripur kings [68] and his suggestion has been accepted by Dr. Bhandarkar. [69] But I am unable to agree to his suggestion for the reason that Janamejaya can not be connected with any other known family. The copper-plate inscriptions of Janamejaya do not mention the conquest of Oḍra like this inscription The copper plate inscription of the year 31 only mentions that Janamejaya was known as Kośalendra. In the inscriptions of the Pandava family these virudas of lord of Kośala (Kośalendra) and Mahābhavagupta followed by Mahāśivagupta are also found. [70] Such

64. History of Orissa Vol. I. p. 129.
65. *Ibid*, p. 130
66. Orissa under the Bhauma kings p. 4.
67. I. H. Q. Vol. XII. pp. 49 ff.
68. D H. N. I. Vol. I. p
69. L. I. N. I. pp, 396 & 403 & I. A. Vol. LXI, 1932, p. 231.
70. L. I. N I. Nos, 1652-53.

a similarity definitely suggests the family connection of Janamejaya with that of Tivaradeva. It is possible that the descendants of Tivaradeva conquered Trilinga and Trikalinga countries and were known as lords of Trilinga and Trikalinga (Trilingadhipati and Trikalingādhipati) This helps us to locate Trilinga and Trikalinga countries in the neighbourhood of Kośala As Oḍra country lay also in the neighbourhood of Kośala, Janamejaya had no difficulty in acquiring it and extending the boundary of his kingdom to further east upto the Mahodadhi or the Bay of Bengal.

Oḍradeśa and Utkaladeśa are the very same country and not two separate countries In his map of Eastern India drawn by Pargitar Oḍra and Utkala are shown as two separate kingdoms. 71

B. C. Mazumdar also holds the same view and writes thus:—

"The whole of Utkala country consisted of a narrow strip of land extending through the native states of Nilgiri, Maysurbhanj and Keonjhar to the western limit of Gangpur." 72

" The high lands of Orissa extending from the southern limit of Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj to the left bank of the river Mahanadi constituted the land of Oḍra." 73

" The hilly country lying between Kalinga and Dakṣiṇa Kosala was the Oḍra land while Utkala as a separate country to the north of Oḍra has been clearly recognised in all old records. To fix limits of the Oḍra country with some definite marks, we have also to mention this fact on the authority of epigraphic records (e g Jāllaja Deva's inscription of the 12th century A D.) that the native states of Daspalla and Baud, lying to the east of the Tel river were within the Andhra country." 74

Against this identification of Utkala and Oḍra as two separate kingdoms the following epigraphic and literary references are noted below.

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71. J A. S. B. 1897
72. Orissa in the making. Plate II. p. 15.
73. *Ibid.* p. 17.
74. *Ibid.* p. 16.

The copper plate grant of Somadatta, one of the four copper plates discovered from Soro "Records the grant of the village called Adyara situated in the Sarephāhāra Visaya in Uttara Toşala which again formed the part of Oḍravişaya,"[75] As Sarephahāra has been identified with Soro, the extent of northern Toşala is safely located in the district of Balasore. Somadatta of the Soro plate seems to be the same person mentioned in the Midnapur copper plate of the year 19 of Saśāṅka (शशाङ्क) in which Daṇḍabhukti has been described to be in Utkala-deśa.[76] The Bauda copper ptate grant of Tribhuvana Mahādevī of the Bhauma dynasty mention that Uttara Toşala included Daṇḍabhukti Maṇḍala which is identified in the Midnapur and Bankura area of south Bengal. As this inscription shows that Oḍra is in the same area of Utkala B. C. Mazumdar's views are untenable.

Somadatta's inscription is the earliest copper plate grant in Orissa so far discovered and its date is early 6th century A. D[77] The next copper plate inscription containing Oḍra is dated in the middle of the 8th century A.D. in which Harşadeva of the family of king Bhagadatta has been described as the overlord of Gauḍa, Oḍra etc., Kaliṅga and Kośala (Gauḍoḍ ādi Kaliṅga-Kośalapati)[78] According to the copper plate inscriptions of the Bhauma dynasty the sea-board districts of Orissa were known as Toşala, subdivided into two called Dakşiṇa Toşala and Uttara Toşala and in one inscription (L.I.N I, No. 2059) the Ruler's family belonged to the Utkalakula. The Pala inscriptions of Bengal mention Utkala[79] and the conquest of Utkala by Vigraha Pala shows the weakness of the Bhaumas of Toşala. The Kalachurī inscriptions[80] mention Utkala and Dirghasi inscription of Rajaraja I[81] mentions Utkala in the Sanskrit portion and Oḍra in the Telugu portion. The importance of Dirghasi inscription lies in this that it mentions both Utkala and Oḍra which refer to the same geographical area.

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75. E.I. Vol. XXIII, p. 202
76. J.R.A.S B., Letters, Vol XI, 1945, p. 8
77. E.I. Vol. XXII, pp. 199-200
78. L. I. N. I. No. 1402
79. D. N. N. I. Vol. I, p. 291 & Orissa under the Bhaumas, p. 84
80. L. I. N. I. No. 1578 & 2031
81. E. I. Vol. IV, 314-15.

The copper plate grant of Yayāti of the year 9 was issued from Vinitapura in Kośala and its donee Samkhapāṇi, a resident of Silābhanjapati in Oḍra, was granted a village in Maradaviṣaya situated in Dakṣiṇa Toṣala. This inscription furnishes us with an evidence that Koṣala, Oḍra and Toṣala were then separate from each other.

On the other hand we get the following literary references of Utkala and Oḍra :—

In Kalidāsa's Raghuvamśa we find that Utkala was situated to the north of Kaliṅga. From Yuan Chuan's description we find that Koṅgada was situated to the north of Kaliṅga and Utkala or Oḍra (Ucha) lay to the north of Koṅgada In Rajasekhara's Kāvyamimāmsā we find the countries called Kaliṅga, Kośala, Tośala and Utkala (Kalinga—Kośala—Tośalotkala) The author of the Sanskrit lexicon called Trikāndaśeṣa defines Oḍra as the another name of Utkala (Oḍra Utkalanāmānah).

From all these references it is clear that Oḍra and Utkala stand for the name of the same country and not two as defined by B. C. Mazumdar and Pargitar.

From the epigraphic reference to Tri-Kalinga it will appear that it was not an independent territory with its own king. It was a tract of land which changed hands from time to time.

Its history starts from about the 6th or 7th century A. D. Prior to it there is no historical reference to it. From 6th or 7th century till the 13th century it figures in the epigraphic records of the kings of different dynasties.

From the nature of references it appears that the kings of the territories adjoining this tract were eager to annex it to theirs and looked upon the possession of it as an achievement and were proud of assuming the title Trikaliṅgādhipati.

It is quite natural that the tract having no lord of its own should excite the greed of the neighbouring princes. Besides, in those days of keen rivalry for supremacy and desire for expansion at the cost of the neighbours Tri-Kalinga, the Mid-Deccan tract, had acquired strategic importance; hence the desire among the princes of the neighbouring kingdom to annex it,

It is a problem to distinguish between Tri-linga and Tri-Kalinga. There is mention of Trilinga in the Puranas; and in the writing of the Greek historians, while there is nothing in hand to trace back the antiquity of the name Trikalinga to that period.

Curiously enough the earliest epigraphic reference to Trikalinga is to be found in the copper plates of the 2nd and 3rd king of the Ganga dynasty of Kalinga, viz Indravarman and Sāmanta Varman. In the context of what has just been said above, it may be possible that the eastern portion of Trilinga might have been called Trikalinga after the occupation of it by the above Gaṅga kings of Kalinga.

But the original word Trilinga did not become extinct. Both the words remained in use synonymously. That's why we find the use of both in the records of the Somavamsī and Kalachurī kings. Since Trikalinga sounded more dignified, specially owing to its association with Kalinga, which was one of the most powerful kingdoms in India that word was probably more frequently used.

From the thirteenth century the word Trikalinga seems to have lost its glory and made room for its aged rival 'Trilinga,' The absence of any reference to Trikalinga after the thirteenth century, except that in the plates of Chandella king Tailokya varman (1205) and use of the word Trlinga in Srirangam and Akkalpundi plates, in Vaidyanath's 'Pratāparudriya' and in Taranath's history lend support to this view.

It is difficult to say anything definite regarding the location of Trilinga or Trikalinga. From the epigraphic references it appears that it extended from the Godavari in the south to the river Tel on the north along the western border of Kalinga and Toṣala, and the southern borders of Dāhala and south Kośala. It roughly included the ex-States of Kankar, Bastar, Kalahandi, the hilly portions of Ganjam and Koraput and some portions of the M. P., roughly comprising Jhāḍakhanda or Gondwana of the Mughal period 82

But according to the Srirangam plates, the central tract of the Deccan plateau from the Vindhyas upto the border of the southernmost Pāndya kingdom was known as Trilinga. This might have been the

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82. Orissa in the making. pp. 63 ff.

original extension of the territory of Trilinga, but in the mediaeval period it did not extend beyond the Godavari, because the whole of the land to the south of the Godavari was occupied by different dynasties like, the eastern Chalukyas, the western Chalukyas, the Māhārāśtras Kadamvas of Banavasi Bāṇas etc. Only a narrow strip of hilly and deeply wooded tract lay unoccupied along the borders of the old kingdoms of Kośala, Kalinga and Tosala. Oḍra or Utkala was included in the last named kingdom.

15

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE WORDS ODISĀ AND ODIĀ

Orissa is the anglicised form of the Oriya word Oḍiśā. Stirling derives the word from "*Ordesa* or *Oresa* the old original seat of Odra tribe." In Hobson-Jobson it is written under *Ooriya* that " the proper name of the country (Orissa) is *Odradesa* and *Ordesa* whence Oriya " Again it is written there that "Orissa n. p. (Skt Oḍrārāshṭra the land of Oḍras). The word is a prākṛita form of Uttara, north or applied to north part of Kalinga " Hunter in his Orissa p 172-73 has laboured to give all sorts of lexicographical derivations of the words Oḍra and Utkala with the meaning of non-Aryan origin. None of these words Oḍrāshṭra, Orḍeśa or Oreśa give us Oḍiśā through phonetic changes of Prākṛta grammar. These derivations have not been challanged by any one and so we do not exactly know as to how and when our country was known as Oḍiśā and we, the people of Oḍiśā and our language as Oḍiā. Let us see how history helps us in our investigation.

In the Bhāgavata, IX. 5, 23 we find a verse which narrates that the queen Sudeshṇā bore six sons named Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Suhma, Puṇḍra and Oḍra to her husband king Bali by the sage Dīrghatamā and the Viṣayas (Countries) over which they ruled were called after their names. Again in the same Bhāgavata we find the king Sudyumna had three sons named Utkala, Gaya and Vinitāsva, According to Vāyu-Purāṇa (85. 19) and Harivaṁśa (10 9) we find that the country alloted to Utkala was known as Utkala-

* The Orissa Historical Research Journal, Vol. II, September 1953 & January 1954, Nos. 3 & 4

rāshtra. Thus we find Oḍradeśa and Utkalarāsṭra. The words Oḍra and Utkala find mention even in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata associated with Kalinga which was situated near the river Vaitaraṇī.

These references from the Purāṇas do not help us much in giving definite historical data but from them we only know that historical traditions have been faithfully recorded· there.

In Purushottamadeva's Trikāṇḍaśesha Oḍra and Utkala are described as synonymus. As the date of Purushottamadeva is not well established the work Trikāṇḍaśesha does not help us much for the history of these words relating to earlier period of the Indian history Let us see how the epigraphic records and well known Sanskrit works help in furnishing us with data on the history of the words Oḍra from which the geographical word Oḍiśā and ethenic and linguistic word Oḍiā have been derived. According to Prākṛita grammar Oḍiśā and Oḍiā are tadbhava words from Oḍra; and Utkala is the tatsama word of Utkala.

During the third and second centuries B. C. we have the edicts of Asoka at Dhauli and Jaugada and the Hātigumphā inscription of Khāravela at Udaygiri which mention Kalinga and so the southern limits of Oḍra or Utkala of the Pauranic tradition did not extend beyond the Mahanadī at that period

The earliest reference to Oḍra as the literary language finds mention in Bharata's Nātyaśāshtra which is dated according to some in the first century A D. and others one or two centuries later. Kālidāsa describes Utkala which was geographically situated to the south of Vanga and north of Kalinga. Varāhamihira was living in the 6th century A. D. and in his Bṛhatsamhitā mention of Oḍra and Utkala as geographical place namos is met with. Thus we find that the word Oḍra has been used by famous authors at different times with ethnic, linguistic and geographic significance. During the 7th century A. D Yuan Chuang, the Chinese traveller mentions Oḍra lying south-west of Karṇasuvarṇa and north of Kongada and Kalinga The Sore copper-plates dated in the 6th century A D. mention Oḍravishaya and Uttara Toshala and Midnapore copperplate belonging to Saśānka mentions Utkala. Oḍra also finds mention in the epithet 'Gauḍoḍrādi-Kalinga-Kośalapati' of Harsadeva of Kāmarupa. The Bhauma inscriptions mention Uttara Toshala Utkala and Dakshiṇa Toshala; Kongada maṇḍala was included within Dakshiṇa Toshala. Rājaśekhara in his Kāvyamīmāmsā mentions Kalinga-Koshala-Toshala-Utkala. The

copper-plates of Gayāda Tuṅga mention Oḍravishaya Rājendra Chola's inscriptions mention before 1025 A. D. Kosala, Yayātinagara and Oḍḍavishaya The Dirghasi inscription mentions Utkala in Sanskrit and Oḍḍavishaya in the Telugu text. The Gaṅga inscriptious from the time of Choḍagaṅga to Narasimha deva IV e. g. from the first quarter of the 12th century A. D. to first quarter of the 15th century A. D. mention Utkala. The Muslim historians of the 12th and 16th centuries A. D. always have described this part of the country as Jajnagar. Towards the end of the 14th century Shams-i-Siraj Afif has described at one place 'Jajnagar-Uḍis'ā in his Tarikh-i-Firozshahi. Firo Shah invaded Orissa in 1361 A. D. Kapilendra Deva's Jagannātha temple inscription dated 1443 A. D mentions Oḍiśārājya Sāraladāsa in his Oriya Mahābhārata (Adiparva) writes that Oḍiśa is the another name of Oḍrāshṭra. In Ferishtah's account on the other hand relating to Nizam Shah and Mahammed Shah III (1461.1422), the Bahmani Sultans of Kulbarga, *Jajnagar* and Oḍisah are mentioned as totally separate territories" but in Nizamuddin's *Tarikh-i-Akbari* only *Oḍiśā* finds mention. So Ferishtah's account on the existence of two separate kingdoms called *Odisa* and *Jajnagar* does not find corroboration even from the contemporary Muslim history.

The above references go to prove that *Oḍra*-vishaya of the 7th century A. D. was popular as Oḍḍavishaya in the 11th century A. D. Oḍḍavishaya was changed into Oḍaviśa which form has not been found from any inscription. Oḍāviśā was changed into *Oḍiviśā* as mentioned by Taranath, the Tibetan historian, who perhaps wrote it from some earlier account. The form Oḍiviśā was further shortened into Oḍviśā and Uḍiśā which form was current certainly earlier to 1360 A D. when Uḍisā was written by Afif. So it appears that Oḍisā was derived from Oḍravishaya through the following phonetic changes. Oḍravishaya - Oḍḍavishaya–Oḍaviśā – Oḍiviśā –Oḍviśā– Oḍiśā. Bharata described Oḍra as Vibhāsha and through phonetic changes the Oḍra became Oḍrīya whence Oḍiā has been derived.

The earliest use of the word Oḍiśā is thus dated some wherte in the middle of the 14th century A.D. The use of the word *Oḍrā* is found in the Dantewārā inscription of Bastar dated in the middle of 14th century A.D. vide Epigraphia Indica Vol XI.

The Pauranic form Utkala is still popular. Those who maintain that Utkala is derived from *Uttara* Kaliṅga have not produced any evidence on the use Uttara-Kaliṅga from any inscription or literature.

SECTION B.

PAPERS ON THE HISTORICAL RECORDS.

16

RAJA MAN SINGH FROM SOME ORIYA AND PERSIAN RECORDS OF ORISSA.

The conquest of Orissa by Raja Man Singh has been recorded in the *Akbarnamah*,[1] *Ain-i-Akbari*,[2] and *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*,[3] and these works are, no doubt, the best sources for this period of the history of Orissa. As early as 1822 Andrew Stirling collected certain data on the activities of Raja Man Singh from the *Mādalā-pānji*, the Oriya Chronicle of the Jagannātha Temple at Puri, and Persian revenue records which he himself examined and regarded as genuine.[4] The names of the authors of Stirling's Persian Records and the *Mādalānpānji* are not as well known as those of Abul Fazl and Khwaja N. Ahmed. Raja Man Singh's name is also recorded in four Oriya stone inscriptions which are undoubtedly contemporary records. In this paper I intend to discuss the historical value of those inscriptions and the Persian records examined by Stirling which furnish more interesting historical information than that recorded in the *Akbarnamah* and the *Ain-i-Akbari* on the administration of Raja Man Singh in Orissa.

Out of these four Oriya inscriptions two were found at the village of Kasiari in the Sadar Sub-Division of the Midnapore District in Bengal. The Achyutasagara inscription of Sirjang, dated Yugāvda 4696, Sakāvda 1617, Yavanabhoga 28 and Anka year 34 of Ramāchandra Deva, was discovered first by John Beams and referred to in the footnote of his paper entitled

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1. English translation, *Akbarnamah*, Vol. III
2. do *Ain-i-Akbari*, 1939, Vol. I, p.362
3. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* (Eng. Tr.) Vol. II, p 646
4. Stirling's Orissa (1) Asiatic Researches, Vol, XV, 1825
   (2) Bengal Secretariat Reprint, 1944

"Notes on the history of Orissa" 5 The Achyutaganga inscription of Sirjang gives the date of Yugāvda 4699, Sakāvda 1520, Yavanbhoga 30 and the Anka year 37 of Rāmachandra Deva My friend Sri Sudhakar Patnaik, B A., has published the text of these two inscriptions in a paper called "The Sirjang inscription of Achyuta Baliar Singh Mahapatra".6

The dates mentioned in these two inscriptions correspond to 1595 A.D. and 1598 A.D. respectively The Oriya inscriptions of the of village Kasiari are dated in the Saka year 1526 which corresponds to 1604 A. D. when Raja Man Singh was ruling in Orissa. The Kasiari inscription No. I is fixed to the wall of the Jagamohana of the Sarvamangalā temple at the S E E. corner. The inscription slab contains 7 lines of writing but as a portion of it is covered by the masonry wall of the Barwari Natamandira, I could not fully decipher the text which is given in Appendix A.

The purport of the inscription is this. In the happy and prosperous kingdom of Maharaja Man Singh in the Saka year 1526 and the Anka year 47, on Monday the 3rd Makara, the temple of Mangala Thakurani was erected by Chakradhara Bhuyan, son of Raghunatha Bhuyan, nephew of Jadu Bhuyan and grandson of Govinda Bhuyan of the village Kulyasena.

The brass image of Vijaya Mangala Thakurani contains an inscription of two lines on the pedestal, the text of which is given in Appendix B. The English rendering of the inscription is given below.

In the happy kingdom of Maharaja Mana Singha, Chakradhara Sarma, son of Raghunatha Sarma, the moon of the family caused the worship of the deity Sarvamangala in the Saka year 1526.

The late N N. Vasu read Raghunath Bhuyan of the first inscription as Raghunath Bhanja. The latter was a nephew (sister's son) of Raja of Utkala and the younger brother of the Raja of Mayurbhanja. He took up arms against his uncle, the ruler of

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5. J. A. S. B. 1883, pp. 233-34

6. *The Journal of the Orissa Academy*, 1940, pp. 21-32

Utkala and occupied its northern part. According to Mr. Vasu probably it was this prince who built the temple of Sarvamangalā [7]

The above inscription mentions the name of Raghunatha Bhuyan and not Rathunatha or Raghu Bhanja as deciphered by N. N. Vasu. The date, 1604, of the inscription goes against the date of Raghu Bhanja of the *Madalapanji* or "Durga Punj"[8] (Raghu Bhanj ?) of the *Akbarnamah*. So Mr. Vasu was entirely wrong in giving the reading of Raghunatha Bhanja for Raghunatha Bhuyan.

The date, 1526 Saka year or 1604 A. D., of the Kasiari inscriptions is corroborated by that given in the *Ain-i-Akbari* which records that "Man Singh remained in Bengal till 1013, when the sickness of the Emperor induced him to resign his appointment in order to be in the capital".[9] Raja Man Singh was the real conqueror of Orissa. He conquered Orissa in the 35th year of Akbar's reign in 1000 A. H. (1591-92). Man Singh remained in Bengal and Orissa till 1013 (1604-5), when Akbar's illness induced him to return to the court hastily.[10] So the date of the Kasiari inscription is very accurate as regards Man Singh's Subadari in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

In the *Madalapānji* and the *Akbarnamha* [11] we find that Raja Man Singh took a special interest in the worship of Jagannātha at Puri. In 1592 A. D , soon after the defeat of the Afghans and the capture of Cuttack, Man Singh "went off to pay devotions at Jagannātha. His idea was that he would be nearer Raja Rama Chand and that when an opportunity occurred he would be nearer to him".[12] The 'Ram Chand' is no other person than Ram Chandra Deva of the Sirjang and Kasiari inscriptions whose Aṅka years go to prove that he established supremacy in Orissa in 1568 A. D., when the Afghans of Bengal were in occupation of Orissa. Raja Ram Chandra lost no time to revive the worship of

7. *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj*, 1911, pp. 125-26
8. *Akbarnamah*, Vol III, p. 934
9. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 363
10. *History of Orissa*, by R D. Banerji
11. *Akbarnamah*, Vol, III, p, 880 and p. 941
12. *Ibid.* p. 941.

Jagannātha after the sacrilege of Kalapahar and was styled by the people as the second Indradyumna after the founder of the worship of Jagannātha at Puri Even Abul Fazl described him as "one of the famous Zamindars of Orissa" 13 In the Mādalāpāñji it is narrated that Raja Man Singh visited Puri with the son of Telanga Mukunda Deva upon whom he wanted to bestow the management of the Jagannātha Temple Rai Bahadur R. P Chanda has identified this son of Telanga Mukunda Deva with the Tila Rajah of *Akbarnamah.14* Raja Man Singh's plan could not be carried into effect as Ram Chandra Deva was actually in possession of the Temple long before 1592 A. D.

In the *Mādalāpāñji* it is further mentioned that Gaurā Rānī, wife of Rajah Man Singh built the Muktamandapa within the enclosure of the Jagannātha temple at Puri. *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi* describes Rānī Gawr as the chief wife of Raja Man Singh.15 Dr. Borah writes in the notes that "Rani Gawr evidently means the Rani who hailed from Gawr, i, e, Bengal and probably refers to the princess of Kuch Bihar who was married to Raja Man Singh".16 When Nathan, the author of *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi* describes Rani Gawr as the chief wife of Raja Man Singh, Borah's identification of Rani Gawr with the princess of Kuch Bihar whom the Raja married 17 towards the end of 1596 A. D. cannot be accepted. Further as Nathan should have known that Raja Man Singh had 1500 wives,18 his testimony leaves no doubt that Rani Gaura was the *Paṭṭamahiṣī* (chief wife) of Raja Man Singh. The *Mādalāpāñji* thus furnishes us with additional information on Raja Man Singh, not available in the Persian accounts

According to Stirling, though the Afghan usurpers were defeated by the armies of Akbar under the command of the General Khan Jehan and others and Todar Mall visited the province in A. D. 1580 to superintend the introduction of his settlement of

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13. *Ibid*, p. 9?7
14. J. B. & O. R. S., Vol. XIII, p. 25; Akbarnamah, Vol. III, p. 941
15. Baharistan-i-Ghaybi, p. 7
16. *Ibid.*, p. 794
17. Akbarnamah, Vol. III, p. 1068
18. Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 363.

the crown lands, the arrangements for the annexation of the Subah of Orissa to the empire, were not completed until the arrival of Raja Man Singh in 999 Amli,[19]

Though in some respects, Ain-i-Akbari covers the period up to the 40th year of Akbar's reign (1594-95 A. D), in the matter of administrative arrangements and statistical information, it does not go beyond 1590 A.D.[20] As the conquest of Orissa by Man Singh was not completed before 1593,[21] the administrative arrangements introduced by him are not to be found in the *Ain-i-Akbari.*

Apparently, Abul Fazl depended on the reports of Raja Todar Mall at the time of compiling the *Ain-i-Akbari* The Persian documents utilised by Stirling, however record Man Singh's administrative arrangements and are therefore very valuable for the historical geography of Orissa at the time of its conquest by Raja Man Singh.

After return from Puri to Cuttack Raja Man Singh "summoned" Raja Ram Chandra Deva, presumably for a settlement but "he objected.[22] Then Man Singh had to "wage war on him."[23] " On hearing of this H. M., who appreciates dignities became angry and issued censure. The Rajah recalled his troop, and apologised. Ram Chand, on seeing the graciousness of H. M., took the thought of paying his respects On 21 Bahman he visited the Rajah (Man Singh), and was treated with much respect."[24]

This quotation from the Akbarnamah, clearly shows that Raja Man Singh had no free hand in dealing with the Zamindars of Orissa.

Raja Man Singh made settlements with the powerful Princes of Orissa who were best qualified to control the turbulent people by their local rank and family influence. Among these princes the rulers of (1) Khurdha, (2) Sarangarh, and (3) Al are styled as Rajas and the rulers of (1) Keonjhar, (2) Mayurbhanj, (3) Bisenpur (modern

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19. Stirling's Orissa, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1904, p. 43.
20. Blochman's preface to the Ain-i-Akbari.
21. Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 646.
22, Akbarnamah, Vol. III, p 967.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.* pp 967-68.

Bankura),(4) Fathihabad, (5) Narayangarh, (6) Karangarh (Karnagarh), (7) Baghbhum (all in Midnapore) are styled as Zamindars It is interesting that all the places under the control of these Princes are in existence and can be easily identified. The principalities allotted to the local Princes by Raja Man Singh in 999 Amli seem to be different from the Sarkars of the *Ain-i-Akbari.*

In the *Ain-i-Akbari* we find "Raja Ram Chandra, Zamindar of Orissa"[25] was a Manasbdar of 500 and "Adwand and Sundar Zamindars of Orissa"[26] were Mansabdars of 200. But in Man Singh's settlement paper, it is found that the Mansab of Raja of Khurdha was 3500 and those of the Rajahs of Sarangarh and Al were 500 each. So the number of Mansabdars in the Ain-i-Akbari and Stirling's Persian Records remains the same. The *Madalāpāñji* narrates that Raja Man Singh allotted Al and Sarangarh to the sons of Mukunda Deva and the Persian records narrate that the Rajas of Al and Sarangarh were Mansabdars and so Adwand and Sundar of the Ain may be identified with these Rajas of Al and Sarangarh respectively. From the above it is clear that the accounts of Madalāpāñji and the Persian records of Orissa give more authentic information on the history of Orissa than those of *Akbarnamah* and the *Ain-i-Akbari.*

As Maasir-ul-Umara is reputed to contain "by far the best account of Raja Man Sing" including details of his conquest of Orissa, I tried to ascertain its exact contents and got the Persian portion translated into Oriya by Maulavi Emmanul Hak of Baripada. Massi-rul-Umara contains an interesting account of the Jagannātha Temple at Puri. The portion on the history of Orissa seems to be copied from the Akbarnamah, but it does not give the details of Raja Man Singh's conquest of Orissa or his administrative arrangements. Thus we find that Oriya inscriptions and the Persian revenue records of Orissa examined by Stirling furnish us with some more information on the history of Orissa than what we find in the famous Persian works noted above.

Stirling personally examined all these Persian records and writes :—

"The details of the arrangements adopted by Raja Man Singh for the disposal and management of the above important class of

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25. Ain-i-Akbari, Vol I, 1939, p. 548.
26. *Ibid*, p. 594.

estates, cannot be very interesting to the general reader, but I shall nevertheless introduce an extract from some old revenue accounts in my possession which describe these arrangements ...."[27]

Elsewhere he writes thus :

"I shall proceed to furnish abstract statements of the land assessment of Cuttack according to its present dimensions translated from revenue acconnts in the private possession of the family of the former Dewan of the Marhatta Government, the authenticity of which I see no reason whatsoever to doubt."[28]

It is unfortunate that since 1822 no one in Cuttack has attempted to find out these Persian Revenue accounts examined by Stirling. I am told that there are three almirahs full of Persian records in the Collector's Record Room at Cuttack and it seems to me that the documents mentioned by Stirling may be found in those almirahs. It is also unfortunate that the name of the family of the Dewan of the Marhattas at Cuttack was not recorded by Stirling. The Persian revenue records furnish authentic information on the early Moghal administration of Orissa as is evident from the pages of Stirling. As it may not be too late yet to search them out in the town of Cuttack I invite the Orissa Government and the Utkala University to take up the search at an early date.

Appendix A

प्रथम धाड़ि—श्री शुभमस्तु श्री मानसिंघं महाराजाङ्कर विजे शुभराज्ये समस्त ४७ अङ्क श्री ... ...

२य ,, मकर दि ३ ने शु ५ सोमबार १५२६ शके कुल्यसेन ग्रामर श्री गोविन्द भूयाँङ्कर प्रपौत्र

३य ,, श्री रघुनाथ भुयाँ पो(पु)त्र श्री यदु भुयाँङ्कर पुतुरा अमान् श्रीचक्रधर भुयाँ

४र्थ ,, श्री मङ्गला ठाकुराणीङ्कर अर्घा प्रमाणे प्रति आदेश हेला ये

५म ,, लैवे ए देउल अध्यक्ष ... ... विकल दास ... ...

६ष्ठ ,, न कमिला बासुरणा किणु

७म ,, ए करण हरिदास

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27. Stirling's Orissa, p. 44.
28. *Ibid*, p. 38.

Appendix B

प्रथम धाड़ि— श्री मानसिंघ महाराज शुभराज्ये निजकुलकुमुदानन्द श्रील श्री
रघुनाथ शर्मां

२य धाड़ि —भूमिपसुत श्री चक्रधर शर्मा भूमिप करितेद सर्वमङ्गला प्रतिमाकु
पूजा, शकाब्द १५२६ कमिला रघुपात्र।

17

KASIARI INSCRIPTION OF RAJA KALYAN MAL *

Kasiari is an important village situated in the Sadar Sub-Division of the Midnapore District of Bengal. Late Mr. N. N. Vasu in his Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj, Vol. I, first noticed the Oriya and Persian Inscriptions in 1911, and the three Oriya inscriptions of the Sarvamangalā temple were referred to by late Mr. Radhanath Pati, a pleader of Midnapore and a resident of Kasiari, in a Bengali brochure called Kesiadi. I visited the place in 1940 and copied the inscriptions from the original slabs. Mr. Vasu did not publish the inscriptions and Mr. Pati was not able to decipher fully the text of each inscription Mr. Jogesh Chandra Bose referred to these inscriptions in his *Medinipurer Itihas* (Second edition, 1346 Bengali Sal.), but he was not able to throw any light on the importance of these inscriptions. Out of the three, two refer to the period of Raja Man Singh and one to that of Raja Kalyan Mal. I intend to write a separate paper on Raja Man Singh based on these inscriptions and so the inscription belonging to the time of Raja Kalyan Mal is dealt with below :—

The inscription slab measuring 42″×14″ is fixed above the arch left to the entrance of the Bāradwāri (with 12 doors). Nāta-mandir of the Sarvamangalā temple and it contains 7 lines of writing in Oriya characters of the early 17th century in Oriya language

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* Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Vol. No XXI (p. 88–90).

Text of the Inscription

प्रथम धाड़ि—शुभमस्तु शकाब्द १५३७ समस्त ११ अङ्क श्राहि कुम्भ दि १३
ने शुदि शु

२य ,, क्रश्रारे श्रीमङ्गला ठाकुराणीङ्कर नाटमन्दिर श्री साह सालिम
पातिशाङ्क

३य ,, र शुभराज्ये श्री राजा कल्याण मलङ्कर सुब (सुवां) साहेब सुन्दर
दास × × थें देवत

४र्थ ,, श्री केसिश्राडि गड़ × × अधिष्ठाने नाटमन्दिर गठन
श्रीधर महारणा

५म ,, दनेइ महारणा वनमाली दास अर्ज्जुन महारणा उदेभानु सदव

६ष्ठ ,, मध (धु) मिस्त्रि (स्त्रि) मकुन्द श्रो गड़ु × × नाएक जगवन्धु

७म ,, अ × र मुरारि नाएक तलु ।

Extract in English

In the Saka year 1537 (1615 A. D.) Amka year 11 during the prosperous reign of Emperor Shah Salim when Raja Kalyana Mal was in the Subah, this Nātamandira was constructed at Kasiarigarh by Sundara Das with the help of masons named Sridhara Mahārana, Danai Mahārana, Banamāli Das, Arjuna Mahārana and others. The purport of the last line of the text is not clear as it is not fully deciphered.

From the above it is clear that Raja Kalyan Mal was the Subahdar or the Governor of Orissa in 1615 A. D.

Historical Note

"Raja Kalyan son of Raja Todar Mal was appointed Governor of Orissa on the 6th July 1611" and "on the 18th September 1617 (not 8th September 1617), he waited upon the Emperor to explain some charges of misconduct brought against him and after enquiry his innocence appeared clear and having given him a dress of honour and a horse, the Emperor appointed him to do duty together with Mahabat Khan in Bangash (Memoirs pp. 202, 389-90 and 402)" In Baharistan-i-Ghaybi, Mirza Nathan also describes him as "Raja Kalyan, son of Raja Todar Mal" at pp. 10 and 143. As no surname 'Mal' was attached to the name Raja Kalyan in

these Persian works, a lot of confusion prevails regarding his identity with "Kalyan Singh, son of Raja Man Singh" and "Raja Kalyan of Jesalmer." The Puri District Gazetteer narrates at page 36 that 'Hashim Beg was succeeded in 1610 by Raja Kalyan of Jesalmir whose niece had been married to Jahangir before he became Emperor" and from this it appears that the compiler of the Gazetteer identified Raja Kalyan Mal with "Kalyan of Jasalmir" who was exalted "with tika of Raja and the title of Rawal" by Jahangir as recorded in Tuzuk, pp. 325-26 and the confusion may be due to the wrong indexing in Tuzuk at p. 467 where 'Raja Kalyan' of pages 192, 199 and 202 has been shown as 'Kalyan of Jesalmir' who was granted the title of Raja' mentioned. at pp 325-26. Again Raja Kalyan Mal has been written as Raja Kālyan Singh, son of Raja Todar Mal by (1) Sir J. N. Sarkar and (2) Mr R. D. Banerji. Mr. Banerji also writes about "Raja Kalyan Mall" towards the end of page 35 (3) " Sri Ram Sharma in his article ' Bengal under Jahangir ' (Journal of Indian History, Vol. XI, 339 IX 15) accepts Raja Kalyan to be a son of Man Singhon an alleged statement of Nathan " (4) Dr. Borah writes that Raja Kalyan Singh has been described in Tuzuk (text 199 translation 402) as a son of Todar Mal. I do not find the surname ' Singh ' anywhere in the English translation of Tuzuk by Rogers and Beveridge, but Sir J. N. Sarkar's reference seems to be the Persian text of Tuzuk which I have not consulted. I have not seen the paper of Sri Ram Sharma. In the English translation of Baharistan-i-Ghaybi it is recorded at page 7 that " Kalyan Singh, son of Raja Man Singh " escorted " Rani Gawr, the chief wife of the Raja who was coming to the court from Rothas." This Kalyan Singh does not possess any title of Raja, But Raja Kalyan, son of Raja Todar Mal recorded at pages 10 and 143 of Baharistan-i-Ghaybi, is found to be similarly recorded at page 402 of Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri. Dr Borah has wrongly identified " Kalyan Singh, son of Raja Man Singh" with " Raja Kalyan, son of Raja Todar Mal " which is proved from his note at pages 793-94 and index at p-891 but he writes " I believe the first statement made by Nathan is either a mistake of his own or an error of the copyists." The printed text of Baharistan-i-Ghaybi at page 4 narrates that Ihtimam Khan was ordered to take back from every place men and followers of Mirza Ria Man Singh and the cannon that were brought from Bengal and Rothas for service in Bengal on his way from the capital city of Patana and he met the party headed by Kalyan Singh and Rani Gawar at Sarai-Bandagi. From this it is clear that Mirza Nathan did not

make any mistake in his statement. In the Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, P. 486 Blochamann notes that Raja Man Singh had a son named Kalyan Singh. "Who is not mentioned by Mahammedan historians" but Mirza Nathan's mention of Kalyan Singh removes the doubt entertained by Blochamann. In Akbarnamah (Vol III, p 812) Raja Todar Mal's son Kalyan Das is described to do important duties and at page 1249 "Kalyan Das, the son of Raja Todar got to a mansab of 1,000 zat and 500 horses and the charge of Fort Kalinjar". The surname 'Mal' is attached to Raja Kalyan in the Kasiari Oriya inscription which is not found in any Persian work or in the Oriya Madalāpāñji. This surname 'Mal' connects him with Raja Todar Mal. The above note, I hope, clarifies the confusion on the separate identity of (i) Raja Kalyan Mal, son of Raja Todar Mal, (ii) Kalyan Singh, son of Raja Man Singh, and, (iii) Raja Kalyan of Jesalmir.

In Baharistan-i-Ghaybi pp. 10-11 we find a paragraph describing the valour of Raja Kalyan Mal which goes to show that he acted himself just like his father Raja Todar Mal when he was put to the test.

Abul Fazl writes thus :—

In the battle with Daud Khan-i-Kararani. "When Khan Alam had been killed and Munim Khan's horse had run away, the Raja held his ground bravely and not only was there no defeat, but an actual victory. "What harm" said Todar Mal, "if Khan Alam is dead; what fear, if the Khan-i-Khanan has run away, the empire is ours".

On his way back to Orissa from Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) Raja Kalyan Mal arrived at a place where a group of mischievious Afghans raised their head in rebellion and seized the elephants and many of the gifts and rare articles of Orissa belonging to Iradat Khan and blocked the way against him. Mirza Nathan writes as follows on Raja Kalyan Mal's bravery.

"Although a group of timid people advised the Raja to fall back, the Raja, with the idea that if he would make a retreat, he might court a defeat and scandal, and it would be impossible for him to show his face before Islam Khan and other nobles of the State, and explain his conduct before the imperial enquiry ordered the Nagarchi (the chief of the beaters of kettle drum)

to beat the drum of war relying absolutely on God. Getting ready for the battle, he advanced with four divisions of the army. No sooner had he advanced a short distance than the Afghans offered a great battle, at first they attacked the vanguard of the Raja and then the right and the left wing of the army; but the Raja having strongly fixed the foot of bravery did not fall back an inch and his companions held back the enemy with over powering force and at the death of their leader the affairs of the Afghans were reduced to great straits and they fled away to jungles and deserts".

This success of Raja Kalyan was amply rewarded by the Emperor and finally he was appointed as the Governor of Orissa in 1611. Soon after taking over charge of Orissa" the Raja thought in his mind that he would accomplish such a service which would not only draw the attention of his master but would also keep the high and low of that region under his control. He then put in the forefront of his mind the idea of the conquest of Khurdah and marched against Raja Purusottam Dev. × × × The Raja after gaining the victory returned to Cuttack and sent the bride (dolah) along with the elephant Sisnag and all the peshkash in cash and kind in charge of trustworthy officers to the august court".

Referring to this incident the Puri District Gazetteer mentions at page 47 that "in 1613-14 Raja Kalyan invaded the country. × × The following year the Khurda Chief met and killed Kalyan in battle". The same book again mentions at page 36 that "Kalyan lived till 1617 when he was, according to the chronicles of Jagannatha, killed by the Raja of Khurda". Mr. R. D. Banerji very rightly criticised this statement of the Gazetteer as false on the authority of the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri and two versions of the Gazetteer indicate that the dates given in the temple Chronicles are entirely untenable.

Mirza Nathan also records that Raja Kalyan Mal was removed from his Governorship by Islam Khan, the Governor of Bengal without the Emperor's approval, but he was re-instated very soon. The subsequent career of Raja Kalyan Mal has already been referred to above.

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BRUTON'S ACCOUNT OF CUTTACK AND PURI *

A. History of the publication of Bruton's Account :

William Bruton visited Cuttack and Puri in 1633 A. D. and his account was first published by J. Okes in 1638 when Bruton, 'an eye and ear witness of the description', "was a resident in the parish of St. Saviour's Southwark in England."[1] The next publication of Bruton's account was made in 1745 by Thomas Osborne. Then again in 1751 Thomas Osborne compiled a book entitled the *Collection of Voyages and Travels* in eight volumes and Vol. VIII of this series is a reprint page by page of Vol II of the 1745 publication in which Bruton's account was printed at pp. 267–279. Then again in 1809–12 Bruton's account was included in the enlarged edition of Hakluyt which has not been consulted by me. In 1895 C R Wilson of the Bengal Educational Service published his work entitled *The Early Annals of the English in Bengal* Vol I, Book I, in which he included extracts from Bruton's account in Chapters I, II and III. I have prepared the following text of Bruton's account from the photostat copy of pages 268–279 of Vol. II of the 1745 publication which was not consulted by Wilson. I am grateful to the authorities of the Asiatic Society for kindly supplying me the photostat copy of these pages.

B. Bruton's Career :

The early career of William Bruton is not known, nor his later career after his residence in the parish of St. Saviour's Southwark in England. He was away from England for a period of seven years during which according to his account he was at Masulipatam in April, he came to Orissa in May and continued to stay there up to the middle of November 1633.

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* From the Orissa Historical Research Journal, Vol. X, 1961, Nos. 3 and 4, pp. 25-50

1. C.R.Wilson—*The Early Annals of Bengal*, Vol. I, 1895, p.2 f.n.

His account does not give the date of his return from Puri to Hariharpur. It seems that his published account of Puri is left incomplete in print. Towards the end he writes "This city of Bengalla is very great and prosperous". It shows that Bruton went to Bengal from Orissa. It further shows that Bruton wrote some more paragraphs before this in which the city of Bengalla was described. The mention of Satgan in one of these paragraphs suggests that it was Hugli where the Portuguese had their factory. The paragraph dealing with the affairs of Bengal after the account of Puri may be due to omission of some paragraphs from his original writing The word 'decypher them' at the end of the para suggests that he made his selection.

From his reference to verses of 'Revelation' of the *New Testament*, it appears that Bruton was a keen student of the Bible and a pious Christian. From his reference to various explorers, it appears that Bruton was well acquainted with the then literature of exploration published in England.

C. Identification of the Court of Malcandy :

C. R Wilson identified Malcandy with Mukunda Deo relying perhaps on the account of the fort described by Abul Fazl in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 127, translated by Jarret and published by the Asiatic Society in 1891. Not being satisfied with it, the late Prof. G S. Das resorted to a new method and on palaeographic grounds suggested that Malcandy stands for Mahanadi.[2] Credit goes to Shri S. C De[3], Curator of Archives, for suggesting the idetification of Bruton's Malcandy with Māṇikhaṇḍi of *Madalapāñji* and Mankhandi of *Maraqat-i-Hassan*. Shri De's other suggestions need contemporary corroboration. A section of residents of Cuttack speak even now 'Laḍi' for 'Nadi' (river) and 'Laḍiā' for 'Naḍiā' (cocoanut) and Māṇikhaṇḍi was pronounced in this way Persianised as Mankhandi and written as *Malcandy*. There is now no trace of the Māṇikhaṇḍi palace at Cuttack. If we believe the account of *Madalapāñji* of the Govinda Vidyādhara's period we will have to admit the existence of the *Kataka Srinavara* and *Māṇikhaṇḍi Srinavara*

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2. *Essays presented to Sir Jadunath Sarcar*—History of Lalbagh Palace, 1958 published by the Panjab University, Vol. II, pp. 95—96.
3. O.H R.J. Vol. V, p.129 f.n. and Vol VI, p. 52 f n.

which are supported by the account of Shams-i-Siraj Afif written in the *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi.* Mānikhandi palace was distinct and separate from the *Kataka Srinavara* or the Barabati fort, the early history of which is equally obscure.

D. Orissa's relation with Qutbshahis of Golconda :

Bruton's narrative of the 8th May 1633 about the preparation for a war against the Qutbshahi Sultan is an interesting piece of historical information. As a result of this war, the Qutbshahi Sultan of Golconda was made a feudatory of the emperor of Delhi and paid a tribute of Rs. 20 000 which was credited to the revenue of Orissa [4]

The site of the English factory at Hariharpur, modern Jagatsingpur was popularly known as *Firingi Kuda* and left unoccupied till recently. The site is now included in the premises of the H E. School at Jagatsingpur and recent digging has revealed the old masonary foundation.

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Although diverse learned, painful and skilful mathematicians and geographers have, with great industry, spent much profitable time in finding out the circumference of the terrestrial globe, in describing empires, kingdoms, principalities, lordships, regions, provinces, territories, variations of climates and situations, with diversities of dispositions of tongues, religions, habits, manners, laws, and customs of sundry nations, though much labour, peril and cost have been worthily employed by *Pling** the second, *Ortelius,* Jadoco,* Hondius,** or, to come nearer to our *English* worthies, such as are described in the book of *Hacklewcik's* voyages; namely *Windam,*[5]

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4. J. N. Sarkar—*Studies in Mughal India*, p. 22

* Nothing is known about these persons,
The following notes are taken from Webster's Complete Reference Dictionary and Encyclopaedia (1949).

5. Windam, I am unable to give particulars.

Chancelour,[6] *Grinwill*,[7] *Willoughby*,[8] *Drake*,[9] *Cavendish*,[10] *Gilbert* [11] *Chidly*.[12] *Frobsher*,[13] *Clifford*,[14] *Sidney*,[15] *Devereux*,[16] *Winafield*;[17] as also the exceeding pains taken by *Mr. Samuel Purchase* [18] and the learned and renowned knight *sir Walter Raleigh* [19] in their descriptions of the whole world; not forgetting the perils that Mr *Sands* [20] passed in his tedious travels, with his exact relations and descriptions; with *Atlas* newly imprinted (a rare-work): and lastly, *William Lithgow* [21] deserves a kind remembrance of his nineteen years sore and dangerous travels of his feet and pen, worthy your observation and reading.

But all these authors and actors, both of history and travel, did never discover all, but still (out of their plentiful harvests of observation) they left some gleanings for those that come after them to gather; for the manifestation whereof, in this following discourse, I have tried and bound myself to speak only truth, though it seem incredible or hyperbolical, and, if I should in any way swerve or stray from the truth, there are living men of good fame, worth and estimation, who are able and ready to disprove me.

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6. Chanceleour, Richard Chancellor, (d 1556), Navigator
7 Grinwill, I am unable to give particulars
8 Willoughby, Sir Hugh (? –1554) English arctic navigator
9 Drake Sir Francis (1540 ?—1596) English navigator
10. Cavendish, Thomas (1535—1592) -do-
11. Gilbert, Sir Humphrey (1539—1563) -do-
12 Chidly, I am unable to give particulars
13 Frobsher, Sir Martin (1535—1594) English navigator
14 Clifford George, third Earl of Cumberland (1558-1605), Naval commander
15. Sidney, I am unable to give any particulars
16 Devereux, Walter (1541?—1576) Colonist
17. Wingfield, Edward-Maria (1560) Colonist
18 Samuel Purchase (1577—1626) English compiler of Travel literature
19. Sir Walter Raleigh (1572—1618) English courtier, navigator and statesman (The discovery of Guiana, History of the world).
20. Sands. I am unable to give any particulars
21. Lithgow William (1582—1645) Scottish traveller.

Therefore briefly to the matter in hand: I *William Bruton* was shipped, as a quarter master, from the port of London, to serve in the good ship called *The Hopewel*, of the burthen of two hundred and forty tons. To relate our long and tedious passage by sea, and our arrival at every port and haven, were but little to the purpose. and would more tire than delight my reader, therefore to begin, that after my arrival in those parts, and in my services and passages there for the space of seven years, I observed many things, and put them in writing, but afterwards I came to know that the same things had been discovered and described formerly by more sufficient and able men of capacity than myself. I thought good to keep them to myself, and discover nothing but that which before was not so fully or scarce known, as I shall now decypher them.

* The twenty-second of *March* 1632. ** I being in the country of *Cormandell* 22 with six Englishmen more, at a place called *Massalupatam* 23, a great town of merchandize, *Mr. John Norris*, the agent there, was resolved to send two merchants into *Bengalla*24 for the setting of a factory there; and these six *Englishmen*(of the which I was one,were to go with the merchants, and withal to carry a present from the agent to the *Nabob*, 25 or king of that country, to obtain the promises* that formerly he had granted to *the English* for traffick, and to be customfree in those of his dominions and ports. Wherefore a *junk*** was hired at *Massalupatam*, to be our convey, the said *junk* did belong into those parts, and the names of the *Englishmen*, that were appointed for that voyage, were Mr. *Ralph Cartwright* merchant, Mr. *Thomas* Colley, second, *William Bruton*, *John Debson*, *Edward Petford*, *John Bassley* *John Ward*, and *William Witball*.

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* C. R. Wilson quotes from this passage.

** 1632 seems to be mistake for 1633 which finds mention below.

22. Coromandel or East coast of India.
23. Masulipatam in Andhra.
24. Bengal, it is from Persian 'Bangala', Sanskrit Vanga.
25. Nawab.

* This fact lacks support from any earlier account.

** Junk; A large eastern ship, especially (and in later use inclusively) a Chinese ship. This indeed is the earliest application also ** This is one of the earliest words in the Europo-Indian vocubulary. It occurs in the travel of Friar Odorico written down in 1331 ete-*Hobson-Jobson* p. 472.

Though we hired the aforesaid *Junk March*, yet it was the sixth of *April* following, before we could be fitted to depart from *Massalupatam*, and in such various weather, with many difficulties and dangers (which to relate here would be tedious, and impertinent to my intended discourse); the twenty-first of *April*, being the *Easter-day*, we were at anchor in a bay before a town called *Harssapoore* 26 : it was a place of good strength, with whom our merchants hold commerce with correspondency. This twenty-first day in the morning *Mr. Ralph Cartwright* sent the money ashore, to the Governor of *Harssapoore*, to take it into his safe keeping and protection until such time as he came ashore himself. So presently there came a *Portugal* frigate fiercely in hostility towards us, and we made ready for their entertainment, and fitted ourselves and the vessel for our best defence; but at last they steered off from us, and, upon our command, she came to an anchor somewhere near us and the master of her came on aboard of us, who being examined whence he came, and whether he was bound, to which demands he answered nothing worthy of belief, as the sequel shewed; for he seemed a friendly trader, but, was in deed a false invader (where opportunity and power mighthelp and prevail); for, on the 22nd day Mr. *Cartwright* went ashore to the governor of *Harssapoore* and, on the twenty-fourth day, the said master of the frigate (with the assistance of some of the ribble-rabble rascals of the town) did set upon Mr. *Cartwright* and *Mr. Colley*. where our men (being oppressed by multitudes) had like to have been all slain or spoiled, but that (*Lucklip*) the *rogger* 27 (or vice-king there) rescued them with two hundred men

In the fray *Mr. Thomas Colley* was sore hurt in one of his hands and one of our men much wounded in the leg and head; their *nockada* 28 or Indian pilot was stabbed in the groin twice and much mischief was done, and more intended; but by God's help all was pacified.

The twenty - seventh day of *April* we took leave of the governor and town of *Harssapoore* (I mean three of us); namely Mr. *Cartwright, William Bruton* and *John Dobson*, leaving Mr. *Colley* and the four men with him, till news could be sent back to them from the

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26. Harispur or Harispurgarh situated at extreme south-east of the Cuttack District, at the mouth of the Patua river.
27. Wilson suggests Lakshmip the Raja.
28. Hobson-Jobson spells it Nacoda, the master of a nativa vessel (p. 612).

Nabob's court at *Cutteke* or *Malcander*,29 of our success and proceedings there with our other goods; for he is no wise merchant that ventures too much in one bottom, or that is too credulous to trust *Mahometans*30 or *Infidels*.

And having laden our small boats with the goods, which were gold, silver, cloth and spices (of which spices those parts of India are wanting), and they almost are as dear there as in England, we passed some two leagues and a half in water, and after that the said goods were carried by land in carts, till we came to a great town *Balkhada*,31 but it was more than three hours after sun setting, or late before we came thither.

The twenty-eighth day of *April*, in the morning, the Governor of this town came and saluted our merchant, and promised him, that whatever was in his power to do him any friendly courtesy, he should command it : and indeed he was every way so good as his word; for he lent us horses to ride on, and cowlers 32 (which are porters) to carry our goods; for at this town the cart did leave us, and our goods were carried on men's shoulders; then we set forwards being, accompanied with the governor, with his music, which were shalms and pipes of sundry forms, much after the forms of waits or hautboys, on which they played most delicately out of tune, time, and measure. In this manner the governor with a great number of people, did bring us about half an English mile out of the town, we courteously took his leave of us, but yet he sent his servants with us as guides, and that they might bring his horses back unto him, that he lent us.

This town of *Balkhada* is a strong and specious thing, very populous, there are many weavers in it, and it yieldeth much of that country fashion cloth. This day at the hours of between eleven and twelve of the clock, it was so excessively hot, that we could not travel, and the wind blew with such a sultry scalding heat, as if it had come forth of an oven or furnace, such

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29. Cuttack or Malcandy. In all subsequent writing he uses Coteke or Malcandy.
30. Mahmedans.
31. Balikuda in the Cuttack district.
32. Is it for cowherds or *gaudas* who are bearers in Orissa.

a suffocating fume did I never feel before or since, and here we were forced to stay near three hours, till the sun was declined, we having happily got under the shadow of the branches of great tree all that time. Then we set forward for the town of *Harharrapoore*,[33] which in the space of two hours, or a little more, we drew near unto; so we stayed a while, till our carriages were come up together unto us; which done there met us a man, who told us, that his master stayed our coming; then we speedily prepared ourselves for the meeting of so high esteemed a person; and; when we come to the town, and, there met us; at a great *pagodo* or *Pagod*[34] which is famous and sumptuous temple or a church for their idolatious service and worship there used; and, just against that stately and magnificient building, we were entertained and welcomed by one of the king's greatest noblemen, and his most dear and chiefest favourite, who had a letter from the king his master, and was sent from him to meet us and conduct us to his court. The nobleman's name was *Mersymomeine*;[35] he received us very kindly, and made us a very great feast, or costly collation, before supper; which being done we departed for our *surroy*,[36] or inn where we lay all night with our goods; but *Mersymomeine* stayed with his followers and servants in his and their tents at the *Pagod.*

The twenty-ninth day of *April* we stayed at *Harharrapoore*, and this great man; but the greatest cause of our staying was, by reason that the *Nockada* or pilot of the frigate whose men affronted and hurt some of our men at *Harssapoore*, for which cause the frigate was stayed there, and the pilot of her came to this great man, thinking by gifts to win to clear his vessel, (the which he thought to make prize of) but he would not be allowed by such rewards or promises but told him that he must appear before the *Nabob* and seek to clear himself there.

The thirtieth day of *April* we set forward in the morning in our way to the city of *Coteke* (it is a city of several miles in compass, and it standeth a mile from *Malcandy*, where the court is kept); but Mr. *Cartwright* , stayed behind and came after us, accompanied with the said nobleman: we went all the day on our

33. Hariharpur is the old name of modern Jagatsinghpur in the Cuttack District.
34. Pagoda is a south Indian word for *Mandira* or *temple.*
35. Wilson takes him as Mirza Momin.
36. Sarai or resting place.

Journey, till the sun went down, and then we stayed for our merchant, being eight *English* miles from *Coteke*; and about twelve or one of clock at night they came where we were, so we hasted, and suddenly got all our things in readiness, and went along with them; and about the time of three or four of clock in the morning we came to the house of this *Mersymomeine* at *Coteke* being *May day*.

Here we were very well entertained and had great variety of sundry sorts of meats, drinks, and fruits: such as the country yields even what we could or would desire fitting for our use. About eight of the clock *Mersymomeine* went to the court, and made known to the king, that the *English* merchant was come to his house; then the king caused a great banquet to be speedily prepared, and to be sent to the house of *Mersymomeine* which banquet was very good and costly, Then, about three or four of the clock in the afternoon we were sent for to the court of *Malcandy* which is not half a mile from Coteke. The magnificance of which court, with the stately structure and situation of the palace, as well as my weak apprehension can enable, I describe as followeth.

The Court *of* Malcandy *in* Bengalla

GOING from the house of *Mersymomeine* we passed over a long stone causeway of some two feet in breadth, and at the end thereof we entered in at a great gate, and, having conducted along further, we came into a buzar, or a very fair market place, where was sold a great number of all sorts of fruits, herbs, flesh, fish, fowl, rice and such like needful commodities and necessaries as the country yielded (which is very fertile) Having passed this place we entered in a second gate, where was a guard of some fifty armed men and so we come into a place all paved with great stones, or it may fitter be called a fare and spacious street, where merchants, seated on both sides the way, were buying and selling all kinds of their own and foreign wares and merchandises that were very rich and costly.

Passing this place, we entered in at a third gate, where was another guard of one hundred men armed; by this gate was a great *pagodo* or *pagod* which joined to the southernmost part of the king's house. In this street there were houses but one side of the way; for, on that side the king's house was on, there was no other house but that Then we came to a fourth gate, which was very spacious and high, and had two lofty stories one above the other, and upheld by mighty pillars

of grey marble, most curiously carved and polished: at this gate was a great guard of one hundred and fifty men. or more; all armed.

Going through this gate, we entered into a great broad place, or street much of the breadth of the street between *Charing-cross** and *White-hall,* ** or broader, and no dwelling in it; here we passed the wall of the king's house, or palace, till we came to the court gate.

In this broad street are every day one thousand horses in readiness for the king's use, for he hath always three thousand at an hour's warning. in the two towns of *Coteke* and *Malcandy,* where of one thousand always wait at the king's gate and so by turns all the rest attend as their places and services require.

Over against the gate of the house is a very great house of timber, whose chambers are made with galleries, built and adorned with great arches to uphold the roofs, in these galleries there were men that played on all kinds of loud instruments: every morning they began to play at four of the clock, and gave-over at eight.

On the north side of the gate is a small tower, built with two hollow arches, wherein are placed two mighty images of stone, with great pipes of iron placed in their breast, and by devices in the tower rooms, they make fire and water to flash and spout of those pipes on festival days. On the south side of the gate there standeth a great elephant artificially wrought of gray marble, but for what use, I know not.

At the entrance into the palace gate, we passed through a guard of an hundred and fifty men armed, the pillars within are all of grey marble, carved three stories one above the other. The outward court was paved all with rough-hewn marble. On the south side of the palace were houses wherein were men; cunning workers in rich works employed only for the king's use and service.

On the north side, in the palace, a fair fabrick built, wherein were erected two stately tombs, which were founded by one *Backaroaune* 37- he was *Nabob,* and predecessor to this *Nabob* now governing. and at the

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* An important place in the city of London.

** As above.

37, Bakar Khan, who was a Subadar of Cuttack.

east end of the palace there was a fair place made and paved with broad grey marble, and curiously railed about, the rails being four foot and an half high from the ground, and a very fair tank which is a square pit paved with grey marble, with a pipe in the midst of it, whose water descended between two walls, with the forms of fishes of different kinds carved in stone very artificially, as if they had been swimming or gliding up the wall against the stream.

At this east end there was also a second gate, where was a guard of an hundred men armed; here stood also men that did keep the time of the day by observations of measures of water, in this manner following; first they take a great pot of water, of the quantity of three gallons, and putting therein a little pot of somewhat more than half a pint (this lesser pot having a small hole in the buttom of it), the water issuing into it having filled it, then they strike on a great plate of brass, of very fine metal, which stroke, maketh a very great sound: this storke or a parcel of time they calls a *goomt;*[38] the small pot being full, they call a *gree;* eight *grees*[39] make *a par,*[40] which *par* is three hours by our account.

They likewise begin the day at the hour of six in the morning; and it is ended with them at six at night; here we entered into the second. palace, which had in the midst thereof a fair and sumptuous theatre built and about it were made small banks, whereon were planted great varieties of fruits and flowers, very sweet to the scent, and pleasing to the sight; this place was also curiously railed in round; then we entered into a narrow passage between two high stone walls, where there was another guard of two hundred and fifty men armed; this passage brought us to a third gate, wherein we entered into a third palace, of pleasant prospect; for in the midst of it there was a very fair pavement of marble,—square. of the largeness of—yards every way, and railed some three foot and a half higher than the ground, that was on the outsides of it: it was likewise delicately

38. *Goomt,* It's meaning is not clear. It may be a *ghanta* in Uriya.

39. *Grees.* It is *ghadi* in Oriya.

40. *Par,* It is *pahara* in Oriya.

railed about, and in the midst of it there was a fair arched place roofed, into whose entrance was an ascent of four steps high: and all the rooms in it were spread or overlaid on the floor with rich carpets exceeding costly.

The space between the outward rails and these rooms was about thirty feet, and the length eighty feet, on the one side, but on the other side was a fair tank of water.

This place they called the *derbar* (or place of council), where law and justice were administered according to the custom of the country, and it was likewise adorned and beautified with very pleasant trees and flowers, and banks about them with gutters between the banks, in which gutters water passed for the cooling and watering of them, and the waters proceeded from the tank aforementioned. Here we stayed the space of two hours, or thereabouts looking up and down, and being looked upon by soldiers, and such—fashioned gentlemen as the court yielded; for there were more than an hundred men armed, which were the *Nabqb's* or king's privy guard: at last the word came forth, that the king was coming; then they hasted and overlaid the great large pavement with rich carpets: and placed on the midst against the rails one fairer and richer carpet than the rest, wrought in *Bengalla* work: they likewise placed a great round pillow of red velvet on the carpet; they placed also six small pillows of gold on the ends, and sides of the rich carpet to hold it flat, or press it to the ground, lest it should be raised with the wind. They also placed upon the rails a panel of velvet to lean on: at the last His Majesty came, accompanied with the number of forty or fifty of his courtiers, the most part of them were very grave men to see to, also the *Nabob's* own brother (a comely personage) did bear the sword before him. Then the noblemen (*Mersymomeine*) presented our merchant (Mr. *Ralph Cartwright*) to the king, who did obedience to him, and the king very affably bended forward, in manner of a courtesy and respect, and withal leaned his arms on two mens shoulders, and slipped off his sandal from his foot (for he was bare legged), and presented his foot to our merchant to kiss, which he twice refused to do, but at the last he was fain to do it: then the king sat down, and caused our merchant to be placed by his brother; his council sat all along by the foot-place of the rooms before mentioned;

his brother and his favourites sat thwart the place or pavement, every one sitting in the fashion of a taylor *, cross-legged.

The assembly being set, our present was presented to the king, which was some twenty pounds of cloves, twenty pounds of mace, twenty pounds of nutmegs, two bolts of damask half a bale, or fourteen yards of flannel cloth, one fair looking glass, whose frame was gilt, one fowling piece with two locks, and one double pistol; this was the present which the king received with much acceptation and consent, and withal demanded the cause of our coming, and our request: to whom our merchant answered that he was come to desire his majesty's favour and licence for free trade in his country, and not to pay any *Junken* or custom. At this request he seemed to make a stand, and pausing a little, he conferred privately with his council, but gave us no answer.

Our merchant likewise requested that the *English* merchants trading for the *East Indies* might have free licence to come with their shipping, small and great, into the roads and harbours of his sea-port towns, or to any havens or navigable rivers, or any such place or places as shall be found fitting for the safe guard, building, or repairing of the said vessels belonging to the honarouble company; and likewise to transport their goods, either off or on the shore, without the lett or hindrance of the natives of the country, likewise to have his licence to coin moneys, gold and silver, country money, and such as is current with the merchant.

By this time that our merchant had ended the relation of his suits, and cause of his coming, the king's minister, with a loud voice called to prayer. Then the king speedily arose from his seat and all his company went with him, and we were dismissed till prayer was ended. When the minister came there was a large covering spread over with rich carpets, the covering was of black and white clothes: on this they all stood, and, when they kneeled, they did kneel with their faces towards the going down of the sun, (which is to the west). Prayer having ended, the assembly sat again concerning our propositions, all other business were laid aside, being now the shutting in of evening, there came a very brave shew of lights in before the king. The foremost that came were six silver lanterns, ushred in by very

* This word is not found in Cambridge 20th Century Dictionary.

grave men, holding a staff overlaid with silver, and when he came to the steps of the pavement, he put off the shoes, and came to the carpets, making obedience; so likewise did those that bore the six lanterns, but all the other lights, being 130, flood round about the rails, Then the usher took the lantern that had two lights in it, and, making obedience, lifted his arms aloft, and made an ample oration, which being ended, they all gave a great *salame*, or a kind of reverence, with a loud voice : and departed every one, and placed their lights according as their several offices and places did require. Here we stayed till it was between eight and nine of the clock at night, but nothing accomplished : only we had some fair promises of furtherance by some of the courtiers, thus we were dismissed for that time, and we returned for our lodging at *Mersymomeine s* house at *Coteke* accompanied with a great multitude of people and many lights who much admired our kind of habit and fashion.

* The second dav we came in the afternoon again to the court before the *Nabob*, which being set, there met us at the *derbar* (council house) our old enemy the *nockada* of the frigate, who made a great complaint against us, that we had fought to make prize of his vessel and to take his goods by force, he had likewise given a great gift to a nobleman, to stand his friend, and to speak in his behalf.

Our merchant pleaded likewise, that all such vessels as did trade on the coast, and had not a pass either from the *English*, *Danes* or *Dutch*, were lawful prize. He answered that he had a pass Our merchant did him produce the same before the *Nabob* and he would clear him, to which the *Nabob* and whole council agreed, but he could shw no pass from any of the afore-named three nations, but he showed two passes from or of the *Portugals*, which they call by name *fringes* and thus was cast, and we had the better of him before the king and council.

But then stood up the nobleman, to whom he had given a reward who had also a little knowledge or insight in sea-affairs. and said, what stranger, seeking a free trade, could make a prize of any vessel within any of the sounds. seas, roads, or harbours of His Majesty's dominion ? This he spoke not so much for the good of the king but thinking and hoping, that the vessel, by his means should have been cleared, with all her goods, and the *nockoda* (or pilot)

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* The following passages are quoted in Chapter II by C. R. Wilson.

acquitted: that so by those means he might have gained the more and great rewards: but he was quite deceived in his vain expectation; for the *Nabob* perceiving that she belonged to *Pipely*,[41] a port town of the Portugals, whom *Nabob* affects not, where the *Portugals* were resident, and that she was not bound for any of his ports, he made short work with the matter, and put us all out of strife presently: for he confiscated both vessel and goods all to himself; whereby the noble-man was put by his hopes, who was indeed a governor of a great sea-town, whereto much shipping belonged, and many ships and other vessels were built Our merchant, seeing that he could not make prize of the vessel or the goods, nor have any satisfaction for the wrongs which he and our men had received, he rose up in great anger and departed, saying, that if he could not have right here, he would have it in another place, and so went his way, not taking his leave of the *Nabob*, nor of any other: at which abrupt departure they all admired.

The third day in the morning the king sent for our merchant by the lord controller of his court, who went with him accompanied with *Mersymomeine* and others to the *derbar* where there was very grave assembly set; then came the king, who being set, he smiled upon our merchant, and (by an interpreter) demanded the cause why he went away the last evening (or over-night) in such an anger? To whom he answered boldly, and with a stern undaunted countenance; that he had done his masters of the honourable company wrong, and, by his might and power had taken their rights from them, which would not be endured or put up. The king, hearing this demanded of the assembly, which were as well merchants as nobles, in the *Persian* tongue, of what strength and force our shipping were, their number, burthen, and force; where our chief place of residence was for trading; he likewise sent for *Persian* merchants, and deligently inquired of them the same demands and questions; who answered that we had great trading on the coast of *Carmondel*, *India*, and *Persia*: and likewise

41. Piply, a port on the Subarnarekha where the Portugals had their factory. It was situated on the opposite side of Shahbandar village. The whole town of Piply has been washed away by the river.

in the south seas as *Bantam*,[42] *Japaro*,[43] *Jambee*,[44] and *Mocossar*.[45] They further told the *Nabob*, that our shipping was great and of great force withal, and likewise, if his pleasure was such as to be at odds with us, there neither could, would or should any vessel, great or small, that did belong to these parts, stir out of any havens, ports, or harbours, of His Majesty's dominions, but they would take them and make prize of them, for they were not able to withstand their force. At these words the king said but little, but what he thought is beyond my knowledge to tell you.

Then the king turned to our merchant and told him in *moors* [46] language (the which he could well understand) that he should grant the English free trade upon these conditions following:—

That if the *English* ship or ships should at any time see any ship or ships *junk* or *junks*, or any other vessel of the *Nabob's* or any of his subjects, in distress, either by foul weather, or in danger of enemies, or in any other extremity, that we (the *English*) should help, aid, and assist them, to our powers; or if it happened they were in want of cables, anchors, water, victuals, or any other necessaries whatsoever, that did belong to them, that we the said *English* should help them as we were able; likewise that we the said *English* should not make prize of any vessel belonging to any of the dominions of the said *Nabob*; and that we the said *English* should not make prize of any ship, vessel, or vessels, within the ports, rivers, roads, or havens of the *Nabob*; though they were our enemies, but at the sea we might make prize of them, if we could. To this all our merchants agreed. Then the king caused articles on his part to be drawn and published in this manner following :

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42 Bentam—The province which forms the western extremity of Java, properly *Batam*. It formed an independent kingdom at the beginning of the 17th century and then produced much pepper, which caused it to be greatly frequented by European traders. An Englith factory was established here in 1603 and continued till 1682.— Hobson-Jobson p. 62.

43. Japaro—I am unable to identify.

44. Jambee— do do

45. Mocosser—Macassar or Makasar in Celebes, Indenosia.

46. Moor's—Mohmedan.

"Here I the said *Nabob*, vice-king and governor of the country of Woodia 47, under the great and mighty prince *Padesha Shassallom*, do give and grant free licence to the aforesaid *Ralph Cartwright* merchant, to trade, buy, sell, export and transport, by shipping, either off or upon the shore, not paying any *junken* or custom, nor any under me to cause them to pay any, likewise, that if they do convey goods by shore between factory and factory, or any other place, for their better advantage of gain, within these his dominion, I strictly charge and command that no governor custom-gatherer or other officer whatsoever, shall make or cause them to pay any *junken* or custom: but shall suffer them to pass free without let, hindrance, molestation or interruption of stayage, but shall (I say) help and further in any thing that shall be the furtherance of business. Moreover, I do grant to the *English* merchants to take ground, and to build houses fitting for their employment and where they shall see convenient for their best utility and profits, without let and hindrance of any of my loving subjects

" And further, I do give and grant to the *English* merchants free licence to build shipping,small or greator any other vessel which they shall think best, and fittest for their occasions and uses : they paying no more than the custom of the country to the workmen; and likewise to repair shipping, if any such occasion be to require it."

" Likewise I the *Nabob* do command, that no governor or officer whatsoever under me shall do the *English* any wrong, or cause any to be done unto them, as they answer it at their perils, wheresoever they are resident; neither shall any wrong be done to any servant of theirs, that doth belong unto them."

" And again, if any controversy should be between the *English* and the people of the country if the matter be of any moment, then the said cause shall be brought before me, the *Nabob* at the court at *Malcandy* and at the *derbar* I will decide the matter because the *English* may have no wrong (behaving themselves as merchants ought to do)".

This licence formed and given at the royal court of *Malcandy*, the third day of *May* 1633*, but not sealed till the fifth day of *May* following at night,

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47. It is the same as the modern word Odia which stands for language and people of Orissa.

* This date seems to be eorrect as it refers to the document,

The fourth day of *May* the king sent a great banquet to the house of *Mersymonicne* to our merchant: and there came the great man that spoke on the *nockada's* side against us; at the *derbar*, about the frigate aforesaid : he brought with him, to our merchant, for a present a bale of sugar, a bottle of wine and some sweetmeats, saying, he was sorry for the things before done and past, but if any thing lay in him to do the company and him any good, he and they should be sure of it. This man was a governor of a town called *Bollasarye*[48], a sea town where shipping was built, as is aforesaid, his name was *Mercossem*[49], and understanding, that the merchant was minded to travel that way, he promised him to do him all the courtesies that could be.

The fifth day of *May*, in the afternoon, we were before the king again at the *derbar*, at our coming he called for our *Parwan* (which was our warrant or licence). and then he added to it the free leaves of coining of moneys, and sealed it with his own signet himself, and so all things were strongly confirmed and ratified for our free trade in his territories and dominions **.

The sixth day of *May* the king made a great feast at the court where were assembled the most and chiefest of all his nobles and governors that were his command,and being set,he sent the lord controller of his house for the *English* merchant Mr. *Ralph Cartwright*, to come un to him, who came with all speed;and when he was in the presence of the king, he caused him to sit by him, and take part of the feast, (for the king was exceeding merry and pleasant); then the king caused a vest or robe to be brought, and with his own hands put it upon our merchant and thus was he invested and entertained in the presence of this royal, noble, and great assembly.

This day the king was in magnificent state and majesty, on rich *Persian* carpets (as is before mentioned); but over this great company was a large canopy of branched velvet of four colour, and in the seams between the joinings of it was yellow taffeta which hung down like into the vallence * of a bed ; it was about eighty feet in

48. Balasore.
49. It stands for Mir Kasim.
** Wilson's quotation ends here.
* The modern spelling is valunce or valance.

length, and forty feet in breadth; and it was upheld with four small pillars overlaid with silver, whose height was 12 feet and thickness one foot. Here we stayed till about the hour of five in the afternoon, and then we took our leaves of the king, and the rest; and departed to *Coteke* to the house of *Mersymomeine.*

** Thus have I plainly and truly related the occurrences that happened at the court of *Malcandy* : but although the palace of the *Nabob* be so large in extent and so magnificent in structure, yet he himself will not lodge in it but every night he lodgeth in tents with his most trusty servants and guards about him : for it is an abomination to the *Moguls* (which are white men) to rest or sleep under the roof of an house that another man hath built for his own honour. And therefore he was building a palace, which he purposed should be a fabrick of a rest and future remembrance of his renown : he likewise keepeth three hundred women, who are all of them the daughters of the best and ablest subjects that he hath.

The seventh day of *May* we went up and down the town of *Coteke;* it is very populous of people, and hath daily a great market in it of all sorts of necessaries which the country affordeth : it is seven miles in compass, and hath but two great gates belonging to it : it is three miles between the one gate and the other.

Upon the eighth day of *May* we went to the court at *Malcandy,* again to desire of the king a warrant, or free pass, for safe convey of letters, or any other such occasion, through his countries.

Here we found His Majesty sitting, in the outward palace of the court, on the pavement, by the tank before-named, with a very fair canopy over him, made of damask, and upheld by four small pillars overlaid with silver, with his nobles by him, for this effect and purpose following :—

He was by the great *mogul* commanded to wage war with all expedition against the king of *Culcandoueb* * (a great prince neighbouring upon his countries), who had wrongfully, with hostility, entered on the south-west part of his country, and had made some

** Wilson's Chap the II ends with this paragraph.

* This seems to be the same as Golconda.

spoil and havock on the same. The king, I say, had here called all his commanders, leaders, and captains together, giving them a great charge concerning the good usage of his men, and their best endeavours in the management and performance of their services in those. He likewise gave gifts to leaders, and money to the soldiers, to encourage them. The army consisted of thirty thousand men, which was ten thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot, armed, for the most part, with bows and arrows : and some again with darts, like our javeline, but far more sharp: some again with a kind of sauchion **, seymitar*** or like a banded sword by their side : some of which weapons have cut in sunder two malefactor, which have been condemned to die, being bound back, to back at one blow given backwards by the executionor. But, our commission being granted, and our business ended finally, our merchant reverently took his leave of the king, and the king, with his nobles did the same to him, wishing him all good success in his affairs in his country : and so we departed,

The ninth of *May* we gathered together all our things, and at night we departed from *Coteke.*

The tenth, at the hour of two in the afternoon we came to the town of *Harharrapoore*, and hosted in the house of our interpreter.

The eleventh day, we went to the Governor of the town, and showed him our fermand, or commission from the king, the Governor made a great salame, or courtesy, in reverence unto it, and promised his best assistance and help in any thing that he could do, and there the said governor had a small present given to him,

The twelth day of *May* Mr. Thomas Colley, came to us at *Harharrapoore,* and the rest of the *Englishmen* with him, with all the goods: then we hired house for the present, till such time as ours might be built, for our further occasions to the company's use.

† This town of *Harharrapore* is very full of people, and it is in bounds of six or seven miles in compass: there are many merchants in it and great plenty of all things: here is also cloth of all sorts, great

** This is not found in any dictionary.

*** Modern spelling is scimitar.

† This para is quoted by Wilson in Ch. III.

store, for, there do belong to this town at the least three thousand weavers, that are house keepers besides all other that do work, being bound or hired.

The fourteenth day the two merchants went abroad, and found out a plot of ground, fitting to built upon, then they laid the kings deroy* on it and seiged upon *it* for the company's use; and there was no man that did or durst gainsay them for doing the same.

The fifteenth day they hired workmen and labourers to measure the ground, and to square out the foundation of the house, and likewise for the wall, which was one hundred covets square, which is fifty yards, every covet being half a yard, or a foot and half: and it behaved us to make haste, for the time of the great rains was at hand.

The sixteenth day they laid the foundation on the walls, being nine foot in thickness: much haste was made and many workman about it; but this our first work was but labour lost and cast away, for it came to nothing.

For on the eighteenth day the rains began with such a force and violence, that it beat down all our work to the ground, and washed it away, as if there had not been anything done: this storm continued without ceasing (day and night) more or less three weeks complete.

The sixteenth day of *June* Mr. *Ralph Cartwright* took his journey for *Ballazary* 50, and two *Englishmen* with him, who were *Edward Peteford*, and *William Withal*, and from thence he was minded to travel further into the country of *Bengalla*, and the eighth of *July* following are received a letter from Mr. *Cartwright* concerning his proceedings and troublesome passage; for he found not the country according as was reported, by reason of the time of the great rains that fell: yet he was safely arrived in *Pipely*.

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* *Duhai*

50. The name of the place is written here as Ballazary but at page 41, it is written as Ballasarye. The modern spelling is Balasore. It seems to me that in the 17th century the Oriya name was Balijhari. There are various interpretations on the origin of the modern word Balasore

The three and twentieth day of *July*, in the morning, we had news, that there was an *English* ship arrived at *Harssapoore*, and had shot off three places of ordinance; and stayed all night: and the next day in the morning, she having not a boat to come from her, she weighed anchor, and set sail for *Ballazary*.

The twenty-fifth of *August*, in the morning Mr. *Thomas Colley* died of a fever at *Harharrapoore*.

The fifteenth day of *September*, I received letters from Mr. *Cartwright* from *Ballazry* and withal he sent me the name of the ship to wit, the good ship *Swan*, and Mr. *Edward Austin* (or *Ostin*) commander.

The nineteenth day of *September* there came two merchants from *Ballzary* to *Harharropoore:* the one of them his name was Mr *Robert Littler*, the other Mr. *John Powlle* purser of the ship *Swan*.

The fourth day of *October* our merchant Mr, *Robert Littler* took a journey for *Jaggarnat*, and he returned the sixteenth day to the factory at *Harharrapoore*.

A *brief* Relation *of the great city of* Jaggarnat*

The fifth day of *November* I was sent about the company's business, to the great city of *Jaggarnat;* and I travelled this day to a town called *Madew* 51 and lodged all night in a pagod or pagodo.

The sixth day I *William Bruton* travelled eight course, which is thirty-two miles *English*, and came to a town named *Amudpoore* 52 where I found, met together, of men, women, and children, more than three thousand, and all of them were travellers and rangers of the country, having no residence, but are called *Ashmen* (because

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* The modern spelling is Jagannath.

51. Madew seems to be modern Madhab near Niali where there is a temple of Jagannath.

52. Amudpoore seems to be Ahmudpur, about a mile to the north of Satyabadi Police Station on the Jagannath road from Cuttack to Puri.

they cast ashes upon themselves), also they are called *Fackeires* which are religious names given to them for their supposed holiness, but indeed they are very rougue, such as our gypsies are here in *England*, when they see their time and opportunity to put roguery and villainy in practice at this town. I made no great stay for I had a good charge about me of the company's.

The seventh day of *November* in the morning, about two of the clock, I hasted from *Amudpore*, over a passage, and so for *Jaggarnat*, which was ten course between, that is forty miles *English*: so about the hour four in the afternoon I draw near to this great city of *Jaggarnat*, to which I passed over a great stone causeway on either side whereof was a very goodly tank to wash in; this causeway was about half a mile in length: then, as I came to the west end of this city, I entered into a very fair place for situation, furnished with exceeding store of pleasant trees and groves, and on either side of the way *tanks* of water, and *pagods* in the midst of them. From thence I passed up into the high street, where I was entertained by a *Bramin* (which is one of their religious men, or idolatrous priests): but let his religion be what it would, into his house I went, and there I lodged all the time of my stay there.

The eighth day of *November*, in the morning after I had gone about the affairs that I was sent to do, I went to view the city in some part, but especially that mighty *Pagodo* or *Pagod*, the mirror of all wickedness and idolatry: unto this *pagod*, or house of *Satan* (as it may rightly be called) belong nine thousand *bramins* or priests, which daily offer sacrifices unto their great god *Jaggarnat*; from which idol the city is so called: and when he is but named, then all the people in the town and country bow and bend their knees to the ground, as the *Moabites* 53 did to their idol *Baalpoor*; 54 here they also offer their children to the idol and make them pass through the fire: and also they have an abominable custom to cause or make them pass through the water, as sacrifices unto the said ungodly god.

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53. One of the ancient people of *Moab* living north of the lower Jordon and the Dead Sea.

54. *Baal* is a god of the Phoenicians.

This idol is in the shape like a serpent with seven hoods. and on the cheeks of each head it hath the form of wing upon each cheek, which wings open and shut, and flap, as it is carried in a stately chariot and the idol in the midst of it: and one of the *moguls* * sitting behind it in the chariot upon a convenient place, with canopy to keep the sun from injuring of it.

When I (with horror) beheld these strange things, I called to the min dthe XIIIth chapter of *Rev'lat***, and 1st verse, and likewise the 16th and 17th verses of the said chapter,in which places there is a beast and such idolatrous worship, mentioned; and those sayings in that text are herein truly accomplished in the 16th verse, for the *bramins* are all marked in the fore-head, and likewise all that come to worship the idol, are marked also in their fore-heads: but those that buy and sell are all marked in the left shoulder; and all such as dare or presume to buy and sell, not bēing marked, are most severely and grievously punished.

They have built a great chariot, that goeth on a sixteen wheels a side and every wheel is five feet in height, and the chariot itself is about thirty feet high. In this chariot, on their great festival days at night, they place their wicked god *Jaggarnat*, and all *bramins:*

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* It is not clearly understood what is ment by the word mughal by Bruton Nowadays no Muslim or Christian is allowed in Hindu temples.But we do not know what was the custom in the early 17th century. Bruton writes that he stayed in a house of a Brahmin or priest at Puri and they were allowed to take shelter in the Hindu temples. It seems that in the 17th century, the Hindus used to entertain non-Hindus in their temples.

** The book of Revelation of the *New Testament*.
The verses of it run as follows :—

1st verse (1) "And I stood upon the sand of the sea, and saw a beast rise up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his heads the name of blessphamy",

16th verse (2) "And he causeth all, both small and great rich and poor, free and bond to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their fore-heads."

17th verse (3) "And that no man might buy or sell save he that had the name of the beast or the number of his name."

being in number nine thousand, then attend this great idol, besides *ashman* and *fackeires* some thousands, or more than a good many. The chariot is most richly adorned with most rich and costly ornaments: and the aforesaid wheels are placed very complete in a round circle so artificially, that every wheel doth its proper office without any impediment: for the chariot is aloft, and in the centre between the wheels; they have also more than two thousand lights with them; and this chariot, with the idol is laso drawn with the greatest, and best men of the town; and they are so eager and greedy to draw it that whosoever, by shouldering, crouding,* shaving, heaving, thrusting, or any violent way, can but come to lay a hand upon the ropes, they think themselves blessed and happy, And when it is going along the city, there are many that will offer themselves as a sacrifice to this idol, and, desperately lie down on the ground, that the chariot wheels may run over them whereby they are killed outright; some get broken arms, some broken legs, so that many of them are so destroyed, and by this means they think to merit heaven.

There is also another chariot, which hath but twelve wheels, and that is for an idol or a devil of on inferior rank, or lower degree, and he goes not abroad or in progreess, but when *bramins* please. This *pagodo* is situated by the sea-side, and is to be seen into the sea at the least, ten or twelve leagues: for the air and sky is clear and pure in those parts, that it may be seen far. It is enclosed with a wall of stone much about twenty-two feet in height, and the enclosure is four-square, and every square is 150 geometrical paces, so the four squares in the total are six hundred paces or yards about; it standeth due east, west, north and south: and every square has a great gate for the entrance into it, but the south and west gates are barred up till the festival times, and none commonly used but the north and east gates, but especially the north gate: for it hath all its prospect into the high or chief street of this city.

Now, in some other parts of this country the people adore and worship other creatures for their gods: some worship the celestial, as the sun, moon, and stars: someagain terrestrial, and they of the mountains, valleys, and woods; some aquatical, and those of the seas, rivers, and fountains: some running after a beast like an ox, the dog,

* Modern spelling-crowding.

and the cat: some after hawk, some after the sheep: and some so foolish, that they doted upon the very herbs and flowers in their gardens. For indeed they have very rare flowers for colour, such as I never saw in *England*, or elsewhere. Some of this nation have erected in themselves a god, in the likeness of *Jupiter*, and chain him by the leg in their *pagod* to the extent that he might not leave them nor forsake them: and keep continual watch and guard night and day, lest any of their anemics should come and entice him away by bribery, and so to prevail with him to come forth of it, and by that means their city come to ruin and destruction: so much for their idolatory.×

This city of *Bengalla* is very great and populous; it hath many merchants in it, yieldeth very rich commodities, as good cloth in abundance, sugars, silks, taffetas, staffs, wax, gum lack, butter, oil, rice and wheat, with many other good commodities vendible. It is likewise famous for its multitude of rhinoceroses, it has a beast much like unto an unicorn, and because it hath but one horn, some believe and take it for the unicorn's horn the virtue it hath in it. The city was once free from taxation, till *Ebebar** the *great mogul* caused it to be united to his empire. The chiefest cities which join nearest to it, *catigan*** and *Satagan**** on the banks of the Ganges eastward; it was once the seat of the great *Bengallian* king *Malchiram*┼ as Mr. *Purchaseff*❁ relate in his pilgrime. This city* lies westward towards *Pegu* and near to *Cosmin* and *Aracan*, two famous cities for traffick and situation; lying upon the river and within some few leagues of the gulf called the *Bengallian* gulf, which is very dangerous one; for at some certain times of the year it is very hazadable for vessels to pass without shipwreck; there are many other lakes and rivers which I could not mention, but for brevity sake I omit them. But there is no strong drink suffered to be drunk within the city,** except a stranger bring it in

× Bruton's account of Jagannatha is abruptly ended here. The name of "this city of Bengalla" is not given by Bruton.

* Ebebar seems to be a mistake for Ekebar or Akbar.

** Catigan can be identified now with modern Chittagong.

*** Satagan is Saptagram of Bengal near Hugli.

┼ The name of the king is unknown in the history of Bengal.

❁ Purcha, see note 14 *ante*.

* This city seems to be the same as Chitagong.

** After a disgression in which Bruton mentioned about the places of Satgaon and Chittagong, he returns to the town of Puri where he did not find in liquor or wine used by the people.

privately, and so it is not known: and thus much shall suffice for the impious religion of *Jaggarnrt* and stately court of *Malcandy*.

The most of the people have no learning, but do all things by memory: they wear commonly long hair, and are very strict in their time of fasting: but when the ceremony is over, they freely commit all kinds of wickedness again. In some places they have their edicts or laws written and in other places unwritten, they know not what belongs to bonds or bills, and they lend without witnesses, or any sealing of writing, even upon their words; and he that is found to deny his promises, hath the top of his fingers cut off. Their habit is various and different: some of them go in linen and woollen: some are clothed with beasts' skins, or birds feathers; others go naked and cover only their secret parts: their bodies are for the most part, black, which is not accidental but arising from the quality of seed they are begotten: most of them are of a large stature: they have many wives, which they purchase and buy of their parents: some they keep to their vessals, to do their drudgery; others, which are handsomer for issue sake and pleasure.

Here are greater store of beasts than in any other part of the Indies: as oxen, camels, lions*, dogs, elephants: they have dogs which are as fierce as lions, with which they usually hunt and pursue those wild beasts, as we do our bucks, for their delight and pleasure. They ride on goodly horses, booted and spurred: so likewise do their women.

These people are notable ingenious men, let it be what art science so ever, and will imitate any workmanship that shall be brought before them: for the most part of them hate idleness and those that do not study in some art or other, are counted drones, and stand for cyphers and dead men amongst the best and chiefest sort of people: they have custom, that always before dinner they call their children and young people in their houses together, and examine how they have spent their time from the sun-rising: if they could not give a good account of it, they were not to be admitted to the table: and so everyday; and, if they did

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* The lion was not found in Orissa in the 17th centuty. It seems that Bruton mistook tiger for the lion.

not the next time improve themselves in some knowledge of laudable things they are most severely punished and chastized.

These barbarous and idolatrous people, although they be so ignorant in the true worship of God, cannot endure a perjured person, not common swearer, nor a common drunkard, but will punish them very severely by stripes, or else by forfeiture of their commodities; a perjured person, say they, is an arch-enemy to their God and them; and it is so hateful that if it be committed by their father, brother or kindred, they presently condemn him, according the nature of the offence; for though they love the perjury, by reason of benefit that cometh unto them by it, yet they hate the person, even to death: for say they, he who was sometimes perjured in their behalf, may undo what he hath done, and speak the truth when time serves, They instance a story of *Solyman** the great *Turk*, who loathed and abhor'd the traitor that betray'd *Rhodes* into him: and in stead of his daughter whom he expected to be given him in marriage for a reward, he caused him to be flayed and falted, and told him in devision, that it was not fit for a Christian to marry with a *Turk*, unless he put off his old skin, Likewise they instance *Charles* the fourth, who rewarded the soldier (that betrayed their lord and masters *krantius*) with counterfeit coins; and being desired to deliver them current money, answered, that counterfeit coin was the proper wages for counterfeit service. Thus, a lyar, or prejured person amongst the idolatrous people, they will not believe though he had spoken or sworn the truth: for he that been once false, is ever to be suspected in the same kind of falsehood; wherefore just and upright dealing is aptly compared to a glass, which, being once broken, can never be repaired: or to opportunity which once omitted can never be recovered. And so I conclude the relation, wishing all men to prefer knowledge and honesty before wealth and riches; the one soon fadeth, the other abideth for ever; for amongst all the goods of his life, only wisdom is immortal.

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* Sulaeman.

19

A SANAD OF RAJA KRISHNA BHANJA OF MAYURBHANJ *

When I first read the name of Krishna Bhanj of Hariharpur[1] in the article entitled "History of Orissa in the 17th century from Persian sources" by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, I did not give any importance to it on the consideration that there might be a mistake in recording the name of the ruler of Mayurbhanj in the same manner as is found in the account of Riyazu-s-Salatin wherein the cousins of the reigning Raja were mistaken for the Raja. At pages 327 and 337 of Riyazu-s-Salatin mention is made of "Rajah Jadardhar Bhanj, Zamindar of Morbhanj" and "Jagat Isar, Rajah of Morbhanj" respectively Both of them are described as Rajas of Mayurbhanj, but the former was Maharaja Raghunath Bhanja's uncle named Chakradhar Bhanja and the latter was the Maharaja's grand uncle named Jagatesvar Bhanja who was perhaps murdered by Mir Zafar according to Siyarul Muta-akhkhirin. This event took place in 1742 A.D' when Maharaja Raghunath Bhanja was the ruler. Raghunath Bhanja ruled Mayurbhanj from 1728-1750 A.D: In this article I have made an attempt to corroborate the fact narrated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar from some local and foreign sources of evidence

I discovered a palm-leaf manuscript called *Rasalahari*, an Oriya poem composed by Maharaja Raghunath Bhanja, and in the concluding chapter the poet mentions his four predecessors namely Krishna Bhanja, Tribikrama Bhanja, Sarvesvara Bhanja and Virvikramaditya Bhanja. In the genealogical table of the rulers of Mayurbhanj published in the Annual Administration Report for 1894-95, the predecessors of Sarveswar Bhanja are found to be Harihara Bhanja (1643-1688) and Jagannatha Bhanja (1600-1643). I had to

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* A paper read at the public meeting of the Fifteenth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Poona in December 1938.

1. Hariharpur was the capital of Mayurbhanj in the 17th and 18th centuries.

reject these names on the evidence of *Rasalahari*. During my search for records, sanads and manuscripts in 1924, 1925 and 1926 I was able to discover a sanad of Krishna Bhanja edited below and a sanad of Tribikrama Bhanja dated 1093 Sāl (1685-86 A. D.) and 32 anka (25 actual years of reign). From the sanad of Tribikrama Bhanja the date of his accession is found to be 1660 A. D which is also the year of demise of Krishna Bhanja according to the views of Sir Jadunath Sarkar 2. This Trivikram Bhanja of Mayurbhanj who ruled the State from 1660-1688 is mentioned as 'Tillbichrum bung' in Walter Clavell's 'Account of the trade of Ballasore '3, dated the 15th December 1676. Other sources of evidence have been dealt with in the historical note below.

It may not be out of place here to digress a little. It is not known who was the author of the genealogical table mentioned above. From the original documents such as *Bhanja Vamsamalika* and the petition of Maharaja Jadunath Bhanja, dated 16th January 1833, to the Agent to the Governor General, I am convinced that the compiler prepared a genealogical table out of his memory giving dates of each ruler even to the accuracy of months and days A set of Bhanja copper plates were published in 1871 but he took no notice of them. Maharaja Jadunath Bhanja stated in his petition that from Adi Bhanja to Harihara Bhanja for a period nearly covered by 250 generations no names of rulers are preserved. Harihara Bhanja was the father of Krishna Bhanja Maharaja Jadunath Bhanja was able to give a genoological table of 10 generations before him in which Krishna Bhanja's name was included. In the *Bhanja Vamsamālikā* faithful narration of events from 16th century onwards has been recorded which is corroborated by independent evidence from outside.

This sanad was found in the possession of Babu Umakanta Acharya of Baripada in 1926 during the search of records, etc. It is badly mutilated and its lower portion is lost.

This is a bilingual document written in Oriya and Devanagari

The seal represents a peacock facing to the right uplifted plumes in the centre, and the name of the donor is written in

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2. J. B. & O. R. S. Vol. II, 1916, and 'Studies in Mughal India,' 1919, pp. 207-08.
3. Strensham Master's Diary, Vol. II, p. 84.

Devanagari characters at the edge of the seal. The lower portion being damaged, it has not been practicable to restore fully the reading of the seal. The partial reading runs as follows :—

SRI SRI RADHAKRISHNA PADA.....KRISHNA BHANJA.

TEXT

L. 1. Srī Jagannātha Sarana/Srī Khichingesvarī charane sarana/ Srī-mat Srī Krishna Bhanja Deva Rajānkara:

L. 2. Maku Mahāpātraknu namaskāra lekha/Makara di 14nara/ E nimante āgyām (delu).

L. 3. Tikāitakum phitaivā nimante to 500 kham deva/Tikāita (phiti āsi).

L. 4. le mulakalantra maidha pahuchāidevā/Ethaku matha hoile

L. 5. nidhā dei takām sujhāiva/Ethku anyatha nāhim.

L. 6. Emante nirne kari lekhi delu Lakshmināraуana Tīkā.

Translation

Raja Krishna Bhanja Deva, who seeks protection from Jagannātha and the feet of Khichingesvari, orders to write the salutation to Maku Mahapatra on the 14th day of Makara (January and February) ; it is ordered to this effect that you will send Rs. 500. . for the release of the Tikait from the confinement. After the Tekait's release, the money will be repaid together with the capital and interest You shall have to pay if the matter is delayed. There is no alternative order to this and this is written after due consideration. Lakshminarayana Tika (ita) etc.

Historical Note

This document does not bear any date. But its donor Raja Krishna Bhanja Deva is undoubtedly the same person as the one mentioned in the Persian and Dutch Records 4 of the 17th century. Gopijana Ballabha Das, a disciple of Prabhu Rasikānanda Deva Gosvāmi of Gopiballavapura in Midnapore, completed the writing of Rasikamangala, the biography and teachings of Rasikānanda, in 1655 A. D. The book was written just after the death of the great Vaishnava

4. Forest's Factory Records of India, Vol. XI, p. 69, & Batavia Dagh Register, 1661.

apostle, in 1652 A.D. The following lines find mention in the prologue of Rasikamangala about Maharaja Krishna Bhanja Deva whose grandfather Maharaja Vaidyanatha Bhanja was a disciple of Rasikānanda and Shyāmānanda.

Vandinu Sri Krishna Bhanja Deva Maharaja
Drdhabhave Shyamananda Pade Sevapuja

* * * * * *

Punyavale Pravala Pratapi Nrpavara
Vairiraja Asi Yara Charana Kinkara (pages 5 and 6).

" Let me adore Maharaja Sri Krishna Bhanja Deva who is a devout worshipper of the feet of Prabhu Shyāmānanda * * * who is a highly dignified king and through the power of virtues only whose feet are served even by the hostile princes."

From the above account it is clear that Krishna Bhanja was living in 1655 A D. and was a devout Vaishnava. The seal of the document discloses the fact that Krishna Bhanja was a devotee of Rādhākrishna.

The Mughal Governor Khan-i-Duran's despatches, written during the reconquest of Orissa in 1660 A. D. graphically describe the power exercised by Krishna Bhanja 'the leading zamindar of this province' over the vast country from Midnapore to Bhadrakh.

" The *Farman* appointing Khan-i-Duran to Orissa was sent from the Imperial Court on 3rd April, 1660. He received it at Allahabad where he was Subadar, and soon set out for his new province

* * * * * * *

On the 26th September he entered Medinipur, the first town after crossing the Orissa Frontier. After spending some days here to settle the district, organise the civil administration and revenue collection and station faujdars in all directions, he set out for Jaleswar, in the meantime writing to the zamindars of northern Orissa to meet him on the way and pay their respects as loyal subjects"[5]. Khan-i-Duran reached Jaleswar in the latter half of October 1660 A. D.

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5. J. N. Sarkar's '*Studies in Mughal India*', p 206.

" At the news of Governor's approach, both Bahadur [6] and Krishna Bhanja, the Rajah of Hariharpur (*i.e.*, Mayurbhanj). wrote to him professing submission and promising to wait on him at Jaleswar. The Mughal faujdar of Remuna, on the Mayurbhanj frontier, wrote to the new Governor that the agents (wakils) of these two zamindars had reached him to arrange for their masters' interview. He was ordered in reply to reassure them with kindness and send them back to their masters that they might come without fear or suspicion and see Khan-i-Duran at Jaleswar. Bahadur evidently changed his mind and held off: Krishna Bhanja [7] came, but with a terrible fate which is best described in the Governor's own words: "When I reached Jaleswar, which is near his zamindari, Krishna Bhanja saw me after wasting a month on the pretext of choosing a lucky day (for the visit), and offered false excuses (for his late disloyal conduct). During the inquiry and discussion for settling the amount of revenue to be paid by him, he, inspired by pride in the largeness of his force, drew his dagger and rushed towards me. His companions too unscathed their swords and made repeated charges. The grace of the Emperor saved my life. We slew Krishna Bhanja and many of his men. The rest fled. Some chiefs such as Udand, the zamindar of Narsingpur. Chahttreshwar Dhol, the zamindar of Ghatsila, and Harichandan, the zamindar of Nilgiri, threw away their weapons and delivered themselves up as prisoners."

"The relatives of the slain Rajah (of Mayurbhanj) raised disturbances, molesting the ryots. * * *".[8]

The above quoted account apart from being an one sided version of the Governor bears certain points which clearly throws some light on the power and influence of Krishna Bhanja, the Raja of Mayurbhanj.

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6. Bahadur was the zamindar of Hijili in Midnapore. The Batavia Dag Register describes him as 'Badorchan' (Bahadur) Khan in letter dated November 1660. (The English Factories in India, 1661-64, p. 68).
7. "He kept one thousand and ten or twelve thousand foot soldiers, and was obeyed and helped by all the zamindars of this country. (During the anarchy) he had plundered the tract from Bhadrak to Medinipur, carried off the ryots to his own territory, increased their cultivation and ruined the Imperial dominions". J N. Sarkar's *'Studies in Mughal India'*, page 207.
8. *Ibid.* pp. 207-08.

According to the statement of the Governor, Mayurbhanj Raja's military power was not inconsiderable and he occupied a position which is in every way similar to that of the Raja of Khurda, "the leading zamindar of this country", in South Orissa, "whose power and influence has been recognised in Orissa even up to the date of the conquest of Orissa by the British."

Khan-i-Duran's account is full of self-applause and he has blown his own trumpet in such a way that the Emperor had perhaps no occasion to suspect the veracity of his statement in regard to the rebellious conduct of the zamindars. That Khan-i-Duran suppressed the truth of affairs which happened at Jaleswar, is evident from the following Dutch version which goes to show that Krishna Bhanja was not a rebellious prince. From Khan-i-Duran's own statement it is found that Krishna Bhanja professed submission and promised to wait on him at Jaleswar, and he was not only given assurance but also was desired by the Governor to come without fear and suspicion to Jaleswar to meet him there. Krishna Bhanja's dealings with the new Governor before the date of interview is in no way condemnable and he relying on the words of the new Governor, came forward to meet him but Bahadur, the Zamindar of Hijli suspecting the Governor's assurance, changed his mind and held off. That Bahadur was right in his judgment as to the character of Khan-i-Duran, is evident from the Dutch records.

"The great Rajah Krishna Bens [9]. (Bhanja) with two or three other important chiefs and several thousands of attendents, came to wait upon the now Governor, Khan-i-Duran, in order to do homage to him as the emperor's representative ; whereupon they were suddenly attacked with the connivance, it was thought of the Governor—and a frightful slaughter ensued. The result was a rebellion."[10]

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9. Foster has given footnote on the words Bens as follows:—" Dr. Thomas thinks that this represents ' Krishna Vansa. ' Probably he was the representative of the ancient ruling family", I think Sir Jadunath Sarkar's article ' The History of Orissa in the 17th century from Persian sources, published in J.B. & O.R S Vol. II, pp. 153—165, 1916, or his book ' Studies in Mughal India ' (1919) escaped the notice of Dr Thomas and so the mistake in identification thus arises.

10. W. Foster's ' The English Factories in India, ' 1661-64, Oxford, 1923, page 69.

The Persian records narrate that Krishna Bhanja drew his dagger and rushed towards the Governor, whereas the Dutch records narrate that Krishna Bhanja's followers were suddenly attacked with the connivance, it was thought, of the Governor. So the report of the third party is to be considered as of having more weight than that of an interested one, as the treachery played by the Governor is found to be fully suppressed in his reports to the Emperor.

From Khan-i-Duran's account it appears that Harichandan, the zamindar of Nilgiri, Udand, the zamindar of Narsingpur, and Chhatreswar Dhol, the zamindar of Ghatsila (Dhalbhum), betrayed their liege lord, the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj, and sought the Mughal protection. These three zamindaries find mention in the Man, Singh's list of eleven dependent zamindaries under Mayurbhanj [11] which was written in 1592 A. D.

Khan-i-Duran mentions that Krishna Bhanja spread his power over the country from Midnapore to Bhadrak, but the area of the country that was under Mayurbhanj according to Man Singh's list of dependent zamindaries actually extended from Bhanjabhum in Midnapore to Almunda in the subdivision of Bhadrak ; so Krishna Bhanja made no new acquisition during the interregnum that prevailed in Orissa before the arrival of Khan-i-Duran Nilgiri isn ow an Indian State on the south of Mayurbhanj and its former rulers obtained the title of Harichandan from Mayurbhanj. T Motte writes in 1766 that Nilgiri " pays rupees thirty thousand annual tribute to the Mahrattas, by whom the Rajah is maintained against the claims of Mohur Bunge.[12]

This document goes to reveal another fact that ransom was required for the release of the Tikaita, the heir apparent of Krishna Bhanja. From the account of the Bhanja Vamsamālikā a palm leaf

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11. Stirling's Orissa, p. 47.
12. Early European travellers in the Nagpur territories, p. 6
    Udanda, the Zamindar of Narsingpur, finds mention in Rasika-mangala and also in the records of the Revenue Department of the Government of Bengal in 1781 when the pragana Bhelora-chaur belonging to Narsingpur was separated for Mayurbhanj. The headquarters of Narsingpur, called Kanpur, is now situated on the eastern border of Mayurbhanj, The Raja of Dhalbhume were also feudatory of Mayurbhanj.

manuscript dealing with the genealogical account of Mayurbhanj, it is found that Krishna Bhanj's son and successor Tribikram Bhanj "suffered much at the hands of the Yavanas while he was the Tikaita". This possibly took place at the time when Ihtisham Khan, the predecessor of Khan-i-Duran, was Subahdar in Orissa It is said of him that he ordered "all the Mansabdars, zamindars. Chaudhuries and Quanungoes, etc , of the province * * to meet him at Narayangarh whither he would march from Medinipur, the northern frontier of the province, some time after 14th November, 1659" *13* And he imprisoned a large number of Zamindars of Orissa for default of revenue This document is dated on the 14th of Makara (the last part of January,1669) when the Tikaita had to remain as a captive and in order to release him, his father Krishna Bhanja was in need of money for the payment of his ransom.

The KHICHINGESVARI of this document requires some note. Khichingesvari was the lady of the Khichinga, the corruption of KHIJJINGA, the ancient capital of the Bhanja princes of Mayurbhanj in the 10th and 11th centuries A.D. The deity is still recognised as the patron Goddess of the Raj family of Mayurbhanj and an image of her is now enshrined in the palace at Baripada. The importance of the art and architecture of the remains of Khiching has been dealt with in a separte book called 'Bhanja Dynasty of Mayurbhanj and their capital Khiching' by Rai Bahadur R. Chanda, the retired Superintendent, Archæological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

As regards the Orthography the following require comment :—

(1) Consonants are not doubled always, as in *Jaganatha* in line 1 and Nirne in line 6.

(2) Dental Sa is generally used in place of palatal Sa as Sarana line 1.

(3) Dental Na is used in place of celebral Na as Charane in line 1.

(4) Compound consonants as in the cases of NGA, NJA, NKA have been written as anuswara in letters GA, JA and KA. Such forms are also now in vogue in the documents of the courts.

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13. J. N. Sarkar's 'Studies in Mughal India', p. 204.

This document bears also some palæographical importance. The peculiar forms of Uriya script that require note are given below:—

1. Sri—This is the symbolical form of the letter and was in use until the introduction of the press.

2. Kri—In place of Kr. we meet Kri· wich is due to the phonetic difference of R in Bengali and Oriya, In many copper plates of Orissa belonging to the 11th and 12th centuries A. D. such use of Ri in place of R is often noticed,

3. Shna—In this double consonant the letter *na* has been written on the side of Sha; but nowadays it occupies the place below *Sha*. The modern Bengali form is almost similar to this form of Oriya Shna of the 17th century A D.

4. Na, Nya, La and Bha—The modern Oriya letters do not possess the horizontal stroke of letters forming a word, But in *NA*, *LA* and *BHA* of this document the horizontal stroke is only taking the shape of a semicircle showing the connection with the form of the latter type of Kutila or Nagari characters. The *Na* found here is almost similar to that of Bengali form and in the double consonant *NYA*, *YA* is almost the same as the Kutila form.

20

MAYURBHANJ AND THE EUROPEAN FACTORIES AT PIPLI AND BALASORE*

"The earliest European settlements in the Gulf of Bengal were established in Orissa. It was the same with the Portuguese as with the English and the Dutch. Ascending along the western shore of the Bay of Bengal the coast of Orissa was the first to offer a landing place. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, that is, a short time after the

* A paper read at the public meeting of the Sixteenth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Calcutta in December 1939,

discovery of the sea route to India (1498) the Portuguese established themselves on the coast of Madras. Alarmed at the growth of a foreign power, the natives rose against the Portuguese who escaped northwards and in 1514 founded a town in Pipli about four miles from the mouth of the Subarnarekha River, establishing their earliest settlemente on the coast of the Bay of Bengal. Pipli was then an important harbour on the Orissa coast and a great centre of Portuguese trade when their fleets commanded the whole sea board from Chittagang to Orissa. It was also a great slave market where the Arakanese and the Portuguese pirates sold their prisoners."[1]

Before the English had any footing in Orissa the Dutch settled in Pipli in 1625 and in Balasore in the same year.[2] A small party of the English East India Company from Masaulipatam arrived at 'Harssapoore' or Harishpur in Cuttack on the 21st April, 1633 and Mr. Ralph Cartwright, the chief merchant, was successful in obtaining necessary privileges from the Governor of Cuttack for the trade in Orissa on the 5th of May. After a few days the factory at Harharrapoore or Hariharpur, an adjacent village to modern Jagatsinghapur in Cuttack, was built and next month the factory at 'Bullazary' or Balasore was founded by R. Curtwright [3]

Before the coming of the Dutch or the English to the shores of Orissa, the Portuguese established themselves at Pipli in 1516 according to the authority of the 'Travels of Sebastien Manrigue' quoted by Hunter.[4] The date of establishment of the Portuguese at Pipli has been disputed by Mr. O'Malley who puts it as 1599 (*vide* Balasore District Gazetteer, P.36 and P.204, without the mention of any authority). The earlier date takes us back to the period when Prataparudra Deva (1497-1541) was the independent king of Orissa. After his death Govinda Vidyadhara usurped the throne of Orissa and both the *Madalāpāñji* and *Akbarnamah* narrate how one Raghu Bhanja rebelled in the north of Orissa with the assistance of the independent Sultans of

1. Campos — History of the Portuguese in Bengal, Calcutta, 1919, P 97.
2. *Ibid.* Foot note.
3. Wilson--The early annals of the English in Bengal, London, 1895, pp. 7-21.
4. Hunter's Orissa Vol. II, P. 37.

Bengal. Who was this Raghu Bhanja ? From the surname, only it seems that he belonged to the Mayurbhanj family and was the sister's son of the king of Orissa, According to the account of *Bhanja Vanśamalika* of Mayurbhanj one Jagannatha Bhanja married the daughter of the king of Orissa and according to the tradition of Keonjhar State king Prataparudra of Orissa got the Bhanjabhum Baripada Dandapata as the dowry. This Bhanjabhum Baripada Dandapata finds mention in the *Madalapanji* and Mr. M.M. Chakravarti has identified this with Mayurbhanj.[5] According to this, Raghu Bhanja was the son of the sister of the son of king Prataparudra Deva and so it was natural for him to claim the throne of Orissa as a nephew in absence of any direct heir. Whatever may be the relation of Raghu Bhanja with the independent king of Orissa it is certain that he assumed independence in north Orissa and occupied the country which extended from Midnapore in the north to Bhadrak in the south which was recognised by the Moghal Government as is found in the arrangement of 1593 A.D. made by Raja Man Singh and published in Stirling's Orissa. "The details of the arrangements adopted by Raja Man Singh for the disposal and management of the above important class estates, cannot be very interesting to the general reader, but I shall nevertheless introduce an extract from some old revenue accounts in my possession, which describe those arrangements, as the documents in question are certainly highly curious [6] According to this account there were eleven "dependent chiefs"[7] under Mayurbhanj among which the Zamindary of Jamkunda was one within which was situated Piply. The following extracts from the "Narrative of journey to the Diamond Mines at Sumbhulpoor" written in 1766 by Tomas Motte throws some light on the supremacy of Mayurbhanj not only over Piply but Balasore also.

"The Mohur Bunge country extends from the Neelgur ('It gives name to that range of hills which extends to the west of Midnapoor' P.16) hillsto the sea; but having borne with impatience a foreign yoke, each expression of such impatience has been punished by dismembering part of the country, since every officer who behaved remarkably well in the expeditions against rebellious princes, was rewarded by a portion of their land, under the name of a Tallook".[8]

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5. J & P.A.S B., Vol. XII, 1916, P 48.
6 Asiatic Researches Vol. XV, P. 229.
7. *Ibid.* P, 233.
8. The Asiatic Miscellany, Vol. II Calcutta 1786, P. 14.

"The first considerable avulsion from the Mohur Bunje Zemeendary was the Fouzdarry of Pipley; the next that of Ballasore; since which so many small Tallooks have been taken from it, that the Rajah has now no land to the eastward of the road* I came".9

"Pipley was once the mart of this country, but the waters washing away great part of the town, at the same time that a dangerous bar was formed at the mouth of the river, the merchants, encouraged by Shuja Khan, then Nabob of Orissa removed to Ballasore".10

Shah Shuja was the second son of Shah Jahan and the prince Viceroy of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa from 1640 to 1657 and it is said that he granted a farman to the English in 1651-52.11

It seems that the sea board portion of the territory of Mayurbhanj was separated by the *Moghal* Governors during the reign of Shah Jahan who, though at first oppressed the Portuguese, yet granted privileges to them along with the English East India Company. The reason for separating part of the territory from Mayurbhanj may be attributed to the direct control of the ports and the remonstration on the part of the rulers of Mayurbhanj has been characterised as rebellion because they perhaps protested against the unjust annexation of portion of the territory which was a great source of income to the State. After annexation, the port at Pipli was named perhaps as Shadhandar.

No evidence on the Political relation of the princes of Mayurbhanj with European trading Companies owning factories at Pipli and Balasore is available now excepting a small Zamindary of Mayurbhanj in the Balasore town where there are some Paik families who were granted Jagir lands by the rulers of Mayurbhanj for "the watch and ward" of Balasore town. On the other hand there is definite evidence on the commercial relation with the English Company in the "Accompt of the trade at Ballasore" dated the 15th December, 1676 written by Walter Clavell from which extracts are quoted below :

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* Motte entered Mayurbhanj after crossing the Subarnarekha from Jaleswar and came to Balasore through Basta, Garhpada following practically the route on the present Orissa Trunk road.

9. *Ibid* P. 15.
10. *Ibid.* PP. 12-13.
11. Wilson's—The early annals of Bengal, P. 28.

"Ballasore begunn to be a noted place when the Portuguez were beaten out of Angelin (Hijili) by the Moores, about the yeare 1635 at which time the trade begun to decay at Piply, and to have a diminition in other places at these parts ; and the Barr opening and the river appearing better than was imagined. The English and the Danes endeavoured to settle Factoryes here (in 1633), to be out of the troubles the Portuguez gave to other nations and had themselves, the rather because the Cloth of Harrapore (Hariharpur), where our first Factory was settled (in 1632) was without much difficulty to be brought nither by land, and the River where our vessels usually had lain at, being stop't up, it was noe easy matter to bring the Cloth by Sea, nor soe safe to have vessels ride before that place as here in the roade of Ballasore. And the Raja of Tillbichrumbung his country lyeing neare the place where the greatest quantity Tester (tassar) or Herbs is procurable, a settlement was thought the more convenient, because Ginghams, Herba Taffatyes, Herba Lungees (Lunggi, loin-cloth) and other sorts of Herba goods might be made neare and brought hither. and noewhere so good Herba goods procurable. The waters of Casharry giving the most lasting dye to them, and within two days journey of this place."[12]

Sir R.C. Temple, the Editor has not added any note suggesting indentification of ' The Raja of Tillbichrumbung ' or ' his countryl ying near Ballasore ' and so an attempt has been made here to identify Tillibichrumbunge and his country.

In Clavell's ' Accompt ' no such faulty construction appears elsewhere as ' And the Raja of Tillbichrumbung his country ', The exact reading of the text can't be suggested without the examination of the manuscript, but it seems that there is some mistake in deciphering the text. ' Tillbichrumbung ' of this account stands for Trivikrama Bhanja who was the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj from 1660-1688 A.D. It further seems that the word 'of' in the clause 'Raja of Tillbichrumbung can't stand for Mayurbhanj and Clavell's subsequent mention of his country suggests that ' Tillbichrumbung ' stands for a name of a person and not for any geographical place name. So the omission of 'Of' will make the sentence clearer than the one as it stands. I have also some doubt about the correct reading of ' Tillbichrumbung his ' which

12, The diaries of Streynsham Master, Vol. II, pp. 84-85.

stands possibly for Tillbichrumbunges' and I like to suggest that the reading as follows :—

' *And Raja Tillbichrumbung's country* '—Whatever may be the writing in the text of the Manuscript either of the corrections suggested above improves the meaning of the sentence to a great extent.

During the search of manuscripts and sanads in the year 1925-26 a Sanad of Maharaja Trivikrama Bhanja Deva was discovered by me in the possession of Mahant Rasikananda Deva Gosvami of the village Kisorepur of the Perganneh Rahanda.

The document measures 15½"×4½" and is a trilingual one in which the seal and signature of the donor are inscribed in Devanagari character and the grant portion in Persian and Oriya writing which purports to the same thing.

The importance of seal and signature in such royal documents is well known without which no grant was ever considered to be of any value. In the seals of the rulers of Mayurbhanj the name of the donor finds always mention with that of his father, and this long established custom is still in vogue. The signature of the ruler in this grant as well as that of his successors upto the present day is only ' Radhakrishna ' which is written in Devanagari and not the name of the ruler mentioned in the seal The signature of Radhakrishna ' indicates that the donor was a follower of the Vaishnavic faith and this custom was perhaps introduced in the beginning of the 17th century when Maharaja Vaidyanatha Bhanja Deva accepted the post-Chaitanya Vaishnavism preached by Rashikananda Deva Goswami of Gopiballabhapur.

The Sanad was granted in 1093 Sala and in the 32 Anka or Regnal year of the donor for the management to the temple at Kisorapur village.

TEXT

(L. 1) Śri Trivikrama Bhanja Deva Maharajankara 32 Anka Sana 1093 Sala.

(L. 2) Kisorapura Devalayaku etc.

(Then follows the details of articles granted).

Translation.

This is granted by Maharaja Trivikrama Bhanja Deva to the temple situated at Kisorapura in the Sala 1093 and in the regnal year32

The mention of the Anka or regnal year in a document is very important as it furnishes the date of occupying the Gadi by a ruler and hence the discussion of the system of reckoning the Anka will be of general interest. The system of reckoning the Anka in Mayurbhanj is as follows :—

The numerical figures 1. 2 and 6 or any number associated with 6 such as 16, 26 etc. and all figures having a zero with the exception of 10, are not counted.

Sir W. W. Hunter wrote first in 1872 on the Anka system as follows :—

" But although the Maharaja of Khurda have ceased to be an independent dynasty, they still exercise one of the most cherished prerogatives of an Eastern Royal House. The whole Orissa population date their document according to the year of the Raja's reign. They have thus an ara equally distinct from the Christian, the Musalman, and the Hindu methods of reckoning the time. The first, sixth, tenth and twenty-sixth years after each accession are deemed unlucky, and never counted in the current chronology. A new Maharaja, therefore, begins in his second Anka, or year, to reign in the affections and the documents of his people." 13

John Beams wrote the following on this subject :

" In reckoning the Anka the first two years and every year that has a 6 or 0 in it are omitted ; we must thus omit the years 1. 2, 6, 10, 16, 20, 26, and 30." 14

Mr. M. M. Chakravarty wrote as follows on the same subject " The peculiarities of the Anka (regnal) years are not well known. So for the convenience of the readers they are noted here. The special characteristics are :—

(1) I and all figures ending in zero (except 10) and 6 should be omitted.

(2) The last Anka year of one king and the first Anka year of the succeeding king (*i.e.* ?) fall in the same year.

(3) The year begins on the day of Suniya Simha (Bhādrapada) Sukla dvādasī." *15*

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13. ' Orissa ' Vol. II, pp. 125-26.
14. J. A. S. of Bengal 1883 p. 234.
15. J. A. S. B. 1903 p. 100.

Thus the Mayurbhanj system virtually differs from that recorded by Hunter, Beams and Chakravarti. It is similar to Beam's system so far as the initial year, that is 3, is concerned and Chakravarti's system so far as the year 10. Hunter's system is different from that of Beams and Chakravarti and so also from that of Mayurbhanj.

According to the mode of calculation discussed above 32 Anka corresponds to 25 actual years of reign

In converting the Sala era into Christian era, it should be borne in mind that the Sala new years begin on the day of Suniya which generally falls in the month of September and it is a lunar year. The date of Suniyan varies every year according to that of the Christian year. So it is very difficult to find out the exact date and month of the Christian year corresponding to the Oriya Sala year But so far the year is concerned only 592-93 is to be added to the Sala year to find out the Christian era and thus Sala 1093 corresponds to 1685-86 A.D. From this date if 25 years of actual reign of Maharaja Trivikrama Bhanja is deducted, it gives the year of his accession to the throne in 1660-61 A.D. According to Khan-i-Duran's account Maharaja Krishna Bhanja * died in November 1660 A.D. and so there is no doubt that Trivikrama Bhanja Deva was the successor of Krishna Bhanja.

From the Sanads granted by Maharaja Sarvesvara Bhanja Deva who occupied the Gadi of Mayurbhanj in 1688 A.D., it can be said that Maharaja Trivikrama Bhanja written as " Trillbichrumbung " ruled Mayurbhanj from 1660-1688 A.D. Thus the contemporary Oriya records help us in indentifying unintelligible names found in the English records.

II.

W. Clavell testifies to the importance of Tassar textiles of Mayurbhanj by saying that "Noe where so good Herba goods procurable." Even now the Tassar Textiles of Mayurbhanj have not lost their old position like the cotton textiles of Hariharpur, Muktapur and Mahanpur lying to the south of Balasore Award of gold medals by the judges of various exhibitions in India on the Tassar Textiles from Olmara and Rahalda of Mayurbhanj proves that the ancient tradition is still surviving there.

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* See Proceedings of I. H. R. C, 1938.

W. Clavell writes elsewhere, "Cou'd the difficulty of putting off our Europe Commodityes be once removed, and the fear of the want of Phyrmaund (farman), it were much for the Companyes advantage to send servants to Mucktapore, Harrapore, and Mohumpare to provide with ready money the goods that come from those places and to Danton or Jellasore (? for) Oremara and Cashary goods."

The Editor has indentified "Mucktapore" in Midnapore "Harrapore" in Cuttack and "Mahumpore" in Midnapore. I think, all these places lay to the north of Soro in Orissa. The location of these places from the description appears that all of them were situated in a compact geographical area and not so widely separated. 'Danton' is modern Dantun in the Midnapore District of Bengal and 'Jellasore' is modern Jaleswar in the Balasore district of Orissa. On 'Oremara' Sir Richard Temple writes in the foot note that "Oremara may represent Ulmara in Midnapore district or Urmullah in Balasore district 'Oremara' stands for modern Ulmara an isolated Pergannah belonging to Mayurbhanj State which is surrounded by British districts of Midnapore and Balasore and is still famous for Tassar textiles. 'Cashary' is the modern Kasiari * in Midnapore. From Rennell's map of Bengal No. 7 it is found that there were good communication from Balasore to Mayurbhanj ; One road from Balasore passed through 'Harrapore' or Hariharpur, the then capital of Mayurbhanj and was extended in the north-westerly direction towards Bihar. Again two roads are found from 'Foolerra Gaut' (Fuladi Ghat) near Balasore to 'Raugegaut' (Rajghat where there is a ferry on the Orissa Trunk Road through Mayurbhanj). From Rajghat another road was extended in a northerly direction to "Cassaree (Kasiari in Midnapore) through 'Roybunnea (Raibania in Balasore) on the Mayurbhanj border and 'Woulmara' (Olmara) on the right bank of the Subarnarekha. It is possible therefore that the communication for trade and commerce was good in the 17th century in Mayurbhanj and thus helped the transactions at the port of Balasore. Yuan Chwang mentioned the sea ports of *Tan-mo-loih-ti* (Tamralipti) and *Che-li-to-lo* on the Orissa Coast in the 7th century A D. The location of Tāmralipti is the modern Tāmluk in Midnāpore but no exact site of *Che - li-to - lo* has yet

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* According to Man Singh's arrangement Kasiari was situated in Mayurbhanj because it was included under the Zamindar of Kiarchand, a feudatory of Mayurbhanj.

been identified excepting this that the port was somewhere on the mouth of the Mahanadi in the Cuttack district. The records of the East India Company prove that Hariharpur on the Mahanadi in Cuttack was a famous trade centre in the 17th century. In De Barros' map (Circa 1550 A.D.) "Pipilipatam" only finds mention 16 in Orissa. In Gastaldi's 17 map drawn in 1561 in 'Regno De Orissa' places called 'Orissa', 'Ramena', 'Ingeli', 'Picolda' and Popoloom' on a river find mention. Orissa may be identified with Cuttack, 'Remena' with Remuna situated about 6 miles west of Balasore, 'Ingeli' with Hijili in Midnapore and 'Popoloom' with Pipli on the Subarnarekha. I could not suggest any identification on 'Picolda'. In Bleav's map 18 (Amsterdam 1650) 'Orixa' and 'Pipilipatam' find mention in Orissa. 'Orixa' may be taken as Cuttack and 'Piplipatam' as Pipli or Pipili which is written according to Oriya pronounciation. Out of places such as 'Manicapatam', Calecota, 'Caregorae', 'Polarin' and 'Conterpatam' shown in this map on the sea coast of 'Orixa', only Manikpatna and Kallikota on the Chilka lake and Polarin or Palur near the mouth of the Rshikulya river could be identified now but other places are very difficult to identify. All these three maps drawn before 1650 show only one river called Ganga in Orissa. The map of Matheus Vanden Broucke (1660) 19 shows the places in Orissa such as 'Djangernaat' (modern Jagannath or Puri), 'Cottack' (Cuttack) 'Harriapoer' (Hariharpur in Cuttack), 'Badreck' (Bhadrak) 'Bellasoor' (Balasore) 'Rammoina' (Remuna in Balsore), 'Narsengpoer' (Narsinghpur or modern Kanpur on the eastern border of Mayurbhanj), 'Pipeli' (Pipli) 'Jallassor' (Jaleswar). 'Danthun' (Dantun), 'Casseiri', (Kasiari) Matthous Van den Broucke was the head of the Dutch merchants in India from 1658 to 1664 and so this map is almost contemporary to the 'Accompt' of Trade at Ballasore written by W. Clavell, Renell's map published in 1779 showing the places in Mayurbhanj and north Balasore is the most accurate one in comparison with others mentioned above. In this connection the 'Chart of the River Hooghly, Bengal, drawn by Tomas Bowrey in Fort St George in 1687' may be mentioned which shows 'Ballasore' and 'Pipelly'. 20

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16. Portuguese in India —frontispiece map,
17. J. & P A S.B. Vol. IV, P. 292.
18. J A.S B. 1873, P. 242-43.
19. Modern Review, April, 1935, P. 494.
20. Countries round the Bay of Bengal, 1669-79, Hakluyt Series II, Vol. XII.

21

TWO FORGOTTEN MUGHAL SUBADARS OF ORISSA.

Stirling in his *An Account of Orissa*, opines as follows relating to the history of Orissa in the 17th century A D.

" The slender information extant of the proceedings of the Mogul officers from the retirement of Raja Man Sing in A. D. 1604 to the dewanship of the famous Nuwab Jaffer Khan Nasiri (A. D. 1707–1725) has to be gleaned from a few scattered notices in Persian histories of Bengal and scarcely intelligible revenue accounts, though the century in question must be regarded as a most important period in the annuals of the country, when we consider the deep and permanent traces impressed on the state of affairs, by the arrangements, institutions, offices and official designations, introduced by the Imperial Government during that interval".[1]

From 1822 to up till now many distinguished historians have tried to fill up the gaps of the period from various sources such as English, Dutch, Persian and Oriya manuscripts and records. The researches of Sir Jadunath Sarkar based on Persian sources have bridged the gaps to a great extent and the "list of Mughal Governors of Orissa" [2] furnishes such information as is recorded in the Persian sources. R. D. Banerji writes that "we do not know as yet who was governing the Province from 1678 till about the end of the1 th century".[3] In the footnote he mentions "Abu Noor Khan (1682), Akram Khan (1697)" and gives the reference to a note at page 153 of the book entitled the *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*.

Hon'ble H K Mahatab in his 'History of Orissa' in Oriya writes that "the names of the Subadars of Orissa up to the end of

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1. *Stirling's Orissa*, Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta – reprint of 1822 edition, 1904, P. 87.
2. *History of Bengal*, Vol. II, published by the University of Dacca, 1948, pp. 231–233,
3. *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, 1931, p. 55.

the century after 1678 are not known".4 But Sir Sarkar in his above list has been able to fill up the gap to some extent as will be found from the following quotations :—

"Shaista Khan again, Jan. 1680 – Jan. 1688, governs through deputies : Bussrug Ummed Khan (his eldest son). Iradat Khan (son of Shaista) appointed October 1882 but cancelled Abu Nasar (son of Shaista) appointed 14 Jan. 1688 (after some time made substantive Subadar 5) '. Elsewhere he writes : "But though Shaista Khan himself lived at the provincial capital in royal magnificence and ease, he was no Viceroi faineant; he succeeded in enforcing peace and administrative control, because he was assisted by four exceptionally gifted sons-Buzrug-Ummed Khan... Abu Nasar, the deputy Subadar of Orissa" 6."

As Abu Nasar Khan was appointed on the 14th Jan. 1683, it may be that he is the same person called Abu Noor Khan (1682) mentioned by R. D. Banerji 'Akram Khan (1697), seems to be the same person as Nawab Akram Khan about whom S r Jadunath Sarkar is silent. It seems that he was appointed Subadar of Orissa after Abu Nasar Khan.

Nawab Abu Nasar Khan and Nawab Akram Khan built mosques at Jajpur and Cuttack during the reign of Aurangzeb The mosque at Jajpur is still called Abu Nasir mosque which was erected in 1098 Hijra (1686–87) A. D. according to the inscription inse ted on it. The following is the English translation of the Persian inscription.

"In time of Aurangzeb, whose splendour reached the stars and will remain as long as the stars endure, in the time of the Nawab whose virtues are altogether beyond praise or description, the Nawab established in the city of Jajpur a mosque of such magnificence that the domes of it make the sky conceal itself. If you desire to hear the messages of the angels, spend a night in it. Abu Nasir Khan reigned when the mosque was erected – then was the time of Abu Nasir Khan. The arithmetical value of the letters gives the date of the building 1098 Hijiri.7 "

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4. H. K. Mahatab, *History of Orissa*, 1948, P. 209
5. *History of Bengal*, Vol. II, P. 232
6. *Ibid* P. 375
7. List of Ancient Monuments in Orissa Division, Bengal, revised and corrected up to 31-8-1895, Calcutta 1896, pp. 10–11.

The Juma Moszid at Balubazar in Cuttack according to the Persian inscription inserted on it, was built in 1102 Hijra (1690-91 A. D.) by Zaibun Nisa Khanun, the Shahazada Begum, wife of Akram Khan, the Governor during the reign of Aurangzeb.

These two corroborative and contemporary inscriptions from Orissa prove without any shade of doubt about the history of the reigning Mughal Nawabs of Orissa during the reign of Aurangzeb in last quarter of the 17th century.

According to the Madalapanji or the chronicle of the Jagannāth temple at Puri, Maharaja Mukunda Deva and his son Maharaja Divyasinha Deva of the Khurda family ruled in Orissa from 1658-1688 A. D and 1688-1715 A D. respectively The text of the Madalapanji has been printed in Oriya by Professor A.B. Mohanty, and the account of Mukunda Deva contains the following reference to Nawab Nasar Khan :—

" In the 38th Anka year (31st year of the reign) of this Maharaja, Nawab Abdul (Abu ?) Nasar Khan came up to Pipli in order to spoil the Jagannath temple. Mukunda Deva with family met with him at Danda Mukundapur and resided there at his palace. At Pipli there was a thunder stroke in the month of Chaitra and so the Nawab returned to Cuttack after making friendship with the Raja."

From the above we learn that Nawab Abu Nasar Khan met Maharaja Mukunda Deva in the year 1687 A. D. in his 38th Anka year.

The account of Maharaja Dibyasinha Deva contains the following reference to Nawab Akram Khan. "On the 18th day of Rshabha in the 7th Anka year the Mughals appeared at Puri. The images of the temples were concealed in a place behind the temple of Bimala "

On the 19th day of Rshabha and the Harana Ekadasi Nawab Akram Khan who was appointed by Padsha Auranshah came to Puri. His brother Marmast Khan Jamaula and Jaman Koli accompanied by 50 cavalry came also with him. They in the presence of Raja Divyasimha Deva broke the *Gumuta* (the small closed room with a small door) of the lion gate of the temple. They also removed the disc fitted at the top of the Bhogamandapa and the wooden image of Jagannāth, The brother of the Nawab went up to the Sinhasana of the temple "

" This desecration took place on the 17th May 1695. " [8] This account of *Madalapanji* finds also corroboration from the Persian account of *Tabsiral-ul-Nazirin* according to which " Aurangzib sent orders to Mir Saiyad Mahumud of Bilgram to destroy the temple and idol of Jagannath. Divyasinha was compelled to break the statue of Rakshasa which stood over the entrance to the temple and surrendered the wooden images, which were carried off to Bijapur, where the emperor then was "[9]

From the above we come to know that during the last two decades of the 17th century A. D. Nawab Abu Nasar Khan, son of Shaista Khan and Nawab Akram Khan, the son-in-law of Aurangzeb ruled in Orissa from 1683 to 1698 A. D.

In the list of 'Mughal Governors of Orissa' we find No. 19 with an interrogation, 1689-1698 Ibrahim Khan (Subadar of Bengal) [10] but the contemporary inscription of Juma Mosque at Cuttack and the *Madalapanji* mention that Nawab Akram Khan was the Governor of Orissa during this period.

22

GOPIBALLABHPUR FARMAN OF BADSHAH GAZI ABDUL FATEH MAHAMMAD NASIRUDDIN SHAH*

While searching papers relating to the history of Mayurbhanj, this Mughal Farman was brought to my notice by the Late Mahanta Nandanandanānanda Deva Gosvāmī of Gopiballabhpur. The Mahanta family of Gopiballabhpur are the descendants of Rasikananda Deva Gosvami who was the first disciple of Prabhu Shyāmānanda Deva Gosvāmi who has established a family of followers known as " Shyāmānandī-Sampradāya " Both Shyāmānanda and Rasikānanda preached post-Chaitanya Vaisnavism in the districts of Hughly, Howrah,

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8. R. D. Banerji's History of Orissa, Vol II, p. 60.
   But the actual date as calculated by Sri K. N. Mahapatra is the 16th, May, 1692, on which day fell Harana Ekādaśī on the 19th of Rshava
9 *Ibid.*
10. History of Bengal, Vol, II, P. 232.
* Read at the Indian Historical Records Commission, Baroda.

Midnapore, Singhbhum, Mayurbhanj, Balasore and many other places in Orissa and Chota Nagpur in the first half of the 17th century and though their influence many people of high and low castes including even aborigines, embraced the religion and chief among their disciples was the Maharaja Baidyanatha Bhanja Deva of Mayurbhanj. Gopi-janaballabha Dāsa, a disciple of Rasikānanda, has written a work entitled "Rasikamangala" in 1655 A. D. after the death in 1652 A. D. of Rasikānanda, which is an authentic biography of the great Vaishnava apostle. Since the beginning of the 17th century the relation of the Mahanta family of Gopiballabhpur with the Bhanja ruling family of Mayurbhanj has been very cordial generation after generation and the Mahanta family has been endowed with enormous land grants for the maintenance of the family deity. There is another Persian document dated 1771 directing the local officers of Chakla Hughly in Bengal to pay proper respect to the possession of the family and another Oriya letter from Rajaram Pandit, the Marhatta Subādar of Orissa fully establishes the influence of the family in Orissa. The importance of the family is best described in a Bengali letter dated 23rd September, 1803 written to Mahanta Vikramānanda Deva Gosvāmi by the Magistrate of Midnapore at the direction of H. E. the Governor General of India, regarding the settlement of the affairs in Mayurbhanj just before the conquest of Orissa by the British Government and this Farman is another earlier evidence in their favour.

Moghal Farmans are very rare in Orissa and in that consideration I made an attempt in bringing this document to the light only to invite the attention of the Persian scholars. I tried my best to get the document on loan and get the text deciphered by my friends in Calcutta or elsewhere but the late Gosvāmi as well as his son the present Gosvāmi were unwilling to part with it even for a few days I thank them for allowing me to have a photograph of it from which the text in Persian has been made by a local man of Baripada town and the English translation of the text has been prepared by me from a Bengali version compared with the Persian text and so I am not sure how far I have become successful in my attempt.

In the Appendix the Persian Text is given but the text of the seals as it seems is not fully deciphered for the defect in the photography.

The Farman measures $33\frac{1}{2} \times 18\frac{3}{4}$ in. At the top there are three lines below which are there two seals-one square and the other circular.

In the circular seal the central circle contains the name of the *Emperor Maahmmadshah B dshah Gazi Saheb Qoran Abdul Fateh Nasiruddin.* There are twelve small circles in between the space of the outer and inner circles and the names of 12 Moghal emperors namely— (1) Ibn Babar Badshah, (2) Ibn Humayan Badshah, (3) Ibn Akbar Padshah, (4) Ibn Jahangir Badshah, (5) Ibn Shahjahan Badshah, (6) Ibn Alamgir Badshah, (7) Ibn Shah Alam Badshah, (8) Ibn Amir Taimur Saheb Qiran, (9) Ibn Miran Shah, (10) Ibn Sultan Mahammad Shah, (11) Ibn Sultan Said Shah and (12) Ibn Umar Shah Badshah are inscribed The square seal records *"Farman Badshah Gazi Abdul Fateh Mahammad Nasiruddin Shah"*. Below the seals follows the text. On the reverse of the Farman are official entries together with two seals one round and another rectangular and one of them records the name of the wizir, *"Quamruddin Hossain Shah Nasratjang Khan Bahadur"*. The reverse of the Farman has been pasted with a rough cloth in a careless manner which gives rise to the wrinkles through out the body. The document badly requires scientific treatment but I was not successful in my mission.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT.

(Obverse.)

It has come to the notice of His Imperial Exalted Majesty that priest-hood of the Kasba Gopiballabhpur belonging to the Province of Orissa has fallen vacant at the death of Govindananda ;who was its occupant and Brindaban has prayed for being honoured as a successor to him His Imperial Exalted Majesty who is as bright as the sun and the master of the world, issued this command of granting the preference to Brindaban of the said Kasba exactly in the same manner and condition under which it was granted to the deceased priest excluding the claim of all others. It is hereby also ordered that all His Majesty's present and future servants should regard him as the sole and permanent priest with the knowledge that he was honoured with all customary rites pertaining to the religion and he should be paid as before by the Zamindars and Adhikaries of Killahs and Mahals belonging to the Provinces of Orissa and Bengal and also the dues from the capital for the maintenance of the temple on condition that he should pray to God for the prosperity of His Majesty's Empire for ever. It is written on the 25th Jamadiul awl in the 14th year of the reign.

(Reverse.)

1 Received on the 15th Sawal in the 14th year of the reign.

2. Entered in the office of the Dewan Ala on the 29th Ramzan in the 14th year of the reign.

3 Compared, entered and written on the 25th Jamadial awal in the 15th year of the reign.

4. Put up before His Majesty according to the command of the highest of the high.

Note

The Farman states that Brindaban succeeded Govindānanda and their relation is found out from the following genealogical table printed in Rasikamangala.

1. Rasikānanda Deva Gosvāmi.
2. Radhānanda Deva Gosvāmi.
3. Nayanānanda Deva Gosvāmi.
4. Brajajanānanda Deva Gosvāmi
5. Bhajanānanda Deva Gosvāmi.
6. Vichitrānanda Deva Gosvāmi.
7. Govindānanda Deva Gosvāmi.
8. Brindābanānanda Deva Gosvāmi.
9. Vaishnavānanda Deva Gosvāmi.

The genealogical table shows that Govindānanda was the nephew of Brindābanānanda.

There is a copy of Sanad granted by Maharājā Viravikramāditya Bhanja Deva (1711-1727), dated 1713 A.D. stating that he made the gift for the maintenance of a temple at Brindaban which was in the charge of Adhikārī Vichitrānanda Deva Gosvāmi. The genealogical table given above shows that all the three sons of Brajajanānanda died without having any issue and so the succession devolved on Brindābanānanda and as there were other claimants for the priest-hood

he thought it safe to have the recognition from the highest authority at Delhi and got it from the Emperor.

I am unable to give the date of the Farman

In this connection I intend to discuss another Farman of Mahammad Shah, the original of which is missing but its contents go to show that it was issued at the same time to Maharaja Viravikramāditya Bhanja Deva.

There is a printed copy of the translation of the Farman in the State records of Mayurbhanj. In a letter addressed to the Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, Orissa, dated the 25th January, 1882 Maharaja Krishna Chandra Bhanja writes as follows :—

" A copy of the sanad from the Emperor of Delhi to the Chief of Mohurbhanj, is herewith submitted ; it establishes that the chief held under a feudal tenure from the Emperor. The original Sunnud was filed in Mr Wilkinson's Court at Ranchee or Hazureebagh either by Raja Treebikram Bhunj or Jadoonath Bhunj."

Trivikram Bhanja ruled from 1811 to 1828 and Jadunath Bhanja from 1829 to 1863 and Major T. Wilkinson was Agent to the Governor General of the South West Frontier Agency from 1833 to 1838.

The printed copy contains the following :—

" In the name of God, Great and Good.

Firman of Mehommed Jehan Shah Bahadoor.



" The humble memorial of Moharaja Pura * Bikramjeet Bhanj Deo, Bahedoor, MUSNUD NASHEEN of Mohurbhunje in the Province of Orissa.

" Sooblnath Bhunj Deo Raootra, brother of my friend, the above Moharaja, having appeared before the Court on his behalf,

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* The correct name is Birbikramaditya Bhanja Deo and this is due to the mistake in reading, Arabic 'b' for Persian Hindi 'P' like many instances in Ain-i-Akbari and Akbarnamah and as 'Parbada' for Baripada in Ain-i-Akbari and 'Durga Punj' for 'Durga Bhanj' in Akbarnamah.

presented the petition sent by the said Moharaja, which is to the effect, that the Sunnud granted by the Royal Court in the name of Moharaja Baijnath Bhunj Deo, Bahadur, deceased, is lost, and praying that another Sunnud may be granted, agreeably to the request of the Moharaja, enquiry was made in the Khas (royal) office, and it appeared that a special Sunnud was actually granted by this court to the said Moharaja, and indeed a copy of the said Sunnud exists in the office. Agreeably to the request of the Said Moharaja, therefore, two Sunnuds are awarded to him by His Majesty, and it is ordered that the Chair of the State of the said country continue to be held as heretofore without the interference of any body—that no man or deputy in his territory has any authority whatever—that disregarding the order of any other ruler, the said Maharaja do exercise the same authority within his own country, with the titles he holds, generation after generation, as he does now, save and except that when his services are required for any purpose, he will have to attend before us and carry out the orders.

" Written on the 10th of Jamadial Awal in the 14th year of our reign.

" (Sd.) KAMANUDDIN KHAN HOSSEIN, BAHADOOR.

Wuzier, etc., etc.

" 19th Jamadiassani in the 14th year of our reign.

Kamanuddin
Khan Hossein, Bahadoor,
Wuxier Mohamed Shah
Badshah.

16th Ramjan, in the 14th year of our reign.

" Received on the 11th Shawul in the 14th year of our reign,

" Entered in the office of the Dewan Ala on the 15th Ramzan of the 14th year of our reign."

" Compared. Entered in the diary on the 25th Jamadial Awal of the 14th year.

Entered on the 17th Ramzan of the 14th year

" The great firman was written by order of His Majesty."

The text of this lost Farman is very similar to that of the Gopiballabhpur Fàrman of Mahammed Shah and so it may be that

the brother of Maharaja Viravikramaditya Bhanja Deva and Mahanta Brindābanānanda Deva Gosvāmi or his representative went together to Delhi and got the Farmans. Maharaja Baijnath Bhanja Deo of this Farman is no other than Maharaja Baidyanatha Bhanja Deva who was a disciple of Rasikānanda Deva Gosvāmi and according to "Rasikamangala" he expired before 1630 when Shyamānanda breathed his last at Kahnupara in Mayurbhanj State where there is his *Samadhi.* The historical value of this Farman granted to Maharaja Viravikramaditya Bhanja Deva was doubtful before the discovery of the Gopiballabhpur Farman of Mahammed Shah now published for the first time.

23

MAYURBHANJ DURING NAWAB ALIVARDI KHAN'S EXPEDITION TO ORISSA IN 1741 AND 1742. *

In January, 1741, Nawab Alivardi Khan marched from Murshidabad with a large army against Rustam Jang, the Nawab Nazim of Orissa who " threw up an intrenchment from the mountains of Neelgury 1 to the river, and there waited the arrival of Alyvardy Khan unsuspicious of the treachery of Mekhless Khan "

" Alyvardy Khan arrived at Midnapore by rapid marches; and, after engaging in his interest the Zemindars of that quarter, proceeded to Jelasore, where he encamped. At Rajghaut on the opposite side of the river Sebunrekha, the Moorbunge rajah had garrisoned another tannah, and thrown up an entrenchment. All Alyvardy Khan's attempts to gain him were ineffectual; but at last Alyvardy Khan ordered his artillery cannonade the place, when the rajah and his

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* Reprint from the Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Mysore.

1. Maulavi Abdus Salam, the translator of *Riyaz-us-Salatin* puts ' Tilgadi ' in place of Gladwin's ' Neelgury ' (Nilgiri). His reading ' river Jon ' seems to be a mistake for the river Sona, a tributary of the Burabalang. N. N. Vasu in his *Archæological Survey of Mayurbhanj*, p. 13, has attempted to identify ' Tilgadhi ' with ' a rocky region called ' Tilgadia ' in Mayurbhanj which is not very helpful.

men deserted the post, and retreated into the jungles. He then marched forward, unmolested to Ramchunderpoor, between four and five cose from Moorshed Ku'y Khan's entrenchment " 2

In the battle of Phulwarighat (March 1741) near Balasore, Rustam Jang was defeated and soon after Alivardi Khan occupied Cuttack and appointed his nephew Saulat Jang as the Governor of Orissa and returned to Bengal most probably before the monsoon. Saulat Jang was unfit for governing the newly acquired province of Orissa and in the month of August, 1741, he with his family was placed under confinement by Mirza Baqar, the son-in-law of Rustam Jang and having thus restored his authority in Orissa here-conquered Midnapore and Hijli Upon this Alivardi Khan decided to march into Orissa to vindicate his power and prestige and after a short skirmish Mirza Baqar left Cuttack for Deccan early in December 1741. After staying at Cuttack for about three months Alivardi Khan appointed Shaikh Masum as the Governor of Orissa and returned to Bengal after finishing administrative arrangements in Orissa.

" When Alivardy Khan arrived at Balasore, he resolved to punish the Moorbunje rajah, for having joined Mirza Bauker. The rajah resided at Hirhirpoore 3 and was then celebrating his nuptials, not thinking it possible that Alyvardy Khan would attempt to molest him, surrounded by jungles and mountains. Alyvardy Khan advanced, with fire and sword, putting great numbers to death, making prisoners of women and children, burning the towns and villages, and carrying off the cattle. The rajah and his family took refuge in the mountains."4

Gulam Husain Salim, the author of *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, narrates the account of the Mayurbhanj affairs in detail and adds the name of the reigning Prince of Mayurbhanj He writes that " On the banks of the river Sabaurikha (Subarnarekha), at the ferry of Rajghat, Rajah

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2. Gladwin's *A Narrative of the Government of Bengal*, Calcutta 1906, Bangabasi reprint from the edition of 1788, p. 100.

3. Hariharpur, the former capital of Mayurbhanj.

4. *Ibid*, p. 106.

Jagardhar Bhanj, Zamindar of Morbhanj, had established a garrison of his Chawars [5] and Khandaits and had erected entrenchments." [6]

He again writes as follows :—

"Inasmuch as Jagat Isar, Rajah of Morbhanj, had taken sides with Mirza Baqir, and had not submitted to the authority of Mahabat Jang, the latter was in anxiety owing to his insolence. Therefore, on arrival of the port of Balasore, he girded up his loins in order to chastise the Rajah. The latter was at Hariharpur which contained his mansion, and was at the time plunged in pleasures and amusements. His knowledge of the denseness of the forests that surrounded him, coupled with his command of numerous hordes of Chawars and Khandaits, made himself insolent and so he did not pull out the cotton of heedlessness from the ear of sense, not cared for the army of Ali Vardi Khan. Ali Vardi Khan's army stretching the hand of slaughter and rapine, set about looting and sacking the populations, swept the Rajah's dominion with the broom of spoliation, captured the women and children of the Khandaits and Chawars, and sowed dissensions amongst them. The Rajah seeing the superiority of Ali Vardi Khan's army, with his effects followers and dependents, fled to the top of a hill, and hid himself in a secret fastness, beyond the ken of discovery. Ali Vardi Khan then subjugated the tract of Morbhanj, shewed no quarter, and mercilessly carried fire and sword through its limits. " * * * On receiving the news of approach of Mahratta freebooters, Mahabat Jang abandoned the pursuit of the Morbhanj Rajah, and withdrew towards Bengal."

"As yet Ali Vardi Khan had passed through the forests of Morbhanj when the army of Mahratta freebooters swooped down from the direction of *Chaklah* of Bardwan." [7]

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5 Dr K. K. Dutta takes Chawars to be the mixed Kshetris by caste. In Mayurbhanj the term Chuada is applied to all aboriginal people who formerly served as Paiks in large numbers and there are also many Paiks who hold hereditary land grants for their service. Khandaits are not mixed Kshetris. They are a warrior caste in Orissa from which ancient Oriya Paiks were generally recruited.

6. *Riyaz-us-Salatin* (English translation) p. 327.

7. *Ibid*, p. 337-38.

Sayar-ul-Mutakherin furnishes us with an account of the affairs of Mayurbhanj which materially differs from the above quotations which is narrated there as one of the cause of discontents of the Afghan troops and officers headed by Mustafa Khan against the actions of the Nawab Alivardi Khan. At the instigation of Mustafa Khan Alivardi Khan resolved to fight with the Marhatas,[8] but in the actual field some of the Afghan Commanders lagged behind and at this the Nawab "concluded that they must be dissatisfied with him".[9] On coming to the last "subject of discontent" the author of *Sayar-ul-Mutakherin* writes as follows :—

"But as if all these subjects of discontents had not sufficiently operated on their minds, the Viceroy had added another of late, which gave general offence, and in particular sunk deep in Mustapha-qhan's mind. It was this : As the army in its late expedition to Oressa was passing through the possessions of the Radja of Mohur-bendj, it had been exceedingly harassed by that Prince who had vowed a personal attachment to Mirza-bakyr, and seemed ambitious to give proofs of it at this particular conjecture. He had even been guilty, they say, of some excesses. A conduct so characterised could not fail to render him an object of wrath for the Viceroy, who on his side, resolved to make an example of him on his return from the expedition. The Radja sensible now of his danger, had thrown himself into the arms of Mustapha-qhan, who interceded vigorously for him. But this intercession of his had been taken so ill, that it had even produced some very severe looks, with a severe reprimand. A few moments after an oder was given to Mir-adjaafer to dispatch the man, the moment he should make his appearance in the hall of the audience; for the Radja finding his application to the General had produced nothing but further token of wrath, had resolved to risk a visit on his own bottom; and he came without a safe conduct. But the hall being already taken possession of by Mir-djaafer qhan, who filled it with armed men, the Gentoo no sooner made his appearance, than he was set upon instantly, and hacked to pieces; whilst all his attendants were sought out and knocked down, as if it had been a hunting match. After this execution his country had been thoroughly plundered and sacked to the great regret to the general, who

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8. *Seir Mutaqherin* Calcutta reprint 1902, Vol. I. p. 378.

9 *Ibid.*, p 379.

conceived his honour deeply wounded in this whole management. All these transactions having taken place a few days before the arrival of the Mahrattas had discontented not only the General himself, but every one of the Afghan Commanders, who as well as their soldiers, looked out for a favourable moment for quitting the service, nor did they make any secret of their intensions.[10]"

It is rather strange that the author of *Riyaz-us-Salatin* who took sufficient care to record the names of the Ruler puts two names in two places of his narrative.

"Rajat ragardhar Bhanj Zamindar of Morbhanj" was prominent during the first expedition in 1741 and 'Jagat Isar' Rajah of Morbhanj * * seeing the superiority of Ali Vardi Khan's army, with his effects, followers and dependents fled to the top of a hill, "at the time of his return during the second expedition in 1742." But the author however remains silent about the assassination of the Ruler of Mayurbhanj as recorded in *Seyer-ul-Mutakh rin.*

Messrs. N. N, Vasu and R D. Banerjee and Dr. K K. Dutta have tried to identify these personalities mentioned in *Riyaz-us-Salatin* but none of them have been fully successful. Mr. Vasu writes :— "It would be altogether different if we take Jagardhar and Jateswar to be the names of one and the same person, and consider them to have been erroneously used to represent separate personalities.

* * * Be that as it may, it is true that after the assassination of Chakradhar Bhanja, Mayurbhanj was greatly troubled by the ravages of the Muhmmedam army.[11] Mr. Banerji took 'Jagat Isar' of the Persian text to be 'Jagadisvar' [12] and wrote the following:—

"The name of this chief is omitted in the genealogies accepted by the Mayurbhanj State. In the Persian Original it is once written Jagardhar and again Jagadisvara. The king may be the same as Chakradhara Bhanja who was the successor of Raghunatha Bhanja and the predecessor of Damodar Bhanja, since Chakradhar written in Persian can easily be misread Jagardhar.[13]"

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10 *Ibid.* p 381

11. *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj*, p. 18.

12. *History of Orissa*, Vol II, pp. 78 and 82.

13 *Ibid*, p. 78. Footnote 4.

Dr. K. K. Dutta has also adopted the rendering of 'Jagadisvara Bhanja'[14] quoting authority of *Riyaz-us-Salatin* and Yusuf, but Riyas-us-Salatin contains 'Jagat Isar' and I have not verified the text of Yusuf.

The Sanskrit rendering of 'Jagat Isar' of the Persian text would be either Jagadisvara or Jagatesvara and so also 'Jagardhar' according to Mr. Banerjee's suggestion, would be Chakradhar or Chakradhara. Maulavi Abdus Salam has suggested the identification of 'Chapra' with 'jobra'[15] and similarly 'Jagardhar' would be Chakradhar. Thus we find that the names of Chakradhara, Jagatesvara or Jagadisvara are expected to be found in the genealogical table of the rulers of Mayurbhanj in 1741 and 1742 A. D.

Now let us see how the Oriya records from Mayurbhanj help us in correctly identifying the persons found from the Persian sources.

According to *Vansānucharita* of Mayurbhanj House the following genealogical table furnishes us with the names of the rulers from 1660 to 1760 A.D.

Maharaja Trivikrama Bhanja Deva (1660-1688 A.D.)

- Maharaja Sarbesvara Bhanja Deva (1688-1711 A.D)
  - Maharaja Viravikramaditya Bhanja Deva (1711-1727 A.D.)
    - Maharaja Raghunatha Bhanja Deva (1727-1749) (died childless)
- Chhotaraya Jagadisvara Bhanja Deva
- Rautaraya Dilipesvara Bhanja Deva
  - Maharaja Chakradhar Bhanja Deva (1749-1760)

14. *Alivardi and his times*, p. 54.
15. *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, p. 334, note 1.

In *Vansanucharita* it is recorded that Maharaja Raghunatha Bhanja Deva succeeded his father while he was a baby of 6 months old on the 18th of Vaisakha in 1134 Amli Sal. He married the daughter of Maharaja of Sambalpur and on his way back the Mahrattas appeared in Orissa. But no reference to the war with Alivardi Khan is found in Vansanucharita. It is found in Gladwin's 'Narrative' and in Riyaz-us-Salatin that when merry-making was going on at Hariharpur, the capital of the State, Alivardi Khan arrived there and it may be supposed that Maharaja Raghunatha Bhanja was married in Phalgun (February and March) of 1742 A.D. when he was only 15 years old and he died at the age of 23 on the 1st day of Vichha (November and December) in 1157 Amli or 1749 A.D. As he was mincr almost throughout his short career, it seems that the administration of the State was conducted by his grand-uncle Jagatesvar Bhanja and uncle Chakradhar Bhanja who sided with Rustam Jang and Mirza Baqar supporting the cause of righteousness. It may be supposed that the author of *Riyaz-us-Salatin* took them to be the rulers of Mayurbhanj and described as such in his work.

There are 9 Sanads granted by Maharaja Raghunatha Bhanja now preserved in the Museum at Baripada which furnish us with Amli year 1137 (Anka 5), 1144 (Anka 13), 1146 (Anka 15), 1148, 1150 (Anka 21), 1151 (Anka 22) and Anka 25.

Out of these the Khiching Sanad of the Amli year 1151 and Anka year 22, is important as it discloses the fact that the landed property of Jagatesvara Bhanja was granted to the Thakurani of Khiching who is the patron deity of the ruling House of Mayurbhanj. So it may be concluded that Jagatesvara Bhanja Deva was assassinated by Alivardi Khan.

The seal of the Sanad bears a peacock facing to the left with an inscription in Devanagiri — "Şrimat Viravikramaditya Suta Sri Raghunatha nripa" The signature 'Radhakrishna' in Devanagiri is also met with in the Sanad.

Text of the Sanad

L. 1. Srī Jagannātha Saraṇa Sri Khichingesvarī charaṇe śaraṇa

L. 2. Srimat Srī Raghunātha Bhanja Deva Mahārājānkara

L. 3. Dasupurapiḍhara Saradāra Adhikārī Mahāpātṛa Pāncha-

L. 4. nāekaku maidha lekhā / 22 anka sana 1151 sala Dhanu di24
L 5. nara/E nimante agyāń deluń/Adipura vije Sri Sri Sri
Thākurānika
L, 6. devotraku Sri Jagatesvara Bhanja gosāimvāvā
L. 7. anka chhādi delā Sukuruli gām khanjā kari dyai yai-
L. 8. thilā/Ethaku e dine chānka jāgri tale e gām khanjā
L. 9. kāri diājivāre e pratibadalaku sāvika sadāvra-
L. 10. ta khanjā Kerekera gam sao daśa ta 110 ankā e de-
L. 11. votraku khanjā kari diāgalā./E gām āsimānta
L 12. gachha-māchha upuripacpanchaka vāvasavāva khandakha-
L. 13. ndiyana bhāibhāga muāli ogera khanjā galā/E
L. 14. hirupe e gāmra sevāku āe karāu thivā/chi
L. 15. āgyān e gāmpradhāna parajāku/E Parichhā Govardhana
L. 16. Bhanja vāvumka thāre ruju hoi e
L. 17. kara panchā sujbā-vujhā kariva/E pramāna/E pramāna.

English Translation.

(This is a sanad of) Maharaja Raghunatha Bhanja Deva who seeks protection from Jagannatha and the feet of Khichingesvari, the Goddess of Khiching.

It is written to the Sardar, Adhikari, Mahapātra, Panchanayaka of the pir of Dasupur (Daspur), dated the 24th Dhanu (early January) of 1151 *Sal* (1744 A. D.), and the 22 anka year of the Prince. The order is issued to this effect that the village Sukruli belonging to my grand-uncle Sri Jagatesvara Bhanja, was dedicated to the Thakurani present at Adipur, Khiching. This day the village is granted to her Jagiri (service tenure) and in return to this Rs 110 of the village of Kerkera, formerly allotted for the purpose of Sadavrata (gift) is dedicated to her including the rights of the limits rents derived from the forest and fishery, other irregular cesses, rights of division, and brothers' share etc. In this way the rents and cesses will be realised for the purposes of the worship of Thākurāni. This order is issued to the Pradhan (head man) and the tenants of the village to settle all these rents (kara) cesses (Pancha) with Govardhana Bhanja Babu, the Parichha (manager). This order is to be treated as authoritative.

Notes on Revenue terms

The terms Sardāra, Adhikāri, Mahāpātra, Pañcha-nāyaka, Ghaḍai and Gaḍamalika occur in the Sanads of Maharaja Sarvesvara

Bhanja and Maharaja Jadunatha Bhanja. I am unable at present to account for the proper use of these terms, but I suggest the following :—

Saradara.—It is a designation of the revenue officer in the division of a Pir. He collects the revenue from the Pradhans of the villages and deposits it in the State Treasury.

Adhikari.—This designation is given to a person having religious control over the people of the Pir.

Mahapatra.—This designation is given to a person having military powers in the Pir. He was the head of Paiks enjoying lands for their service.

Ghadai.—Possibly keeper of stores.

Gaḍamalika.— The person enjoying this designation was entrusted with protection of the fort of the Pir.

In his 'Patna University Readership lecture 1931' entitled "Bihar and Orissa during the fall of the Mughal Empire" Sir J. N. Sarkar, Kt , C. I. E.., has discussed the historical value of works written by Persian authorities at pp. 6 to 12. According to his estimate *Seyer-ul-Mutakherin* " is the most important and detailed history of these eastern provinces". He further writes "*Tarikh-i-Bangala* by Salimullah, written by order of Henry Vansittart, Governor of Bengal from 1760 to 1764 and translation incompletely and incorrectly by Francis Gladwin under title of A *Narrative of the Transaction in Bengal (1788)* and *Riyaz-us-Salatin* has so independent value as it is a mere compilation. * * * Moreover *Riyaz* has incorporated the earlier accounts of Salimullah with only a few changes. The English version of Sayar and Salimullah are very unreliable"

I have not been able to verify the quotations made in this paper with the original and so I had to depend on the English translation. Dr K. K Dutta also in his *Alivardi and his times* refers to another author named Yusuf whom I have not consulted. It has been narrated by Ghulam Husain and Salimullah that Mayurbhanj country was "thoroughly plundered and sacked" after the flight of the ruler to the hills by the army of Alivardi Khan, but the author of *Riyaz* narrates at page 337 that Alivardi Khan subjugated the tract of Morbhanj and in the next page it is narrated by him that on receiving the news of the approach of Mahratta free-booters, Mahabat Jang (Alivardi) abandoned the pursuit of the Mayurbhanj Raja and went

towards Bengal. From this it is not safe to arrive at the conclusion that Alivardi Khan subdued the territory of Mayurbhanj and reduced it to submission as has been suggested by Dr. K. K. Dutta in his book at page 54. The evidence of 'submission' on the part of the ruler of Mayurbhanj is found only in the account of *Riyaz* which is not entirely trustworthy. Alivardi Khan's expeditions to Orissa and subsequent Marhatta inroads in Bengal gave the rulers of Mayurbhanj an opportunity of occupying an unique position on the northern frontiers of Orissa which they maintained upto the British conquest of Orissa in 1803.

24

MAYURBHANJ DURING THE EARLY MARATHA AND BRITISH OCCUPATION IN ORISSA. *

Before discussing the relation of the Marathas and the British with the rulers of Mayurbhanj, which never formed a part of Moghal-band Orissa, I propose to deal with the position of the northern divisions of Orissa under the Moghals.

Todarmall's sarkar Jaleswar was split into seven sarkars by Shah Shuja (C. 1650 A.D.) out of which six sarkars namely, Remna, Basta, Jaleswar, Malijettah, Goalpara and Mazkurin were added to Bengal, These northern sarkars were placed by Murshid Kuli Khan (1722 A.D.) under two Chaklas called Bandar Balasore and Hijli and the Zamindary of Tamluk. In 1728 the southern half of these six sarkars with Balssore port was re-added to Orissa, but kept in Bengal for revenue purposes' As the sarkars of Jaleswar, Basta and Remna surrounded the Mayurbhanja State on the north, east and south, the cession of the whole of Orissa bounded by the river Sonamakia which runs by Ballisar Bendar " by Nawab Alivardi Khan to the Marathas in 1751 and the " Chakla of Midnapore in the district of the Soubah Orissa " by Nawab Mir Kasim to the British in 1760, brought the rulers of Mayurbhanj into direct contact with the two growing political powers of India.

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* Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission. Vol, No. XIX p, 152-155.

It appears from two palm-leaf manuscripts called 'Mayurbhanj Chauhadi Sima,' dated 1731 A.D. which deal fully with the boundary of the State that the northern boundary of eastern Mayurbhanj was the river Suvarnarekha which still remains, separating Dhalbhum from Mayurbhanj upto the western limit of Nayabasan pargana. The pargana Nayabasan lies on both the sides ofthe Subarnarekha and to the east of Nayabasan lie the parganas of Rohini, Barajit and Dippa Kiarchand on its left bank and the Nayagram pargana on its right bank. The northern boundary of Mayurbhanj terminated at Nayagram garh from where again the eastern boundary commenced extending upto the village Mulida in the pargana Bheloracheur, a few miles below Rajghat. In this area there were border forts at Nayagram, Jamirpal, Olmara, Raibania, Fulhata, Baradia. Amarda and Kahnupur. The Midnapore District Gazetteer records at page 193 that " before the establishment of the British rule, the Nayagram and Jamirapal estates were separate and their zamindars were feudatories of the Raja of Mayurbhanj from whom they received the titles of Mangaraj Bhuyan and Paikara Bhuyan respectively." Nayagram estate was annexed by the British in 1803. No report is available on the Fatiabad pargana in which Raibania garh is situated. The Olmara pargana of Mayurbhanj is bounded on the north and west by the Jamirapal and Nayagram parganas of the Midnapore District and on the south by Fatiabad pargana of the Balasore District It is not understood how the Olmara pargana remained in Mayurbhanj, being separated from the limits of the State. The boundary report then narrates that the boundary line passed on the Badadanda from Basta to Ramchandrapur. This boundary line is also corroborated by Motte's Narrative in which he writes that "the Rajah has no land to the eastwards of the road I came' Motte crossed the river Subarnarekha at Rajghat on the 25th, March 1766 and " entered Mohur Bunge country." The southern boundary was demarcated by rivers Budbabalanga, Gangahara, Prasanna and Sona separating Mayurbhanj from Moghalband and the Nilgiri State. Other boundary stations are not necessary for this paper.

Now let us see how the contemporary records help us to identify the boundary of Orissa ceded to the Marathas by the Nawab Alivardi Khan by the treaty of peace of 1751 A D. Up till now no copy of the original treaty of 1751 has been published any where. From Nos. 1244-47 of the Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. II pp, 330-32 it appears that the copies of the treaties between Alivardi Khan and Raghuji Bhonsla were preserved at Murshidabad upto 1769, but these letters do not contain any clause on the boundary of the ceded portion of Orissa.

The terms of the treaty or treaties have been referred to by the authors of Siyar-ul-Mutaakhirin, Vol· II, p. 113 published in 1780, in which the boundary was demarcated by "the river Sonamakia which runs by Bullisar bender". The first English author to refer to this is Stewart who in his 'History of Bengal,' P. 302 (Bangabasi Calcutta reprint) writes in 1813 that ' the river Soonamookby which runs by Balasore was considered as the boundary of two dominions. "Grant Duff then in 1826 writes in his History of the Marathas', p. 504 (Bombay Times of India Press, reprint) that "Alivardi Khan * * ceeded whole of the province of Kattack as far as Balasore". But on the other hand Maulavi Abuds Sa'am, the translator of Riyazus-Salation writes in 1904 that "the river Sunamukhia (or Subarnarekha) near Jaleswar was the demarcation line of the boundaries of the Provinces of Orissa and Bengal" (p. 362), although the author of Riyaz is silent about it. I have not examined the Persian text of the Siyar but the English translation is quoted above from the reprint published by R. Cambay & Co·

R D Beanerji has quoted the terms of the treaty in his 'History of Orissa', Vol. II, p. 110, from the Bakhar of the Bhonsla of Nagpur in which the river Subarnarekha is given as the northern boundary of Orissa and from Siyar putting a sign of interrogation against Sonamukhia in clause V of the treaty, and at page 118 he writes that "The river Sonamukhia is perhaps a mistake for the Subarnarekha, which we find to be the southern boundary of the Province of Bengal as soon as the English East India Company had assumed the reigns of Government of the Province" As the Regulation I of 1793 mentions the province of Orissa under the British administration the southern boundary of the Province of Bengal was on the north of the Midnapore District and so he was certainly wrong on this point. Dr K K Datta has accepted the note of the translator of Riyaz.*

The sources of Stewart's 'History of Bengal' are the Persian records whereas Grant Duff relies on the Maratha records It is not understood how Grant Duff's sources differ from the Bakhars of the Bhonslas. It may be that Kasirai Rajeswar Gupta's Bakhar escaped the notice of Grant Duff. As I have not personally seen this Bakhar, I am not sure about its authenticity. The important point on the situation of the boundary of Orissa, ceded to the Marathas by Alivardi Khan is the situation of the Balasore town. Since

there has not been any change in the position of Balasore town, so Persian Balisar cannot be a mistake of Jalisar, the boundary of the ceded Orissa must be searched for near Balasore and not at Jaleswar. There is a river called Sunai, shortended perhaps from Sunamukhi or Sunamuhini which joins with the Burabalanga river to a little west of Fuladighat and this river was the boundary at the time of treaty of 1751 and not the Subarnarekha. Both the rivers Sunai and Burabalanga rise from the Simlipal hill range of Mayurbhanj and like the Burabalanga on the northern Mayurbhanj, the Sunai is an important river in the southern Mayurbhanj We do not know which was more important in the middle of the 18th Century and which was the tributary and which was the main river. From its mention in the treaty of 1751 it seems that the Sunai was the main river. Rennel's Bengal Atlas sheet 7 (1779) shows that the "Soane River" is much wider than 'Burabalang River' and thus proves its importance. In the 'Diaries of Streynham Mastr' the river near Balasore is called 'Ballasore River' and in Motte's 'Narrative' 'Ballasore' is stated to have been built along the river' 'Boree Bellaun' (modern Burabalanga).

In Rennel's map the boundary of the Maratha Orissa is shown all along the bank of the Subarnarekha excluding a small portion on the west of Jaleswar where the boundary is shown on the right bank of the river and this boundary line in the map has got nothing to do with the actual possessions of the Marathas and the British in 1779 or evn earlier. The British got Midnapore Chakla in September 1760 from Nawab Mir Kasim of Bengal. Before 1760 the Marathas, taking advantage of the great political changes in Bengal, extended their possessions not only beyond the river near Balasore but far beyond the north of the river Subarnarekha also, excluding the small portion lying on either side of the Badsahi road from Dantan to Basta. The Midnapore District Gazetteer rightly narrates at page 32 that "The Subarnarekha river was not, however, the real boundary as the Marathas held territory north-east of the river in Pargans Bhograi, Kamarda, Pataspur and Shabanda (Shahbandar)."

The southern half of the six Sarkars are no doubt the Sarkars of Jaleswar, Basta and Remna which were kept in Bengal for revenue purposes and it is possible that the Sarkars Jaleswar, Basta and a greater portion of the Sarkar Remana lying near the port Balasore were not

ceded by Nawab Alivardi Khan. So the rivar 'Sonamakia' or 'Soonamookhy' should be identified with the Sunai which runs near by Remna and also Balasore.

No Oriya record is available showing the relation of the ruler of Mayurbhanj with the Marathas or the British, but the volumes of Calendar of Persian Correspondence contain a few references which are very valuable for the history of Mayurbhanj. Letter No. 1021 dated the 15th March, 1761, goes to show that Maharaja Damodar Bhanja's offer of friendship was accepted by the Governor of Fort William in Bengal. The following letters show the relation of the Marathas with Damodar Bhanja Letter No. 2481, dated 24th November, 1764, discloses that Bhawani Pandit intended to " root out the rebellious Zamindars of Hurrupoor " (Haripur, the then captial of Mayurbhanj). This is corroborated by Motte's Narrative in which it is found that Bhawani Pandit actually invaded Mayurbhanj and Damodar Bjanja retired to the hills and thus frustrated the plan of Bhawani Pandit. Motte further writes thus in April, 1666 when he was at Balasore:— " There is usually at Ballasore, a party of thirty horse and five hundred foot, but at this time they are with Pellejce, collecting the tribute of the Mahurbunge country."

Maharaja Damodar Bhanja always resisted this claim of supremacy by the Marathas and maintained friendship with the British as is evident from the settlements made by him with the British. Letter No. 191, dated the 17th May, 1767 narrates that " Lieutenant Fergusson has settled the pargannas in the Mayurbhanj Raja's possession for Rs. — a year " No record is available about the Marathas against this action on the part of the ruler of Mayurbhanj. These parganas were Nayabasan and Bhelorachaur on the protest ofhe right bank of the Subarnarekha. That Bhelorachaur was in the possession of the British is proved from the following quotation :— " We might, in exchange, give them Boloorichour, the only pargana we possess to the S. Ward of the Subunrika. We should gain some advantage by the bargain in point of value, and it would, besides, render our territories on this side more compact and save us a number of disputes. "

Had the Subarnarekha river been the boundary according to the treaty of 1751 the British could not have claimed Bhelorachaur as a British possession and there would not have been any occasion for negotiation for its transfer to the Marathas.

Thus it is found from the contemporary records that Maharaja Damodar Bhanja sought and got help from the British power and maintained his position as an independent ruler against the claim of supremacy by the Marathas.

25

AN ORIYA LETTER FROM THE MADALAPANJI RELATING TO RAGHUJI BHONSLA'S MARCH TO ORISSA & BENGAL IN 1743 A. D *

In December, 1946 when I was at Barambagarh in connection with some Archaeological works I came to know about this letter from Pandit Sribatsa Misrā Vidyalankar and got a copy of it from his note book. Pandit Misra was deputed by the Raja Sahab of Baramba State to Puri for collecting historical materials of the Baramba State from the copies of the Madalapanji which are kept under the custody of the Deul-Karaṇa Radhamohan Patnaik and the letter under reference was copied by Pandit Misra from the palm-leaf bundle No. 60 page 80. Thanks are due to Pandit Misra for bringing this letter to the light.

Text of the letter

Vīrakiśoradevamkara mīna 18 dine
Siddha Sri Bāhādura Khān jiamkara
Sri Jagānnātha Mahāprabhumkara samasta
Sevaka mānamku chitāu I Narasimhapura Simānā Padamāla ṭhāru
lekhilum. Raja Raghujiu Mira Habibula Khan Saheba ghoḍāre
aile. Ambhe Phulajhari ṭhāre mulākāt Kalu. Tāmku
Dasapalla simā Belapadā ṭhāre pārakari Narasimhapura
simāre kari Bada-ambi Aṭhagaḍa simāre gheni Kataka galum.
Paramesvaramku sevā karuṭhiva. Ambhe eṭhāre thivāru Odiśā
Sarahadaku na jivāra jāniva.

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* Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Jaipur Vol. XXIV, p 115 ff

(The letter) dated the 18th *Mīna* of the reign of Vīraki-śoradeva, is written by Bahadur Khan to all the *sevakas* (servants) of Jagannātha Mahāprabhu at Puri from Padamal in Narasimhapur. Raja Raghuji and Mir Habibullah Khan came on horse back. I met them at Phuljhar and made them to cross (the river Mahanadi) at Belpada in Daspalla and I am on the way to Cuttack with them via Bada-ambi in Athgarh. Please do regularly the worship of the god. As I am here, they will not enter Orissa.

Historical Note.

(I) *Position of the Rajas of Khurda.*

As the Anka year of Raja Vīrkiśoradeva of the Khurda dynasty is not given in the letter, there is no certainty about the year when it was written. The 18th day of *Mina* of the letter corresponds to 30th or 31st March. Dr. K. K. Dutta [1] writes that Raghuji Bhonsla marched to Bengal in February 1743 and as Raghuji first came to Orissa in 1743, it is quite clear from this letter that he arrived at Padamal in Narsimhapur on the 30th of March 1743.

According to Stirling [2] Vīrakiśoradeva ruled from 1743 to 1786 and according to Hunter [3] from 1736–1773. As Ramachandra deva II, the predecessor of Vīrakiśoradeva was living in 1741 and helped Rustum Jang during Alivardi Khan's campaign against him, Hunter's date cannot be accepted as correct.

The mention of Vīrakiśoradeva's name in a public document like this requires some ellucidation :—

Hunter writes as follows :—

" But although the Maharajas of Khurda have ceased to be an independent dynasty, they still exercise the most cherished prerogatives of an Eastern Royal House. The whole Orissa population date their documents according to the year of the Raja's reign." [4]

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1. Alivardi and his times 1939 p. 82.
2. Asiatic Researches Vol. XV 1825, p. 294.
3. Hunter's Orissa Vol. II, App. VII, p. 190.
4. *Ibid.* p. 125-26.

Stirling also writes as follows :—

"Down to the present moment the Rajas of Khurda are the sole fountain of honour in this district and all deeds whatever is drawn out in *Uria* language bear the date of the *Anka* or accession of the reigning prince of that house " [5]

The power and position of Vīrakiśoradeva have been graphically narrated by T. Motte as follows : –

"When Ragoojee entered Orissa, at the instigation of Meer Hubbeeb, who had fled disgusted from Alliverdi Khan's service in 1738, he found these parts divided into small zemindaries, dependent on the rajah of Pooree, at whose capital is the famous temple of Jaggernaut, near the Chilka lake This prince was regarded by his subjects in a religious light also, and appeared formidable to the Mahrattas, who, apprehensive lest he might seize a favourable opportunity to cut off the communication between Nagpoor and Cuttack, resolved to reduce his power by dividing it. He made the petty zemindars independent of him, and formed the chucklas of Dinkanol, (Dhenkanal), Bonkey, (Banki), Nersingpoor), (Narsingpur), Tigorea (Tigiriar) Tolchair (Talcher), Chundaparra (Khandapara), Dispulla (Daspalla), Hindole (Hindol). Ungool (Angul) and Boad (Baud)" [6]

(2) The route through which the Marathas of Nagpur entered Orissa and Bengal.

All the authorities, European or Indian, on the Maratha invasion of Orissa and Bengal are silent about the route through which the Nagpur Marathas entered Orissa and Bengal. From this letter however we come to know definitely that Bahadur Khan met Raghuji Bhonsla at Phuljhar from where they came to Belpada in Daspalla which is situated at the entrance of the Barmul Pass on the right bank of the Mahanadi. From Belpada Raghuji Bhonsla came to Padamal after crossing the Mahanadi and then came to Cuttack via Narsinghpur, Baramba, Tigiria and Athagarh which are situated on the bank left of the Mahanadi after recrossing the Mahanadi at Cuttack

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5. Asiatic Researches Vol. XV. 1825, p. 293

6. Early European travellers in the Nagpur territories, p. 27.

This route of Raghuji from Phuljhar to Sonepur seems to be the same as that followed by Leckie in 1790 with the exception that Raghuji came to Athgarh from Narsingpur but Leckie crossed the Mahanadi at Subarnapur and came to "Bealpara" via Charchika, Baidyaswar, Padmavati, Contilo. Regarding the advantage of the route from Sonepur to Raipur via Borasambar and that of Sonepur to Raipur via Sambalpur and Sarangarh, Leckie writes as follows :—

"Tuesday 4 (*May*). We struck of the usual road to Nagpore which is by Sumbhulpore (Sambalpur) and Surengarh (Saranagarh) to go by Burrosumber (Borasambar) district, which is shorter by six stages than the former." 7

In 1766 T. Motte travelled on the right bank of the Mahanadi from Cuttack after crossing the Kathjuri river near Cuttack to Baud. Motte notes that "May 25 – I here struck out of the high road to Nagpoor, and, crossing the river Maha Nuddee, saw it no more till I reached Sumbhulpoor." 8

The Persian writers of history of this period are silent about the route which brought Bhaskar Pandit to Ramgarh and Panchet (Panchkota) from where he attacked Burdwan. R. D. Banerji writes with a reference to Siar-ul-Mutakherim (English translation) that "Bhaskar Pandit, the General of the Maratha army, entered Chhota Nagpur through Chhattisgarh and fell upon the Midnapur district through Mayurbhanj and Panchit." 9 But at page 375-76 of *Siar* we find the mention of sudden arrival of Marathas in Ramgarh area from where they turned towards Panchit and Mayurbhanj and fell upon Midnapoor. Bhaskar Pandit's entry to Ramgarh or Hazaribag area from Central Provinces could only be possible through Surguja State and Ranchi district and that is the reason which perhaps led R. D. Banerji to come to such an absurd conclusion. Dr. K. K. Dutta on the authority of Karim Ali and Yusuf Ali writes that " Bhaskar marched unopposed through Orissa × × × × overpowered its deputy Governor

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7. *Ibid.* p. 62
8. *Ibid.* p 30
9. *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 91.

Saikh Masum Khan and made his peshkar Durlabhram a captive. Then he proceeded through Panchet." 10 As Bhaskar Pandit marched from Nagpur in the company of Mir Habibulla according to Riyaz-us-Salatin (English translation) p. 338 who was familiar with the routes of the Mahanadi valley, Dr. Dutta's conclusion seems to be historically correct. Bhaskar Pandit arrived at Cuttack soon after Alivardi's departure for Bengal from Orissa, and as Alivardi followed the direct Badsahi road through which Motte travelled in 1766 from Jalasore to Cuttack, Bhaskar Pandit selected the direct route to Panchet (Manbhum) through hilly tract of eastern Keonjhar and western Mayurbhanj, and Singbhum and Manbhum districts following the route which was followed by Firoz Shah in 1360 as recorded in the Sirat-i-Firozshahi."11 Midnapore, Bishnupur and Burdwan can be easily reached from Panchakota or Sikhar bhum.

(3) Mir Habibulla's relation with the Marathas of Nagpur

Riyaz-us-Salatin mentions that Mir Habibully personallp went to Nagpur to persuade Raghuji Bhonsla to undertake the conquest of Bengal whereas Siyar-ul-Mutakherim and Ahwal-i-Alivardi Khan mention that he was captured by the army of Bhaskar Pandit. R. D. Banerji on the authority of *Marathi Riyasat* writes that " When Mir Habib went to invite the Marathas of Nagpur, Raghuji I was absent on a campaign in the Karnatak when Mir Habib went to Berar and sought Bhaskar Ram." 12 In support of the account of *Riyaz* & the *Marathi Riyasat*, we have Motte's Narrative quoted above which mentions that Raghuji entered Orissa at the instigation of Mir Habib.

(4) The Jagannath temple and The Pilgrim tax

Bahadur khan writes to the Sevakas of the Jagannath temple at Puri that they would do the worship of the god regularly. This request by Bahadur Khan may appear strange now, but the maintenance of the regular worship of Jagannath at Puri had a financial aspect for the administration of Orissa in those days.

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10. Alivardi and his times p. 58-59.
11. J. R. A. S. B. 1942. p. 58-59.
12. History of Orissa Vol, II, p. 91,

The following extract from *Riyaz-vs-Salatin* clearly establishes the importance of the Jagannath temple to the-then Government :—

" During the commotion of Mahammed Taqi Khan's time, the Raja of Parsutam (Purusottam) or Puri had removed Jagannath, the Hindu God from the limits of the Subah of Odisah (Orissa) and had guarded it on the summit of a hill accross the Chilka lake.In consequence of the removal of the idol, there was a falling off to the tune of nine *laks* of rupees in the imperial revenue accruing from pilgrims. Establishing friendly relations with Mir Habibulla Khan, and paying Nazar to the Nazim of the time, Rajah Daud (Ram Chandra) Deo brought back Jagannath, the Hindu God to Parsutom (Puri) and re-established the worship of Jagannath at Puri."[13]

Lest the Sevaks of the Jagannath temple might remove the idol of Jagannath out of fear of being attacked by the Marathas, Bahadur Khan informed them that there was no chance of attack of Orissa, that is the Jagannath of Orissa. It seems that Mir Habibulla or Bahadur Khan was conscious about the loss of revenue under the head of the pilgrim tax which was only possible due to regular worship of Jagannath at Puri.

I have not been able to get any information about Bahadur Khan of this letter.

26

A PEEP INTO SOME ANCIENT MILITARY AND FEUDATORY TITLES OF ORISSA. *

Titles such as Mangarāja. Viravara, Marddarāja, Jagadeva. Bhramaravara, Harichandana, Srichandana, etc., are well known in Orissa and many Rulers of Orissa States and Zamindars are found to possess these titles. As these titles are of ancient origin, it is very difficult to explain as to how they came to be bestowed on persons whose descendants have been using them since time im-

13. Reyazus-Salatin p. 303.

* The Journal of the Orissa Academy.

memorial by succession and therefore, the proper significance of their use is beset with uncertainties. These titles are commonly found in the families who were once feudatories of the Kings of Orissa. A study of the use and significance of these titles will, no doubt, throw much light on the feudal system of the ancient kingdom of Orissa.

An inscription in the Lingaraja temple of Bhubaneswara belonging to Gajapati Kapilendra Deva (1434-35 to 1466 A.D.) proves that there were feudatories under him.[1] The Gopināthpur inscription [2] of the time of Kapilendra Deva goes to show that Kapilendra himself had the title of *Bhramaravara* and another inscription mentions his title as *Kumāra Mahāpātra.* These titles furnish proof quite contradictory to the low origin of Kapilendra as recorded in the *Mādalā Pānji* and from the title of *Bhramaravara* it may be inferred that he was a feudatory chief who came to power at the fall of the Ganga dynasty in Orissa. Likewise Telingā Mukunda Deva, perhaps a southern feudatory chief, having the title of Harichandana assumed the sovereignty of Orissa.

Raja Mānsinha's allotment papers published by A Stirling [3] in 1822 contain a list of feudatories under the Rajas of Khurdha, Aul, Sarangarh, Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj and Bisenpur in Orissa. Among these the family of Khurdha in southern Orissa and Bhanja family of Mayurbhanj in northern Orissa were very powerful, as is evident from the following account of the 17th century A. D. by Khan-i-Duran (1660-1667), the Moghal Governor of Orissa. The despatch to the Emperor Aurangazeb by Khan-i-Duran mentions that Raja Krishna Bhanja of Mayurbhanj "the leading Zamidar of this province was obeyed and helped by all the Zamidars of this country," [4] and Raja Mukunda Deva of Khurdha, " the leading Zamidar of this country whose orders are obeyed by all other Zamidars, whom all the Zamidars of this country worship like a god, disobedience of whose order they regard as great sin." [5] Due to revival of worship of Jagannātha by Ram Chandra

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1. History of Orissa, Vol. I, pp. 294 — by R. D. Banerji.
2. J.A S B. 1900 pp. 173-189.
3. A. Stirling — Orissa pp. 44-49.
4. Studies in Moghal India — by Sir J. N. Sarkar, pp. 205-208.
5. -do- -do- p. 208.

Deva, the founder of the Khurdha family, after Kalapahar's sacrilege, the Hindu public in general looked upon him as a divine ruler (Deva Rājā) and his descendants were given the same honour Stirling wrote the following in connection with the prestige of the Khurdha family " The title of Sovereignty has been always acknowledged by general voice and feeling of the country to vest in the Rajahs of Khurdha. Down to the present moment the Rajahs of Khurdha are the sole fountain of honour in this district, and all deeds whatever drawn out in the Uria language, bear the date of the Anka or succession of the reigning prince of that house." 6

Thirty dependant Zamindars under Khurdha according to Mānsinha's allotment papers, 7 are noted below : 1. Banki, 2. Dompara, 3. Atri, 4. Kalupada 5 Baramda, 6 Tigiria, 7. Narsinhapur, 8 Angul, 9. Talcher, 10 Mudreswar, 11. Athgarh; 12 Dhenkanal, 13 Sarandab, 14 Andhari, 15 Bajrakote, 16. Achalkote, 17 Nayagarh, 18 Khondpara, 19 Ranpur, 20. Banpur, 21 Daspalla, 22. Gumsar, 23. Kholikote, 24. Sergarh, 25. Teckali Raghunathpur, 26. Chikiti, 27. Mohuri, 28. Palur, 29 Kudala—Athgarh and one more not mentioned by Stirling. The Zamidaries now included in the Ganjam District were separated from Khurdha about 1730 A.D. The separation of Dhenkanal and other zamidaries, now known as Indian States from Khurdha has been recorded by T. Motte as follows in his *"A Narrative of a Journey to diamond mines at Sumbulpoor, in the province of Orissa undertaken in 1766."*

"When Ragoojee entered Orissa, at the instigation of Meer Hubbeeb, who had fled disgusted from Alliverdi Khan's service in 1738, he found these parts divided into small Zemidaries dependant on the Rajah of Pooree at whose capital is the famous temple of Jaggernaut, near the Cailka lake. This prince was regarded by his subjects in a religious light also, and appeared formidable to the Mahrattas, who, apprehensive lest he might seize a favourable opportunity to cut off the communication between Nagpur and Cuttac, resolved to reduce his power by dividing it. He made the petty Zamidars independent of him, and formed the *chuklas* of Dinkanol (Dhenkanal), Bonkey (Banki), Nersingpoor (Narsingpur), Togorea

6. Stirling — Orissa p 86.

7. -do- p. 45.

(Tigiria), Tolchair (Talcher), Chunda Para (Khandpara), Dispulla (Daspalla), Hindole (Hindol), Ungool (Angul) and Boad (Baud)".[8]

After the conquest of Orissa in 1803 by the British, most of these Chiefs established political relation with the British Government and their titles are found in Aitchison's "*Treaties and Engagements*" etc.[9] A number of Oriya titles is also found in the book entitled "*Twenty-five questions*" compiled in 1814. The *Memmoranda on the Indian States (1934)* contain also a few titles. The sentiment of the feudatories towards the Raja of Puri or Khurdha as written by Khan-i-Duran and Motte, is again corroborated by the report of 1818 by Mr. Ewer, the then Commissioner of Orissa.

"The Gurhjat Rajahs, formerly the great feudatories and Jaghirdars of the Gajputte (Gajapati) Dynasty of sovereigns to this day acknowledge themselves the servants of the Khoordah Rajah and present Nuzzurs through their Mookhtars on each succeeding *Sooniah*."* [10]

The same authority has further written the following as to the feudatories' relation with the Raja of Khurdha.

"It appears to me that Political Estate of Khoordah in latter times, previous to the conquest of the Province by the British arms, exhibited an exact picture in miniature of the condition of Orissa under its ancient native sovereigns antecedent to the Mogul invasion, and that condition much resembled what I am informed, is still observable in some Hindoo States of Hindoostan and Deccan. Besides the *Khalisa* lands paying a regular money assessment to the State, large portions of territory were set aside for particular purposes such as maintenance to the great feudatories of Orissa and other hereditary militia of the country *** The military Chiefs whether termed Rajahs, Mahanaiks or Khundaits, who occupied hereditary jaghirs into which these were

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8. Early European Travellers in the Nagpur Territories' p. 27.

9. Aitchison — Treaties and Engagements, Vol. II, 1929.

* *Sunian* was the official new year of Orissa which falls on the Bhādrapada sukla dvādaśī.

10, Ewer's Report dated 13th, May 1818 to the Acting Secretary to his Govt.

divided, appear to me to have differed little in their several feudal relations to the Rajajh of Orissa from that of the Jaghirdars of the late Peshwa or the present Thakur Chiefs of Rajpootana with regard to their respective sovereigns. All were Khettry or military tribes, in other words Khundaits, a word derived from *Khanda* meaning in Sanskrit a sword, and which in form in the present principle signifies a person carrying a sword or *per excellence* one of the military caste. The Chiefs however *received from the supreme Rajah various titles.* A few only were originally Rajahs and these, I believe were Chiefs of Aul, Coojung (Kujang), Koonjhur (Keonjhar), Mohurbhunj (Mayur-bhanj) Puttiah and Daspullah. Others were styled Mahanaiks or Great Sirdars and to others the title of Khandait seems to have been exclusively confined."

"Khoordah, however, was not a zemidari when the Province of Cuttack was conquered by the British arms, but the wretched remnant of the once flourishing, civilised, populous and extensive dominion ruled over by the ancestors of the Rajah previous to the Mogal invasion. The Rajahs of Orissa ceased at that time to be in fact sovereign and independent princes, and they appear to have submitted from thence forward to the recept of an annual Khelat from Delhi, and afterwards from Nagpoore, conferring the highest rank and titles which sovereignty could bestow on any Chief. Notwithstanding this anomaly, however, they retained their rank in the eyes of the natives of the Province, the exercise of some of the attribures of and all the reverence and veneration attaching to royalty. Even in the fallen condition of Rajahs of Khoordah, they continued to exercise the regal privilege of conferring titles on the inhabitants of the Magulbandee and the Gurbjat countries, which was never objected to by the Mahrattas. I am informed, indeed, that no title granted by the Mahratta Government was considered to confer any distinction in Orissa, until confirmed by the Rajahs of Khoordah. It is always known that Rajah Mukund Deo, even when expelled from the last remaining portion of his hereditary dominions, and living as prisoner on the bounty of the British Government, frequently conferred titles on the natives of Cuttack." The present Raja of Puri belonging to Khurdha family even now confers titles on the Sunian Darbar to various peoples according to the tradition of the house.

Below is given a list of titles which are enjoyed now by many rulers of Indian States in Orissa as well as Zamindars in the British districts of Cuttack, Puri and Ganjam which were once under the

suzerainty of the kings of Orissa. It is very difficult to ascertain the date of grant of these hereditary titles. It can only be with certainty alleged that it is very ancient.

(a) Rulers of Orissa States	Titles.
1. Baramba	Vīravara Mangarāja Mahāpātra.
2. Dhenkanal	Mahendra Bāhādura.
3. Hindol	Mardarāja, Jagadeva.
4. Khandpara	Mardarāja Bhramaravara, Rāya.
5. Narsingpur	Mānasinha, Harichandana, Mahāpātra.
6. Nayagarh	Manadhātā
7. Ranpur	Vajradhara, Narendra, Mahāpātra.
8. Talcher	Vīravara, Harichandana, Mahāpātra.
9. Tigiria	Vīravara, Chamupatisinha, Mahāpātra.
10. Nilgiri	Mardarāja Harichandana.

(b) Zamidars of British Districts.	
1. Madhupur	Vīravara Dhīra Narendra.
2. Sukinda*	Harichandana, Mahāpātra.
3. Chadra †	Narendra.
4. Dompara	Bhramaravara Rāya.
5. Parikud (Banpur)	Mānsinha, Harichandana, Mardarāja, Bhramaravara Rāya.
6. Banki	Bhramaravara, Srichandana.
7. Tarala	Harichandana.
8. Surangi	Harichandana, Jagadeva.
9. Tickeli	Harichandana, Jagadeva.
10. Khalikote	Mardarāja
11. Panchikote	Narendra Mahāpātra.
12. Balarampur	Dhīra, Vīravara, Harichandana, Mahāpātra.
13. Chausasthipura	Vīravara, Chhotarāya Bhuyān Mahāpātra.

* Dependent under Keonjhar according to Raja Mansingh's list.

† -do- Aul according to Raja Mansingh's list.

There might be other different titles, but it is not possible to trace these feudal title holders from any authentic report.

Like the feudatories or dependent Chiefs under the Rulers of Khurdha there were eleven dependent Chiefs having 42 killahs under the rulers of Mayurbhanj according to Raja Mansingh's allotment papers of 1592 A. D. published by Stirling at page 47. In this list the name of Nilgiri Narsingpur (near Subarnamukha on the eastern border of Mayurbhanj) and Ghatsila (the capital of Dhalbhum) found in Khan-i-Duran's accouut of 1660 A.D. is mentioned as Camp followers of Krishna Bhanja 11 "Mr. Motte has written in his *Narrative* mentioned above that the Raja of Nilgiri "pays thirty thousand annual tribute to the Mahrattas by whom the Raja is maintained against the claim of Mohur Bunge (Mayurbhanj," 12

The following translation of a fragmentary passage from the manuscript called *Bhanjavansamalika* gives the titles of the dependent Chiefs of Mayurbhanj including Nilgiri which is now an Indian State, the Ruler of which possesses the title of Mardarāja Harichandana.

"This is the form of address to the feudatory Chiefs.

"1. The Rānā sardāra of Dhalbhum performs the ceremony of *Tīka* in the event of succession and receives presents wearing the costumes of a lady.

"2. Nayan Dās Harichandan Bhuyān Mahāpātra of Nilgiri on whom the title of Raja has been conferred very recently.

"3. Gopīnāth Das Jaya Bhujanga Manadhātā Bhuyān Mahāpātra of Kainsari belongs to a very old family and possesses the title of Rājā.

"4. Nanda Kishore Dās Mahāptāra of Kapitipada has been recently conferred on the title of Rājā.

"5. Jagannāth Das Mahāpātra of Pudadiha.

"6. Pratāp Das Srichandan Bhuyān Mahāpātra of Gilakantia.

"7. Brundabana Das Rājakumar Sametsur Bāhādur Vīravāhu Mardarāja Bhuyān Mahāpātra of Uparabhag has been conferred the title of Raja by the present Manimā Mahārājā.

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11. Studies in Moghal India — by Sir J.N. Sarkar, P. 208.
12 Early European Travellers in the Nagpur Territories, p. 6,

" In this way orders should be issued to 22 zamidars with due consideration of their present and past titles."

Due to loss of leaves of the palm-leaf manuscript the titles of other 15 Zamidars cannot be accurately ascertained In these titles " Dās Mahāpātra " is a common title of six dependent Chiefs out of seven in the list. In the list of titles of rulers of Indian States and British District Zamidars mentioned above ' Mahāpātra ' is attached to Seven families.

The number of 22 zamindars or dependent Chiefs under Mayurbhanj according to *Bhanjavansamālikā* is corroborated by the following extract from the letter dated 24th, September, 1803 written by Mr. Ernst. one of the Commissioners of the affairs of Cuttack to the Chief Secretary to the Government.

" It appears that the zamidary of Morebhunge consists of 22 estates, the proprietors of which pay tribute to the Rajah and are bound to afford him military aid whenever he may require it."

Out of the remaining 15 dependencies the title of the following feudatories are only available from various authentic sources.

The sanads granted by Maharaja Chakradhara Bhanja Deo in the amli year 1164 (1756 A. D) to the Zamidar of Bamanghati mention the following titles.

" Udo Dāsa Rājakumāra Narendra Bhuyān Bahadura Mahāpātra." In the sanad granted by Mahārāja Tribikrama Bhanja Deo in the year 1220 (1812 A.D.) the title of Satrudalana finds mention in addition to his above titles. But the letter dated 9th May, 1821 from Major Roughsedge to the Zamidar of Bamanghati has been addressed only to " Narendra Mahāpātra ". In another oficial document the titles of the feudatory chief of Jasipur are found to be " Bāhuvalendra Jagadeva Bhuyān Mahāpātra." The sanad granted by Mahārāja Jadunath Bhanja in the amli year 1252 (1844 A.D.) mentions that the Zamidar of Karanjia named, Nava had the titles of " Dāsa Srichandana Fouzdar, Bhāgbalānjiā, Mardarāja, Bhuyān Mahāpātra " "Before the establishment of British rule the Nayagram and Jamirapal estates were separate and their zamidars were feudatories of the Rajah of Mayurbhanj, from whom they received the titles of Mangarāja Bhuyan and Paikarā Bhuyān respectively "[13]

13, Midnapore District Gazetteer, p 193.

The titles " Srichandan " and " Bāhubalendra "[14] were given to Raj families of Narayangarh and Mayana in Midnapore respectively by the kings of Orissa.

I could not come across any report or document showing the titles of feudatories under Keonjhar and Bishnupur according to Stirling on Raja *M*anasinha's list of 1592 A. D. and so I do not include any in this article. Besides these titles of feudatories there are various titles of purely military origin which could be gathered from families holding such titles. The contents of *Bhanjavansa malika* mentioned above, gave me a clue to investigate the subject, but the paucity of data from published reports has made me unable to throw much light on the subject ; I have ventured to write this article in the hope of drawing attention of others in Orissa in order to prepare a complete list of these Oriya titles with significance as far as now ascertainable. I intend to conclude this article with some quotations of curious feudatory tenures under Sambalpur and Chota Nagpur.

The titles of the 18 feudatories under the rulers of Sambalpur before the British rule have not been found in any authentic publication or manuscript. The Gazetteer of the Central Provinces of 1867 mentions that the chief of Sonpur had at first the title of " *M*ahāpātra " Lieut. Kittoe visited Sambalpur in 1838 and he mentioned the names of 11 zamindars out of 18 in his " *Account of a journey from Calcutta via Cuttack and Pooree to Sambalpur* "[15] Lieut. Kittoe, however, has furnished us some " Curious tenures " of the feudatories of Sambalpur which are quoted below.

It has been shown above that the Zamindar of Dhalbhum used to appear before the *M*aharaja of *M*ayurbhanj in the costumes of a lady. The ancient Zamindar of Palahara which is now an Indian State, had to observe such a practice at the court of Sambalpur, Lieut. Kittoe's account in this connection runs as follows :—

" The estate of Lehra was formerly one of the eighteen dependencies of Sambalpur, as I have before said ; but some years ago the uncle of the present zamindar willed his estate to the Keunjur Raja, or rather gave it to him as a dowry on the marriage of his

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14. *M*idnapore District Gazetteer, under Narayangarh.
15. J. A. S. Bengal, *May*, 1839 p. 376.

daughter (an only child) This questionable act has led, as may well be supposed, to continual feuds between the two powers, the zamindar refusing to pay the homage required by the Keunjur Raja. and the latter refusing to accept the tribute (which amounts to 250 rupees per annum) unless the former consents to attend once a year at the Keunjur darbar, and there presents a nuzzar together with his tribute, dressed *in woman's attire*, i. e sari and churis (bangles) on his arms and in this condition prostrate himself at the Raja's feet." 16

Continuing further, Lieut. Kittoe describes another instance of conditions of feudal tenures performed by the ancient Zamindar of Redhakhol which is at present also an Indian State, and was formerly one of the eighteen dependencies of Sambalpur. He writes :

"Most of the minor 'garhs' were originally held on the like curious tenures and some even still more absurd for instance the adjacent State of Rehrakol the Zamindar used to perform (once a year) what was termed the *Mugger loth* or allegator's roll when attending with his tribute on his lord (Sambalpur). The ceremony is thus described :— Zamindar besmeared himself with mud and when arrived with a stipulated distance he had to lie down and roll along the ground in that condition to the Raja's feet, which he saluted, his nuzzar was then accepted and he was allowed to rise." 17

The Maharajas of Chota Nagpur were also the feudal superiors to many estates the exact number of which cannot be ascertained from any authoritative source. Only one instance of showing the condition of holding subordinate tenures has been recorded in the Gazetteer of the Hazaribagh District at page 148. After the British occupation in 1772 Maninath Singh "was the first Chief to repudiate the supremacy of the Maharaja of Chhota Nagpur by refusing to receive investiture from him. This used to be given by the Maharaja smearing his own big toe with sandal wood and placing it on the forehead of the receipient."

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16. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, July, 1839, p. 608.
17. -do- -do- p. 608.

27

AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE LALBAGH PALACE, THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT CUTTACK.

Cuttack was the capital of the Gangavamsi and Surjyavamsi Kings of Orissa from 1132 A.D. to 1568 A.D. From 1568 to 1592 there was struggle between the Pathans and the Mughals, and in the 35th year of Akbar's reign according to *Akbarnamah*, Raja Man Singh fully conquered Orissa in 1591-92 A. D. and annexed it to the Subah of Bengal. In Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari* written in 1594-95 (English translation Vol. II p. 127) there is a description of Cuttack which narrates that "It is the residence of the Governor and contains some fine buildings' Raja Mukunda Deo built here a palace nine stories in height". In 1607 during the second year of his reign, Jahangir made Hashim Khan "Governor of the Province of Orissa," 1 and since then Cuttack was the residence of the Mughal Governors of Orissa. Hashim Khan was succeeded by Raja Kalyan Mall in 1611 who remained the Governor upto 1617. Then came Mukram Khan as the Governor who perhaps served upto 1628 Sir Jadunath Sarkar has published a list of Mughal Subadars of Orissa from 1628 to 1725 in his book "*Studies in Mughol India*" p. 199, and from this list it is found that Baqar Khan was the Subadar from 1628—1632 and Mutaqad Khan from 1632—41. The only Persian account on the Lalbagh palace of Cuttack is found in Riyaz-us-Salatin by Ghulam Husain Salim who wrote it in 1787—88 and just mentions 'Lal Bagh Palace' during Alivardi Khan's second march in 1741 without any description; but fortunately we have got three interesting pre-British accounts in English which help us to reconstruct the history of the Government house or the residence of Governors of Orissa from 1633 to 1790.

The English merchants first arrived at Cuttack 2 (spelt 'Coteke') on the May-day (i e, the 1st of May) of 1633. *The Court of Malcandy* at

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1. Memoirs of Jahangir Vol. I, p. 126-27.
2 Early Annals of the English in Bengal — by C, R, Wilson, 1885, Vol, I, p. 7—13.

Cuttack described by William Bruton is nothing but the Manikhandi fort which existed in the middle of the 16th Century A. D. The English merchants met the 'Nobob' at the Manikhandi fort, but *Bruton has not given the name of the Nawab. C. R. Wilson identified Agha Muhmmed Zaman,*[3] as the successor of Baqar Khan who was the Subadar for one year in 1632–33, and was succeeded by Mutaqad Khan in 1044 A H. or 1634-35 A. D. C. R. Wilson put much reliance on the English records of 1704 disregarding the evidence found in *Badshanamah* on the appointment of Mutaqad Khan as the Subadar of Orissa in 1632. The extracts from Bruton's narrative quoted below on the construction of a new palace by the Nawab clearly proves that the Subadar was the man who was appointed on the understanding of a long service, otherwise Bruton would not have used the expressions such as 'he was building a palace' for future remembrance of his renown,"

From the following quotation from Bruton's narrative it is clear that even in May 1633 A. D. there was no separate house for the residence of the Subadar as he was then sleeping in the night in tents.

" Thus have I plainly and trully related the occurrences that happened at the court of *Malcandy* ; but although the palace of the *Nabob* be so large in extent, and so magnificient in structure, yet he himself will not lodge in it, but every night he lodgeth in tents, with his most trusty servants and guards about him ; for it is an abomination to the *Mughals* (which are white men), to rest or sleep under the roof of a house that another man hath built for his own honour. And therefore he was building a palace, which he purposed should be a fabric of a rest, and future remembrance of his renown ; he likewise keepeth three hundred women, who are all of them the daughters of the best and ablest subjects that he hath."

The accommodation for 300 women in the palace gives us the idea of a number of rooms that were built there. Riyaz-us-Salatin mentions (English translation p. 335) ' Lalbagh palace situate in the city of Katak' in 1741.

The second English account on Lalbagh was written in 1766 by Thomas Motte (not *Mr* La Motte as recorded by Stirling) in his

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3. *Ibid*. Vol. I, p. 8.
4. *Ibid.* p. 13.

'*A narrative of a Journey to the Diamond Mines at Sumbulpoor in the Province of Orissa*' Motte halted at Cuttack from 6th, to 9th of May 1766. Motte writes :—

" Each of the sides of the triangle, on which Cuttac is built, is two miles, but that on the banks oft he Cotjuree is Cuttac is built, is two miles, but that on the banks of the Cotjuree is best inhabited. On it is *Lolbaug*, the residence of the Governor of the province, a large building laid out in a number of courts. in the Morisco taste, but much out of repair; the Governor when one part is ready to fall, removing to another. From the principal entrance of this palace, runs the great street, formerly built in a straightl ine, one mile and a half long, and still the chief place of business in the town. On the right of it is the English factory, the meanness of which does not credit to so flourishing a company." 5

In this account of the 18th century the name of the residence of the Governors is given as ' Lolbaug ' or Lalbagh the proper significance of which is not ascertainable now.

The third account in English on Lalbagh of Cuttack is found in the " *Journal of a route to Nagpore by way of Cuttack etc.*" by Leckei who halted at Cuttack from 31st, March to 17th. April of 1790. Leckie writes :—

" There is a number of brick and stone buildings ; amongst wich are, the *Laul Baugh*, the residence of the Rajah, situated on the Cutjoora, surrounded by a high stone wall with gate ways ; several religious edifices, both Hindoo and Mahomedan, particularly a very handsome mosque, built by the order of Zeebul Nissau Khanum, Aurungazeb's daughter, during the Government of Ekraum Khan. The fort of Beerbautty, to the northward of the town, is surrounded by a wet ditch, about 150 feet broad, which is supplied from the Mahanuddy by a channel covered with large stones. It is built of the stone already mentioned. and the walls do not appear thick, or in good repair. There are embrasures for cannon only in the bastions, in the parapet and curtain loopholes." 6

A fourth account was written by Stirling in 1822. He writes :-

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5. ' Asiatic Miscellany ' Vol. II. 1786 p. 28.
6. Early European Travellers p. 55.

"The only Mohammedan monuments worthy of notice at the capital, are a small neat mosque built by Ikram Khan, a Governor during Aurangzeb's reign, towards the centre of the town, and the Kadam Rasool, an antique looking edifice standing in the midst of a fine Garden, which contains certain reliques of the Prophet commissioned from Mecca by the Newab Nazim Shuja ud Din Khan, or his son Mahommed Taki Khan, the latter of whom lies buried within the enclosure.

The Mogul and Marhatta Subadars always resided in the palace of the *Lal Bagh* on the banks of the Catjori, which we must suppose to be the "Stately Court of Malcandy, (whatever that word may mean), described by Mr. Cartwright who visited the "Governor of Coteke," in 1632, though there are no traces of splendour remaining to warrant the high wrought description of the palace, given in Bruton's narration."[7]

Stirling's suggestion for the identification of Lalbagh with Bruton's 'Court of Malcandy' is totally wrong.

O'Malley quoted Bruton's narrative at page 297 of the Cuttack District Gazetteer under Lalbagh without any historical note.

"I do not know if there is now any relics of the palace of the 17th. century in the Lalbagh area where the present Government house of Orissa stands."

Both Leckie and Stirling mention one Mughal Governor named Ikram or Ekram Khan during the reign of Aurangazeb, but no such name has been mentioned by Sir J. N. Sarkar in his list of Mughal Subadars of Orissa.

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7. Stirling's Orissa. Asiatic Researches Vol. XV. 1825. pp. 190-191, Bengal Secretariat edition 1904 p. 19.

28

ATHARAGADA OR EIGHTEEN FORTS

In the Jharkhand area which extends from the south of Gaya and Bhagalpur to Jhadi Jeypur and Bastar comprising the whole of the hilly tracts of Chhotanagpur, Orissa States, Chhattisgarh and Jeypur Agency, the term Atharagada has a definite significance as of the interior subdivisions of the kingdom itself. It is well known that Chhattisgarh was so called from the existence within it of 18 garhs of Ratanpur and 18 garhs of Raipur over which the Haihaya kings established their supremacy. In latter times, according to this tradition of integral parts of a kingdom, the kingdom of Sambalpur was also known to possess Athargarha. Evidence has been found that Mayurbhanj, Kalahandi, Jeypur, Vizianagar, and Bastar each had 18 garhs under it before the Moghal period. In Bahiri-Stan-i-Ghybi mention is made that the kingdom of Assam had also 18 forts. Sirat-i-Firozshahi mentions also that the Raja of Sikharbhum in Manbhum " was an important Chief with thirtysix minor Chiefs as his vassals " vide J. R. A. S. B. Vol. VII. 1942 p. 58.

It seems that the conventional expression of the term Athargarh is of ancient origin. 'Kāmāndakīya Nītisāra' mentions in chapter VIII that according to the view of Brihaspati there were " 18 kings of a Mandala. " Any one having 18 kings under him used to assume the title of Mahāmandalesvara and the Kesari copper plate of Satru Bhanja shows that he had the title of Mahāmandalesvara.The epigraphic records of the 10th & 11th. centuries bear testimony to this. The earliest direct reference to Atharagarh is found in the Bonai copper plate grant of Vinitatunga Deva who was "the lord of Gandrama country consisting of the 18 feudatories"or *Asṭhadasagondramadhipati.*[1] The Raipur inscription of 1415 A. D. mention that Sinahana Deva, king of Raipur, conquered " 18 forts or strong-holes of adversaries." [2]

Below are given the lists of Athargarhs of the kingdoms of I. Ratanpur, II. Raipur, III. Kalahandi, IV. Mayurbhanj, V. Bastar, VI. Sambalpur, VII. Jeypur and VII. Vizianagram.

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1. J. B & O R. S. Vol. VI, p. 239.
2. Inscriptions of C. P. & Berar, 1932, p. 108.

I. Athargarhs of Ratanpur[3]:—

1. Ratanpur, 2. Maro, 3. Bijaipur, 4. Kharod, 5 Kotgarh, 6. Nawagarh, 7. Sonthi, 8. Okhar, 9 Pandarbhatta, 10. Semaria, 11. Champa, 12. Lapha, 13. Chhuri, 14. Kenda, 15. Matin, 16. Uprora, 17. Pendra, 18. Kurkuttie.

II. Athargarhs of Raipur[4]:—

1. Raipur, 2. Patan, 3. Simga, 4 Singarpur, 5 Lawan, 6. Amora, 7. Drug, 8. Sarda, 9. Sirsa, 10 Mohdi, 11. Khalari, 12. Sirpur, 13. Phingeswar, 14. Rajoni, 15. Singangarh, 16. Suarmar, 17. Tengnagarh, 18. Akalwara.

III. Athargarhs of Kalahandi[5]:—

1. Junagarh, 2. Bhundesir, 3. Asurgarh, 4. Dehgaon, 5. Kooksura, 6. Thuamul, 7. Deypur, 8. Mandabisi, 9. Kasipur, 10. Mohulpatna, 11. Chandragiri, 12. Bisamgiri, 13. Dadpur, 14. Langigarh, 15. Moonda, 16. Bhurti, 17. Karlapat, 18. Madanpur.

IV. Athargarhs of Mayurbhanj[6].—

1. Bhanjabhum, 2. Mantri, 3. Hariharpur, 4. Dewalia, 5. Purunia, 6. Karkachia, 7. Bamanhatti, 8 Sirkonda and small insignificant forts ten. The list of ten forts is not published by Stirling. Besides this the ruler of Mayurbhanj had 11 Zamindaries under him.

V. Athargarhs of Bastar[7]:—

"In 1502 A.D. Pratap Rajdeo came to the throne He conquered 18 forts round Dongar and assigned them to his younger brother as an appanage". The details of these 18 garhs are not available in any printed book.

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3. J. & P A.S B., 1919 p. 201.
4. *Ibid* p. 201.
5. *Ibid.* p. 203-204.
6. Asiatic Researches Vol. XV. p. 233.
7. Sil's History of Central Provinces and Berar, p. 115.

VI. *Athargarhs of Jeypur*[8]:—

1. Andhra, 2 Vijayanagar, 3. Bobili. 4. Makua, 5 Salur, 6. Rambhadrapur, 7. Narabha, 8. Kalahandi, 9 Khadial, 10. Kauripatana, 11. Bendra Nawagarh, 12. Merangi, 13. Kurupam, 14. Palkunda, 15. Bandapali – Sambham, 16. Rengal Balase. 17 Poram, 18. Sindi or Chimudi, 19. Polam.

VII. *Athargarhs of Vizianagar*[9]:—

1. Jeypur, 2. Srungavarapeskuta, 3. Madgole, 4 Saloor, 5. Kotapalem, 6. Kurupam, 7. Ankapilly, 8. Golconda. 9. Palacondah, 10. Andhra, 11. Regulavalsa, 12. Poram, 13. Teda or Puchipenta, 14. Sungumvalsa, 15. Chemudu, 16. Rajam, 17. Narava.

VIII. *Athargarhs of Sambalpur*[10]:—

1. Sambalpur, 2. Patna, 3. Sonpur, 4. Bamra, 5. Rerhakhol, 6. Gangpur, 7. Bod, 8. Athmalik, 9. Phuljhar, 10. Bonai, 11. Raigarh, 12. Bargarh, 13. Sakti, 14. Chandrapur, 15. Saranggarh, 16. Bindranawagarh, 17. Khariar, 18. Borasambar.

This list of 18 garhs was first published by Sir R. Temple in his report of 1863 after deriving the materials from the report by Major Impey.

Mr. C. U. Wills, I. C. S., in his monograph on *the Territorial System of the Rajput Kingdoms of Mediaeval Chattisgarh*, published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol XV, 1919. No. 5, has elaborately discussed the significance of the term of the Sambalpur Atharagarh, and has come to the following conclusion :

"It is surely curious too that, though Mr Motte (1766) has nothing to say as regards this "Athargarh" of States, Kittoe some 70 years later can give a partial list of the members of the confederacy which Major Impey in 1863 records in the fullest detail. Such a development of information varying inversely with the writer's proximity in time to the state of affairs he is describing, is in itself

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8 "Utkala Sahitya" an Oriya monthly, 1343, p. 141.

9. The modern History of the Indian Chiefs, Rajas, Zamindars etc. Part – II

10. J. & P. A S B. 1919, p 219.

suspicious. And this alone might tempt one to conclude that the application of the term Atharagarh to the States which at one time acknowledged the hegemony of Sambalpur and Patna is without historical foundation" (P. 222).

Elsewhere he has written that "according to modern local tradition as officially recorded, these Sambalpur Garhs were not, as in Chhattisgarh and elsewhere, interior subdivisions of the kingdom itself. but constituted (it is said) the units in a cluster of 18 independent States (of which Sambalpur was only one) in feudal subordination to or confederation with the Rajas of Sambalpur and Patna" (P 218).

He again writes commenting on the application of the term Athargarh of Sambalpur as follows :—

"But in the 19th century its real significance was forgotten while tho memory of the confederacy of States survived, with the result that the term Atharagarh was mis-applied, a result of the more likely to occur as the wider the extension of its meaning the more flattering it was to the traditions of the fallen house of Sambalpur." (P. 226).

The use of the term is so misunderstood even now that late G C. Praharaj, the compiler of the Oriya Bhāsākosha, has written under Atharagada that the 17 states of Orissa Tributary Mahala together with Angul were known as Atharagara of Orissa.

Chhattisgarh of the Central Provinces and Sikharbhum furnish us with the evidence that there were kingdoms in which there were 18×2=36 States ruled by vassals. This supported by 'Kāmāndakīya Nītisāra' which mentions *Sattrimsakal Mandala* e. g., a mandala divided into 36 divisions The same authority also mentions *Chatuh-panchasataka – Mandala*, that is a Mandala consisting of 54 Divisions and *Sadva-prakrti-mandala* consisting of 72 divisions. So it seems that kingdoms were divided to 18 or multiples of 18, such as 36, 54, or 72 feudatory parts. In Mansimha's allotment papers published by Stirling at p. 44 under the Raja of Khurdha there were seventy one Killahs excluding his own estate of Khurdha This gives us 72 garhs. As the Raja of Khurdha was the most powerful of all the neighbouring 18 garh kingdoms referred to above his claim over 72 feudatory kings under him is corroborated by Kāmāndakīya Nītisara.

29

TWO COPPER PLATE GRANTS FROM THE VILLAGE THEMRA IN THE SAMBALPUR DISTRICT*

In May and June 1929 when I was busy in studying the records relating to the history of Mayurbhanj in the Record Room of the then Political Agent of Orissa, these two copper plates, written in Oriya script, were brought to my notice. These copper plates were then found in possession of late Pandit Somanath Misra, the father of Sri Bipin Bihari Misra, a resident of the village Themra, situated in the Sadar Sub-Division of the Sambalpur District. Sri Bipin Bihari Misra is the 6th in descent from the donee Divyasimha Misra.

On the 26th of September 1953 through the courtesy of Sri Bipin Bihari Misra, I was able to re-examine the copper-plates and got their photographs which are reproduced in this paper.

A. The Copperplate grant of Jayanta Simha

This plate contains 11 lines of text on the first side and seven lines on the second side. It opens with the adorations to Siva and a Sanskrit verse stating that Ajita Simha had a son named Jayanta Simha belonging to the Chauhāna dynasty. Jayanta Simha granted the village Sodaṅga (present Sodanga) to one Divyasimha Misra on the 20th, April, 1790 A. D. The date of the grant is given as the Vikrama Sambat 1847 when there was an eclipse.

The script of the grant is Oriya and the language is Sanskrit.

The conditions of the grant are as follows :

(1) The grant of the village bounded by trees was made with the rights of the land and water and mines and minerals.

(2) The witnesses were (a) the Gurus, the Goddess Somalāi, Vimaleśvara and eight cardinal deities.

(3) The grant was to continue as long as the sun and the moon shine.

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* From the O. H. R. J., Vol. II, April, 1953

(4) No successor ruler or persons belonging to the four castes who would interfere in the grant will be involved in incurring the Mahāpātaka.

The last verse of the grant was imprecatory one from the Sāstras

The text of the grant is printed at the end of this paper.

B. The copperplate grant of Rajyesvari Ratna Kumari, the Patta Mahishi (chief queen) of Jayanta Simha

This plate contains 10 lines on the first side and 9 lines on the second side. It opens with a Sanskrit verse stating that Ratnakumārī. the scion of the Gaṅga family is the Patta-Mahishī of Jayanta Simha of the Chauhāna dynasty who was enthroned as the Rājyeśvarī by the officers.

People and the feudatory chiefs (Sarvā-mātya—Prajānṛpai). She granted the village Themra to Divyasimha Miśra in the bright fortnight of Tṛtiyā of Vaiśākha in the Sambat year 1861 corresponding to 1804 A. D,

The script of the grant is Oriya and its language is Sanskrit.

The conditions of the grant are as follows :

(1) The grant is made with the rights of water, lands, and minerals situated within the boundary marked by trees of the village Themra.

(2) The witnesses of the grant are Dikpālas, Aditya and Chandra.

(3) The grant will last as long as the earth will bear the mountains, waters and forests and as long as the sun and the moon will rise.

(4) Those persons who will create troubles in the village will suffer from committing the sin (Pātaka) of killing the cow, mixing the poison in the sacred dishes of lord Jagannātha at Puri and cohabiting with their own begotten at Kāśī.

The text of the grant is given below at the end of this paper.

Historical Note

The date of the copper-plate grant of Jayanta Simha is 28th April 1790 A. D. and that of Rājyeśvarī Ratnakumārī, the chief queen of Jayanta Simha is the month of Vaiśākha (April-May) of 1804.

Late Sri Ram Chandra Mallik, the retired Deputy Inspector of Schools of ex-Patna State, published in Oriya a short Koshala-Itihāsa in two parts. Part-I deals with the history of Patna and part-II the history of Sambalpur Although Sri Ram Chandra Mallik has not given the sources of his book, yet he has left a good many materials for the traditional history of the Chauhāna families of Patna, Sonpur and Sambalpur. According to this history, Jayanta Simha, the king of Sambalpur ruled from 1782 to 1818. Ajita Simha, the father of Jayanta Simha ruled Sambalpur from 1742 to 1766. Ajita Simha had 8 queens and two sons named Abhaya Simha (whose mother was the 5th Rānī), and Jayanta simha (whose mother was the 6th Rānī). After the death of Ajita Simha, Abhaya Simha ascended the thorne of Sambalpur in 1766 and ruled upto 1777 A.D. Due to the partisan movement among the followers of the two brothers Sambalpur had a troublous time The followers of Jayanta Simha declared him at a place near Bāmadā (Bamra) the king of Sambalpur in the presence of the neighbouring Zamindars. On hearing this Akabara Rāya, the Dewan put Jayanta Simha and his followers in the prison without giving them any water and food. After 21 days it was found that all the followers had lost their life, but Jayanta Simha was not there. It is not known as to how Jayanta Simha escaped. He not only escaped but went safely to Garhmandala where the Rājā appointed him as the Dafādār of 50 horsemen.

Raja Abhaya Simha died without any issue and the where abouts of the next claimant Jayanta Simha were not known. Although there were more than one whose claim to the succession was rightful, Akabara Rāya selected a boy from the family of Padmapura and enthroned him as the king of Sambalpur. By this arrangement of Akabara Rāya, the Rājā of Sāraṅgagaḍa was very much dissatisfied and invited Jayanta Simha from Garh Mandala and helped him to invade Sambalpur. When Jayanta Simha appeared near the temple of Samalāi at Sambalpur, Akabara Rāya was frightened and begged pardon of him after presenting gold coins and performed the ceremony of Tikā of Jayanta Simha as the king of Sambalpur. After this king Jayanta Simha entered into the palace and killed the boy Balabhadra Sāe by dashing him against the throne and then Balabhadra's mother was killed by being thrown into a pan (Karāi) of boiling ghee. Soon after Jayanta Simha ordered to behead Akabara Rāya and appointed his son as the Dewan of Sambalpur, who was again murdered by the order of the king. It is said that Jayanta Simha ordered one Māna Misra, the Dewan, to kill Manohara Simha of

Khindā who was full of personal charms and beauty and was suspected by the king for intriguing with the queens, but Māna Misra refused to obey the order and left the service. Jayanta Simha was able to carry out his designs through one Govinda of Sonpur who was appointed as the Dewan of Sambalpur.

According to Sri Ram Chandra Mallik's narrative, Jayanta Simha had three queens named Ratnakumārī, the daughter of Rājā Vaidyanātha Deo of Gangapura, Muktā Devī, the daughter of the Haihaya family and Rahasya Kumārī Devī, the daughter of the Baghela family. Queen Rahasya Kumārī gave birth to a son named Mahārāja Sāe, who was the son and successor of Jayanta Simha.

In this traditional account, Ratnakumārī has been described as the daughter of the Rājā of Gangapura who belongs to Nāga family, but in the copper-plate she describes her as the Gaṅgajā e g the daughter of the Gaṅga family. The Rājās of Bamra belong to the Gaṅga family From this it appears that it is difficult now to asertain the historical value of this traditional account. But we are lucky to have some English records of this period which furnish some contemporary evidence regarding the history of Ajita Simha, Abhay Simha, Akabara Rāya, Jayanta Simha, Mahārāja Sāe, Ratnakumārī Devī and Muktā Devī of Sambalpur from 1766 to 1818.

In the tradion Jayanta Simha has been described to be involved in the internecine fueds and murder but that was the period when such things were very common all over the country. From the British records it is definitely known that Jayanta Simha inspite of various troubles was able to establish the independence in 1788 according to Foster's account of Nagpur in 1788 quoted below :

"On the south east Sambalpur and other independent petty Hindu States separate them from the Province of Cuttack which holds of Nagpur".1

The history of Jayanta Simha up to 1800 A. D. is not known from any contemporary source. The narrative of the history of Sambalpur of this period is well worth quoting below :

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1. C.U. Wills's *British Relations with Nagpur State in the 18th century*, Nagpur, 1926, p 96,

"About A. D. 1797, in the reign of Jeth Singh, successor to Ubhaya Singh, another violent quarrel with the Nāgpūr Marāthās took place. It appears that Nānā Sāhib a relation of the Nāgpūr Rājā was going on a pilgrimage to Jagannāth with a large party of followers. On his way he was treacherously set upon by the Sarangarh and Sambalpur people, and also by those of Sonpur and Bod. He contrived, however to push his way to Cuttack, where there were some Marāthā troops. Bringing these with him on his return, after severe fighting he took the Bod chief and Prithvī Singh, the chief of Sonpur, prisoners. He then encamped for the rainy season in the Sonpur country. Mean while Jeth Singh had been strengthening the Sambalpur fort in expectation of being attacked. As soon as the rains were over Nānā Sāhib appeared before Sambalpur, and regularly invaded the town. For five months he remained before the walls without being able to effect an entrance, but by chance one of his men discovered that the moat near the Samalāī gate was fordable. The Nānā, on hearing this, assembled his people, made a rush across the moat, and forced the gate." 2

The above account is corroborated by Colebrook's despatch No. 32 dated Nagpur, the 6th April 1800 to the Governor General which is quoted below.

"Intelligence was yesterday received that the fort of Sambalpur has been surprised by the Rājā of Berar's troops and taken with little resistance. This occurrence has been deemed of sufficient magnitude to be announced by a salute which was yesterday fired from the park of artillery. Sambalpur was the principal fortress of a chief of mountaineers, who takes his title from that place and who holds an extensive tract of country between Chhattisgarh and Cuttack. He was nominally subject to this government, but did almost maintain independency and only paid small tribute very irregularly Governing a numerous tribe of hardy mountaineers and possessing such a stronghold as Sambalpur, he had been hitherto able to elude the power of the Rājā of Berar ; and all attempts to subdue his country had invariably failed. The reduction of his strongest fortress will, it is thought, be now followed by his speedy submission and by the full establishment of the Marāthā authority throughout his territories. The sudden attack which has been thus successful was not preconcerted. Chandāji Bhonsle, an officer of the Rājā's troops, being in the neighbour-

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2. Grant's *C. P. Gazetteer*, 1870, p. 453.

hood, strayed with two rocketmen into the forest of bamboo canes which surrounds the fort and coming unexpectedly upon it, found it carelessly guarded and remarked that the wall had fallen into the ditch in one place. He wantonly threw a rocket into the fort by which the thatched buildings it contains were accidently set on fire. Observing that the garrison was busied in endeavouring to extinguish the fire without suspecting the occasion of it, Chandāji sent for troops from the camp who arrived in time to surprise the fort. They made themselves masters of it and put the garrison to the sword " 3

The subsequent story is narrated as follows :

" The fort was taken after a fierce resistance, the Rāja Jeth Singh and his son Mahārāja Sā being taken prisoners, The Nānā Sāhib took them off to Nagpur with him, and the Nagpur Rāja had them confined at Chāndā. Bhūp Singh, a Marāthā Jamādār, was left in charge of Sambalpur to collect revenue, and administer the country in behalf of the Maratha government. Bhup Singh, however, soon got into trouble with his government, and on being summoned to Nagpur, refused to go. The Nagpur Rājā then sent a large force to compel him to obedience, but getting the assistance of the Raigarh and Sārangarh people, he lay in ambush at the Singhorā pass, where he drove back the Marāthās, and completely routed their force. He, however, foolishly made an enemy of one Chamrā Gaonthiyā, by 'looting' his village, which was near the pass Consequently some short time after, when a second body of Marāthās arrived from Nagpur, Chamrā, instead of sending word to Bhup Singh, placed the Marāthā troops in ambush in the same pass where they had been previously defeated, and sending word to Bhup Singh that a few troopers only were looting the country on the western side of the ghāt, induced him to bring a force through it, when the Marāthās fell upon his party and almost annihilated it. Bhup Singh fled to Sambalpur, whence, taking the Rānis of Jeth Singh with him, he retired to Kolābira."4

This happened at Sambalpur not long before the war of 1803 with the Bhonsla Raja of Nagpur by the East India Company.

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3. C. U. Will's *British Relations with Nagpur State in the 18th century* pp. 150-151.
4. Grant's *C. P. Gazetteer*, 1870, p. 453.

The British force occupied Cuttack in October 1803 and "Lt. Col. Broughton occupied Sambalpur on the 22nd, January 1804."[5]

"On their arrival, Tātiā Pharnavīs, the Marāthā manager who had replaced Bhup Singh, withdrew with all his people to Nagpur".[6]

After occupation of Sambalpur, the British authorities did not find any body to make Treaty alliance perhaps due to absence of Jayanta Simha or his son Mahārāja Sāī from Sambalpur in January 1804, and perhaps they did not want to establish any political relation with the Rānīs of Jayanta Simha. The clause 10 of the Treaty of Deogaon dated the 17th November 1803 included the territories occupied by the British after the date of the Treaty as the cession of territories in perpetual sovereignty by the Bhonsla Raja of Nagpur. Due to reluctance of the Bhonsla Raja, the British Government restored the Sambalpur and Patna area to him by the Treaty dated the 24th August 1806. Although the Sambalpur and Patna area was under the British occupation from January 1803 to August 1806, neither the British nor the Marāthā administration was operative there. This unusual political situation favoured the assumption of the ruling power by the Rājyeśvarī Ratnakumārī Devī as mentioned in her copper-plate grant issued in April - May 1804 in which she is described as being elevated to the position of the Rājyeśvarī by all officers, people and the feudatories during the period of the absence of her husband Jayanta Simha and his son Mahārāja Sāī in the prison at Chāndā by the Bhonsala Raja. As the British authorities in that period were supporting the feudatories of the Bhonsla Raja of Nagpur for their separate existence, it seems that Rānī Ratnakumāri was supported by the British military officers inasserting her claim over the Sambalpur State.

The subsequent history of Sambalpur has been described by Hamilton in his *Hindoostan*, Vol. II, 1820, pp. 20-21 as follows :

"In August 1806, adverting to the friendly relations then subsisting with the Nagpoor State, the British Government agreed to restore the territories of Sumbhulpoor and Patna, consisting of the

5. C U. Will's *British Relation with the Nagpur State in the 18th century*, p. 185.

6. Grant's *C. P. Gazetteer*, 1870, p. 453.

following pergunnahs, viz. Sumbhulpoor (Sambalpur), Sohnpoor (Sonpur), Saurungur (Sarangarh), Burgur (Bargarh), Saktee (Sakti), Serakole (Lerakhol), Beuria (Bamra), Bonee (Bonai), Kartickpoor (Kartikpur), Patna (Patna), Khas Patna (Khas Patna), Nawagur (Nawagarh or Bendra Nawagarh), Gharilano (not identifie d), Tanagu (not identified) and Borra Summbah (Borasambar). To these cessions, however, the Zemindars of Sumbhulpoor and Patna opposed so effactual a resistance, that in 1807, the Nagpoor state was obliged to solicit the assistance of the British Government, being unable itself to raise funds sufficient to equip an adequate force, Mr Elphinstone, who then resided as ambassador at Nagpoor, was in consequence directed to interpose with the Zemindars, many of whom refused to be thus transferred, and as the British Government was bound by treaty either to support them in their independence, or to find them compensations within its own territories; it was compelled to adopt the latter alternative."

× × × ×

"After trying open force without success, the Maharattas in 1808 obtained possession of Sumbhulpoor by an act of the most deliberate treachery. In effectuating this, they first entered into a solemn engagement, confirmed by oaths and religious ceremonies, by the conditions of which the Ranny, or Queen on paying up arrears and settling the future amount of the revenue, was to be left in independent possession. Having thus lulled her suspicions, they took advantage of her confidence, suddenly attacked her troops, and took the fortress by surprise. The Ranny being thus perfidiously assailed escaped with great difficulty, and arrived in such distress on the British frontier, where she solicited and received protection from the Government, and to support her dignity had a pension of 600 rupees per month assigned"[7]

After the Marāthā occupation of Sumbalpur in 1808, both Rānī Ratnakumārī Devī and Rāni Muktā Devi had to leave Sambalpur and take shelter in the British occupied area. Rāni Ratnakumārī Devī went to Hazaribagh, the head-quarters of the then South-West Frontier Agency of Bengal and sought help from the Lt. Col. Broughton, the Agent to the Governor-General, at whose proposal, the Government of Bengal sanctioned a monthly allowance

7. Hamilton's *Hindhoostan*, London, 1820, Vol. II, pp. 20-21.

Rs 600/- for her maintenance. Similarly Rānī Muktā Devī went to Cuttack where at the instance of the Commissioner, the Government of Bengal granted her the Zamindary of Panchāgarh in the Puri District for her maintenance.

After the defeat of the Raja of Nagpur in 1817, Sambalpur area came under the British occupation. Major Roughsedge, the Commander of Ramgarh Battalion stationed at Hazaribag was placed in charge of the Sambalpur area. He pleaded for the release of Raja Jayanta Simha and his son Mahārāja Sāi with Sir Richard Jenkins, the Resident at Nagpur and obtained their release from Chāndā in 1817. Raja Jayanta Simha was restored to power in 1817, but he died in 1818. With the death of Jayanta Simha the feudal superiority of Sambalpur came to an end. His son Mahārāja Sāī was made Rājā of Sambalpur in 1820 but the dependency of the feudatory chiefs of *Sambalpur Athargarh* was annulled and they were granted separate Sanads having direct relation with the British Government in 1821.

From the history of Sambalpur written by Sri Ram Chandra Mallik, it is found that Rānī Ratnakumari died at Hazaribagh after her return from pilgrimage at Banaras before 1817. After restoration of Sambalpur to Raja Jayanta Simha, Rānī Muktā Devī was brought from Panchāgarh to Sambalpur. She survived her husband and was allowed Rs. 1000/-p. m. from the revenue of Sambalpur during the reign of Mahārāja Sāi who ruled Sambalpur upto 1827. No information is available about her subsequent life.

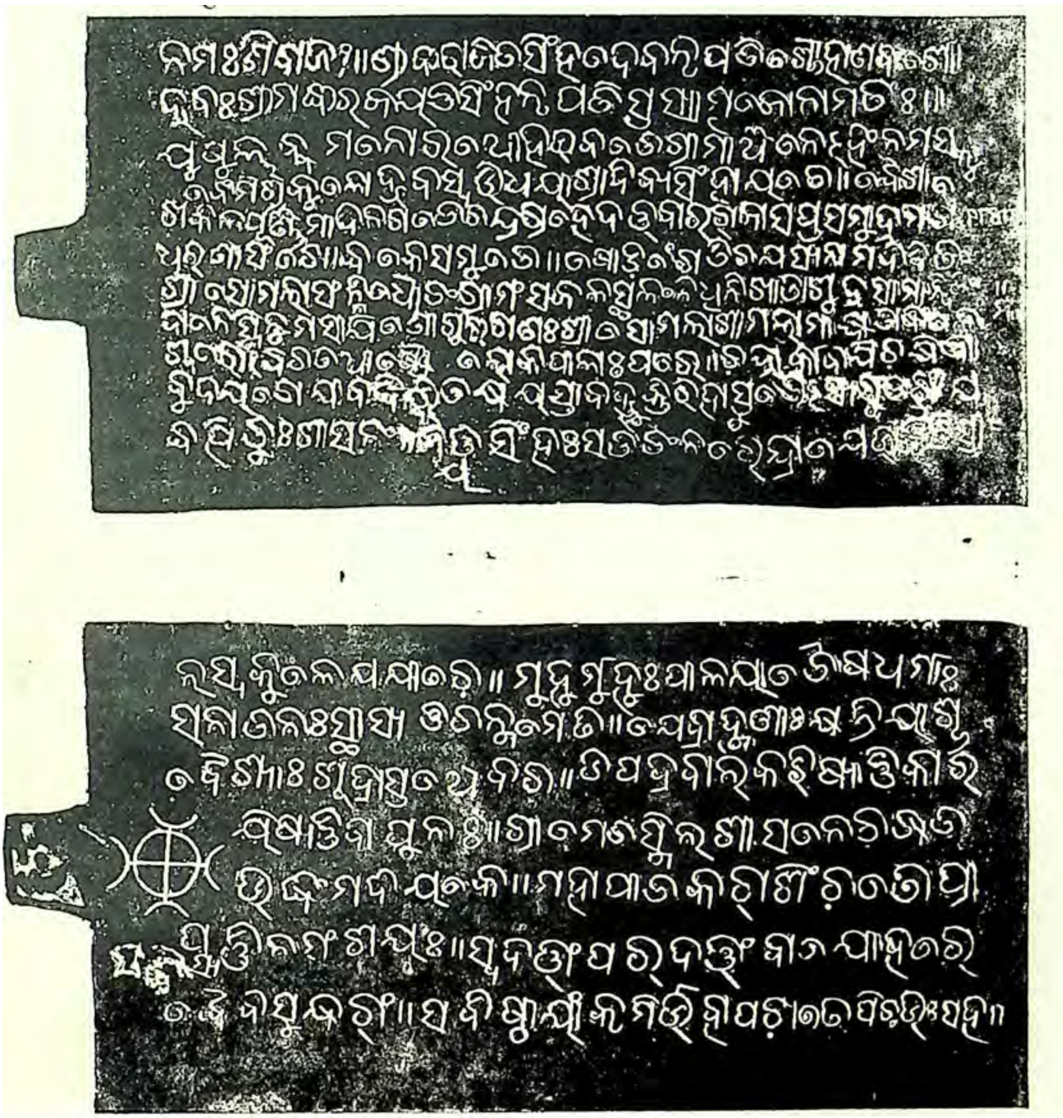
A

Copper-plate grant of Jayanta Simha found from village Themra in the Sambalpur District.

TEXT

First side

L1. नमः शिवाभ्यां ।। श्री बीराजितसिंह देव नृपतिश्चोहाण वंशो-
L2. द्भवः, श्री मद्वीरजयन्तसिंह नृपति स्तयात्मजो नामतः ।।
L3. युष्मल्लब्ध मनोरथहि भवते ग्रामार्थिनेऽहं नमस्कु-
L4. र्वे मिश्रकुलोद्भव स्वभिधया श्री दिव्यसिंहाय ते ।। वैशा



Copper Plate Grant of Jayanta Simha Page—276



Copper Plate Grant of the Chief Queen of Jayanta Simha

L5. खे किल पूर्णिमार्दिनगते चन्द्रग्रहे दत्तबान्, राजा सप्तसमुद्रनाग-१८४७

L6. धरणी संखेऽद्के सम्बते ।। पोड्ङ्गेति च यस्यनाम बिदितं

L7. श्री सोमला संनिधौ, तं ग्राम'सजलस्थलंनिधिनिखातश्चद्रु सीमान्यित' ।।

L8. दानेस्मिन्मम साक्षिणो गुरुगणः श्री सोसला शामला; मान्धाताबिमलै

L9. श्वरोऽपिच तथाष्टौलोकपालाः परे ।। चन्द्रार्कवपिच क्षिता-

L10. वुदयते यावन्निभूत त्त्वय, स्तावद्भुक्ति रिहास्तुतेऽय सुतरां या-

L11. वत् पितुः शासन ।। जयन्त सिंहः सततं नरेन्द्रा, ये भाबिन स्ता—

Second side

L1. न् स्वकुले ययाचे ।। मुहुमु हुपालयतैष धर्मः

L2. सनातनः स्थास्य उचन्ममेति ।। ये ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रियाश्च

L3. वैश्याः शूद्रास्तथैवच ।। उपद्रबान् करिष्यन्ति कार—

L4. यिष्यन्ति वा पुनः ।। ग्रामे तस्मिन् शासनेच अत

L5. उर्द्ध मदियके ।। महापातकराशिं च ते प्रा-

L6. प्स्यन्ति न संशयः ।। स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरे

L1. त्दै बसुन्धरां ।। स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पच्यते पितृभिः सह ।।

B

Copper-plate grant of Rājyeśvari Ratna Kumārī, the Paṭṭamahishī (chief queen) of Jayanta Simha of Sambalpur found from village Themra.

TEXT

First side

L1. दुर्गे त्राहि । श्रीमहीरजयन्तसिंह नृपते श्चौहाणवं—

L2. शोद्भव, स्याऽहं रत्नकुमारी पट्टमहिषी नाम्ना स्मृता ग-

L3. ङ्गजा ।। सर्बोऽमात्य प्रजानृपै निरूपिता राज्येश्वरित्वेऽ

L4. धुना,कृत्वा मिश्रकुलोद्भवाय च नाम्ना तं दिव्यसिंहा-

L5. य बै ।। स्वप्ने श्री सोमलाज्ञे त्यऽजनि मम ददे

L6. ठेमराख्यं च दानं, तं ग्राम' सजलस्थलं निधिनिखाताऽश्चद्रुसीमा-

L7. न्वितं ॥ शनियुक्त तृतीयायां वैशाखे शुक्लपक्षके ॥ शा-
L8. शाङ्ककालनागेन्दु १८६१ संख्ये वर्षेऽपि सम्मते ॥ दिक्पा-
L9. लादित्यचन्द्रा मे दानेस्मिन् सन्तु साक्षिणः ॥ यावद्भूमण्ड—
L10. लं धत्ते सशैलजलकाननं । यावत्क्षिताबुदयतो च –

Second side

L1. न्द्राऽर्को भूतसंचयः ॥ तावत्वं दानभोगेन श्री
L2. क्षव्यं निरुपद्रवं ॥ ग्रामेऽस्मिन्मनुजा ह्युपद्रवकराः
L3. केचिद्भविष्यन्ति ये ते गोनाशन पा-
L4. तकप्रकरभुञ्जन्तः प्रयागे नराः ॥
L5. क्षेत्रे श्री पुरुषोत्तमे श्री जगन्ना-
L6. थाऽमृताऽन्ने विषदातृणां गति—
L7. माप्नुयुश्च रमतां काश्यां नृणांस्वप्रभूं ॥.
L8. श्री श्री श्री रत्नकुमारीपुर शासन एसद्दि ॥

SECTION C

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

30

THE SCULPTURE OF ORISSA FROM IMAGES OF GODS AND GODDESSES.

The most authentic history of Orissa does not go beyond Mauryian period of the Indian History. The image of Yaskini found at Dedarganj in Bihar and now preserved at the Patna Museum is the earliest historical sculpture of human form in India and although no such human figure of Mauryian period has been found in Orissa yet the head of the elephant carved on the Dhauli rock along with Asoka's Edicts is a best example of Mauryian art in Orissa. So far no image of any deity belonging to the Mauryian period is known to us.

After Asoka, Mahāmeghavāhana Kharavela of Kalinga established an empire after conquering Magadha and spreading his power upto Mathura in northern India; in southern India his power extended upto Tamraparni. After this conquest of northern as well as southern India, the sculptors of Kalinga were influenced by the art of north and south and the sculptures of Khandagiri and Udayagiri near Bhubaneswar prove the influence of northern and southern India.

Since the 1st century B. C. to 600 A. D. we do not get any Archaeological evidence on the nature of sculpture of Orissa. During this period the Indian art developed with a new phase in the Gupta sculptures. From 630 to 642. Yuan Chuang visited Orissa and he saw many images of gods at Chelitalochin. As this port of Orissa has not yet been located and identified, we are not sure about those post-Gupta sculptures of Orissa

The Buddhist and Brahminic sculptures of Jajpur, Ratnagiri, Lalatigiri and Udayagiri of the Cuttack District are found to be fully influenced by the Gupta Art. It has been cited above that there is some southern influence in the sculpture of Khandagiri and Udayagiri of the Puri District, but no such influence is noticed in the sculptures of the Cuttack hills. This change may be attributed to the

discontinuity of the Kalinga school of art due to the long absence of patrons. In the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. with the advent of patrons like the rulers of the Bhauma dynasty, the artists of Utkala carved out sculptures according to the technique of the Gupta School of Art then popular all over the northern India.

The earliest images of Buddhist and Brahmanic deities are found at Muttra (Mathura) and it seems that the sculptors got the inspiration from the Gandhar Art in which inward significance of an image is wanting; but during the Gupta period the prevalence of *Dhyāna* of Gods changed the outlook of the artists in regard to the making of images. Gautama Buddha had to practice austere Yoga and Tapasyā (meditation and austerities) for attaining *Siddhi* or supreme knowledge. Principles of Yoga are also very popular in the Brahmanic religion. The sculptors of Mathura adopted these principles of Yoga from life and applied them in carving out the images of the Buddha which are the creations of pure imagination. The human figure of Gautam Buddha as found in early sculptures is not a copy of the statue of Gautama, but an artist's production according to 32 signs of *Mahāpurusha* described in the Sāstras. The pre-Gupta artists did not observe the attributes of Yoga and signs of *Mahapurusha* in making the images; but with the rise of popularity of image worship. the artists were very attentive to carve images according to *Dhyāna* of the deities, but all along imaginary human form was the ideal of the artist. The images of the Buddha are found in sitting or standing posture called *āsana* without which no Yoga is possible. The sitting posture is the *Paryavkāsana* and the standing posture is *Kāyotsargāsana* of the Sanskrit text. So a Yogi performs his *meditation* either in a sitting or a standing posture. In the human form, the face, fingers and legs are the moveable parts — but really - the face is the index of mind, and in the face the lips. eye-brows, eye-lids and eye-balls indicate different expression of the mind by change of position. The sculptors of northern India of the by gone days fully understood the importance of the position of eyes and lips and were able to carve out the faces of deities giving different expressions, but at the same time without forgetting the posture of eyes prescribed in the Yoga. With the popularity of images of the Buddhist and the Jaina pantheons, there was introduced the worship of images of Brahmanic gods and goddesses. The sculptors following the orders of thein patrons used to carve images of the Buddhist, the Jaina and the Brahmanic faiths according to *dhyāna* and they were also too many to engage them in carving out images with perfection and excellence.

The temple of Vishnu at Deogarh (abont 600 A. D.) in the district of Jhansi in U. P. possesses some typical sculptures built according to principles stated above. In the panel in the eastern wall of the temple are fixed *two images*- one is a four-armed deity in human form and the other is a two-armed man carved in a sitting posture of *Yogi*. Both are inclined to each other as if it appears that they are engaged in conversation. Their faces and eyes show that they are lost in contemplation without having any serious talk. In another panel a scene is carved out showing *Anantasayi Vishnu* (Vishnu in an inclining pose under the hood of Ananta serpent) and Lakshmi. As Vishnu is in a pose of taking rest in lying down posture,his face naturally gives the idea of Yoganidrā which is though not actual sleep, yet it manifests outwardly the normal conditions of sleep with full internal consciousness. Lakshmi too though outwardly engaged in massaging the right leg of Vishṇu is also absorbed in meditation and thus engaged in discharging her duties with full detachment of mind. In this scene the lower human figure is represented to draw the sword from the scabbard as if he is in active service, but his face indicates that his inward mind is detached from his outward action. These self contradictory poses of mind and body of these sculptures are no doubt very interesting for the study of Gupta Art.

The sculptures in the pannel of the northern side of this temple give a clearer idea in regard to the incongruity in poses of the body and the expression of the face. In the picture a Nāga is seen to tie the legs of an elephant with its tail and the helpless elephant is praying for protection by uplifting its trunk with an offer of lotus to god Vishnu who is descending on the back of Garuḍa. In this picture the god Vishnu, his vehicle Garuḍa and Nāga have human faces and the poses of their eyes indicate that they are lost in meditation. The attacking Nāga's folded hands indicate that he begs pardon from which the idea of the release of elephant, not actually shown in the relief, is clear.

The railings of the Buddhist Stupa of Amaravati in the Guntur district of the Andhra Province have sculptures dating back from the 2nd century A. D. In respect of carving of Buddha images credit goes to the sculptors of Southern India for making earlier images than the sculptors of Northern India. They also carved Brahmanic images about the same time as that of Deogarh. The comparision of the contemporary Brahmanic sculptures from South India with those of North India will show the difference in spirit of the respective

sculptures. Let us take the image of Anantasāyī Vishnu of Badami in Bijapur district of Bombay Province and compare it with that of Deogarh described above. In the Badami relief Vishnu is depicted as reclining on the hood of Ananta, but he is not engaged in *Yoganidra* and is not lost in meditation. He is watching with open eyes, and the attendant figures are all gazing at him. The difference of the poses of eyes in this image of Badami with that of Deogarh is really due to the difference in the spirit of artists in carving out images of gods and goddesses. The northern India images possess expression of human activity controlled by principles of meditation whereas the images of southern India only possess the expression of direct action like any ordinary person. Though Ellora and Elephanta geographically belong to southern India, but the sculptures of both the places are typically northern in style and spirit. This is illustrated by the images of Siva of Ellora and Elephanta which are absorbed in Yoga or meditation. The most typical image of Elephanta is the marriage of Siva, but the special expression of both the bride Parvati and bridegroom Siva is not quite befitting the occasion as both are absorbed in meditation. This speciality of Ellora and Elephanta is due to the Aryan speaking Māhārastra which imbibed the spirit of northern India. The sculptures having half shut eyes and wide open eyes is no doubt due to difference in the cultural influence of northern India with that of southern India, in other words of the Aryans with Dravidians or the art of Indo-Aryan school with that of Dravidian school. Late Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda pointed out this difference of two schools of art. Furgusson long ago pointed out the difference between Indo-Aryan and Dravidian style of architecture by the study of stylistic development of architecture in India. The study of art of India from archaeological view point thus leads us to conclude that the sculpture and architecture were greatly influenced by the culture of races inhabiting the northern and southern India or of Indo-Aryans and Dravidians.

Hindu & Buddhist Sculptures of Orissa.

In the post - Gupta period the artists of Northern India maintained the spiritual significance in the outward form of the sculptures; and this rigidity of balancing the form with spirit in course of time gave rise to local variations and by the time of the 8th, century, there developed a number of provincial schools of sculptures similar to the development of provincial languages. The rise and growth of local school of art in Orissa are so prominent and distinct as is not

marked elsewhere in northern India. The geography of Orissa divides the country into divisions having isolation due to the intervening hills as well as association due to the connecting rivers; and this environment gave rise to local sub-divisions of Art with some distinct features. So far four such sub-schools are well known at (1) Jajpur, (2) Lalitigiri, Udayagiri, and Ratnagiri in the Jajpur sub-division of the Cuttack district (3) at Bhubaneswar, Puri and Konarak and (4) at Khiching in Mayurbhanj. It seems that there are two other centres of sub-school of Orissan Art in the hilly tracts of Orissa, one in the Brahmani valley and another in the Tel valley where only casual Archaeological exploration has so far been conducted. Even before October, 1946 the existence of the biggest image of Anantasāyī Vishnu, 50 feet long and carved on a rock in the bed of the Brahmani opposite to Talcher town, was not known to scholars of India. I have got information that there is a similar image at a place of some 20 miles from Talcher. We find the biggest temples in the sea board district of Puri, but the biggest sculptures are found in the mid region of the Brahmani valley. I throw out a suggestion for a sub-school of Art in this area which may be proved by the study in detail of sculptures of the Brahmani valley. In the Tel valley I examined the ruins of Baidyanath in Sonepur State, Belkhandi in Kalahandi State and Patnagarh in the Patna State. From the special features of the sculptures of the Natamandir of Baidyanath and that of Belkhandi and Patnagarh I am fully convinced that these works of art belong to another sub-school in Orissa. The date of the Brahmanic sculptures of Baidyanath seems to be of the same age as that of Jajpur or a little earlier.

1. Saptamātrikā images of Jajpur :—

The Mādalāpānji gives us information that Yayati Keśarī ruled Orissa from 474 A.D. and built various temples including the great Lingaraj at Bhubaneswar. But the copper plate grants and stone inscription of the Somakuli kings prove that Yayati Mahāsivagupta I was a king of this dynasty towards the end of the 10th century A. D. This proves that Yayati Kesari of the 5th century A. D. is entirely traditional. There may not be any truth in the names and dates of kings of the tradition, but in the tradition there is always the historical chronology. During the 5th. century the northern India witnessed many developments and the copper plate grants of Midnapore, Soro, Patiakilla and Ganjam furnish evidence that Orissa did not lag behind northern India, In the 6th century the influence of Brahmanism

was not less in any way than that of the Buddhism which is proved by the copperplate grants and the records of the Chinese traveller Yuan Chuang.

According to Mādalāpānji Jajpur was an important centre of the Brahmanic cult, and Yayati Kesari brought ten thousand Brahmins from Kanyakuvja and performed ten horse sacrifices at Jajpur. Even now the Brahmans of Orissa pay reverence to those ten thousand Brahmans in the *Mahavakya.*

Jajpur is also known as Virajākṣetra or the holy place of the goddess Virajā. Virajā is also another name of Brahmānī, one of the seven mothers–Sapta Matrika–of the Chandi Purana. Virajakṣetra finds mention in Mahabharata. The sevan mothers are well known in India. Besides the Brahmanic images Jajpur is rich in Jaina and Buddhist images also. Sculptorally the Brahminc, Jaina and Buddhist images are all same.

The faces of Vā-āhi and Nārasimhī of the seven mothers are like that of the Bear and Lion incarnations of Vishnu. The faces of other five images of the Mātrikas are similar to that of women. All these mothers with the exception Brahmāni having 3 faces out of four in the sculpture, have got one face each The images of Mothers of Jajpur are classified as big and small according to their sizes. Out of the big groups only *Varahi* and Aindrāni are available and out of small group five images are being worshipped now in a room at the Daśāsvamedhaghāt of Jajpur. As all these images are built in the Mugni stone, the sculptors had the advantage of carving delicate details. At the first glance of these images of mothers, the observer is struck with the artists' sense of roundness associated with the beautiful female form. If the sculptor had not been a master artist he would not have been able to carve these imaginary images endowed with such natural expressions of internal feelings The artists were fully conversant with the observation of Nature and the tenderness of animals towards their offsprings was not overlooked by them, and Vārāhī with her Boar's face is looking at the human child with affection and her human body is enlivened throughout with motherly feeling. The ornamental decoration is elegant and her upper arms showing the power of protection are well fitted to the whole body. It seems that the chisel of the artist has given the life-like shape to the imaginary image of the goddess. In the Mātrikas called Vaishnavi and Kaumārī of Dasasvamedhaghat the child seated in the left knee of each Matrika

and embraced by her left lower arm seems to be a real human child. She is engaged in offering protection by her right lower hand. The face is full of mother's pride. The introduction of upper two arms shows her superhuman power of protection.

The images of Matrikā Brahmāṇī Kaumārī, Indrāṇī of the Saptamātrikās placed at the south east corner of the Markandesvara temple at Puri are similar in shape to those of Jajpur. But they show the sculptor's clear conception of relief together with finer workmanship. The faces of Mātrikās of Jajpur are carved with natural expressions whereas those of Puri not only possess the same, but also a little more as they are lost in meditation like the images of the Gupta period The position of the child on the left knee and all other details are found according to Dhyāna of Brihat Samhitā. The image of Jogesvara Siva in the group on one side though calm and dignified in expression is not quite absorbed in meditation (Dhyāna).

The images of seven mothers adorn the walls of the Mukha-mandapa of the Paraśurāmesvar temple of Bhubaneswar and Simhanāth temple of Baramba State These two are the earliest temples of Orissa, which have been assigned to the 7th Century A D.

2 Mahāyāna Buddhist sculptures of Lalitigiri, Udayagiri and Ratnagiri in the Jajpur Sub-division of the Cuttack District.

The hills called Lalitigiri, Udayagiri and Ratnagiri are situated separately from each other forming a triangle in the valley of Birupa and a branch of the Brahmani river and all of them are full of Mahayana Buddhist images. One peculiarity of the remains of these hills is this that there is no stone temple or Vihāra here. A large number of bricks strewn here and there indicate that all the monuments were built with bricks. Another peculiarity is this that all these images were built with the stone that was available locally and not with *Mugni* stone like the images of Jajpur and Puri. The images of these hills are very life-like. The seated image of *Bodhisattva* from Ratnagiri at once gives the idea of fullness of life as it appears from within. The image of *Vajrapaṇi from Lalitigiri* is so perfect a work of art that its photograph appears to be a photograph of a living man. The dual attributes of Vajrapaṇi firstly a devotee himself and secondly a god to the worshippers—appear to have been

successfully carved out by the sculptor. The eyes of the image are half-shut and fixed at the tip of the nose; and from this posture it appears that the god is engaged in meditation, but at the same time the position of the hand shows that he is also busy in bestowing *abhaya* (protection) to his worshippers. The image of *Vajrapāṇi of Udayagiri*, and that of *Kuvera from Lalitigiri* and a *female figure from Ratnagiri* are best specimens of sculpture of the period. The facial expression of these images is in harmony with the bodily form.

These hills of Cuttack District are mines of relics of the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries of the Christian era and what are discussed here are only a few that are bying on the surface. It seems that Yuan Chuang's Puspagiri is one of these three hills. It is expected that excavation will reveal much more. Twenty years ago I visited these hills and I have not been able to see them again. I earnestly hope, these national wealth are still there. Any damage, to them is irrepairable, At Ratnagiri I saw the head of a Bodhisatva image measuring 48 inches from the tip of forehead to the end of chin and 44 inches form ear to ear. It seems that it was a portion of the seated image the size of which can be well imagined.

It seems that the image of Santamadhava of Jajpur— (now preserved at the compound of the quarter of the S.D.O.) is a Mahayana image of Padmapani or Vajrapani and originally belonged to these hills. It measures 22ft from tip to toes. The relics from Guhiratikiri not very far from Jajpur of which a few are now in the Orissa State Museum, may be compared with those of Udayagiri.

The liveliness and spontaneity of expression are the special characteristics of the sculptures of Cuttack hills. Although some schools of Art developed in Orissa with great elaboration afterwards, we miss the freshness of expression everywhere with the exception of images of a small temple at Khiching in Mayurbhanja discussed below.

3. Bhubaneswar, Puri and Konarka temples.

Among the temples of Bhubaneswar, the temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva only is dedicated to Vishnu and the rest to Siva. The Linga of the Lingaraja temple is worshipped as Harihara (half Hari and half Hara), but images of niches of the temple go to prove that it was built for Siva. In the enclosure of the *Lingaraja temple* there is a small temple called Anantesvara, but the deities are stone images of

Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā like those of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple. The great Lingaraja temple is adorned with sculptures described in Vaisnavic Purāṇas. All these three temples were built by the artists of one school having the same tradition.

The divine, human, animal figures and vegetative designs with which the outerwalls of the Lingaraja temple have been decorated, clearly represent the dexterity and imagination of the artists. All the designs are not only artistic but lively also. For a detailed report of all the pictures of the Lingaraja a separate volume is necessary. Out of 10 digpālas, only eight are placed in the four corners of the temple. The vehicle of Varuṇa is carved as if it is in motion but there is no sign of movement in the deity who is engaged in *yoga* and the contrast of the posture of each is in harmony. Another picture depicts the scene of *Guru and Sisya* (teacher teaching the disciple. In another is depicted the child Krishna and Yosadā engaged in churning *Dahi* and with a smile looking at Krishna seated nearby. A male figure, may be Nanda, sitting opposite, enjoys the scene. The way in which the artist has carved out the image of Yosodā in the stone leaves ample space in the background for the relief of the observer whose sight is not confused with details of overcrowding. From this it is inferrad that the artists of the Lingaraja temple were alert in giving relief to the eyes of the visitors to appreciate the art fully. The over decoration of the temple of Konaraka when compared with the restraint of decoration of the Lingaraja temple gives some clue to study the mind of artists of the 10th. century with that of the 13th. century A. D. when the ideals of Orissan sculpture were at the clima casting the shadow of decline.

The images of Pārvatī, *Kartikeya* and Ganeśa occupy the niches of the Lingarāja temple on the north, west and south respectively; The modelling of Pārvatī and Kārtikeya when compared with the sculptures of Cuttack hills, will appear artificial and stiff. The details of dress and ornaments carved by the artist in the image of Pārvatī give him enough credit for his patience and skillfulness and his sense of round. The sense of round is also very vividly exhibited in the body of Ganeśa - who, in dhyāna is described as "खर्वं स्थूलतनुं गजेन्द्रवदनं लम्बोदरं सुन्दरं"

That is, Ganes'a is beautiful with all ugliness of limbs or with a dwarfish, fat, elephant-headed and long-bellied appearance. The

carving of the image of Ganesa according to Dhyāna and at the same time a beautiful piece of work of art give great credit to the Orissan artist for his abillity in the production of a real form. Ganesa with one elephant face is common in Orissa but there is an image of Ganesa from Orissa with five elephant faces in the British Museum belonging to the collection of ' Hindu ' Stuart.

The image possesses 10 hands and a female figure sits on his left thigh, and so it is a rare piece of Brahmanic iconography which is not yet identified.

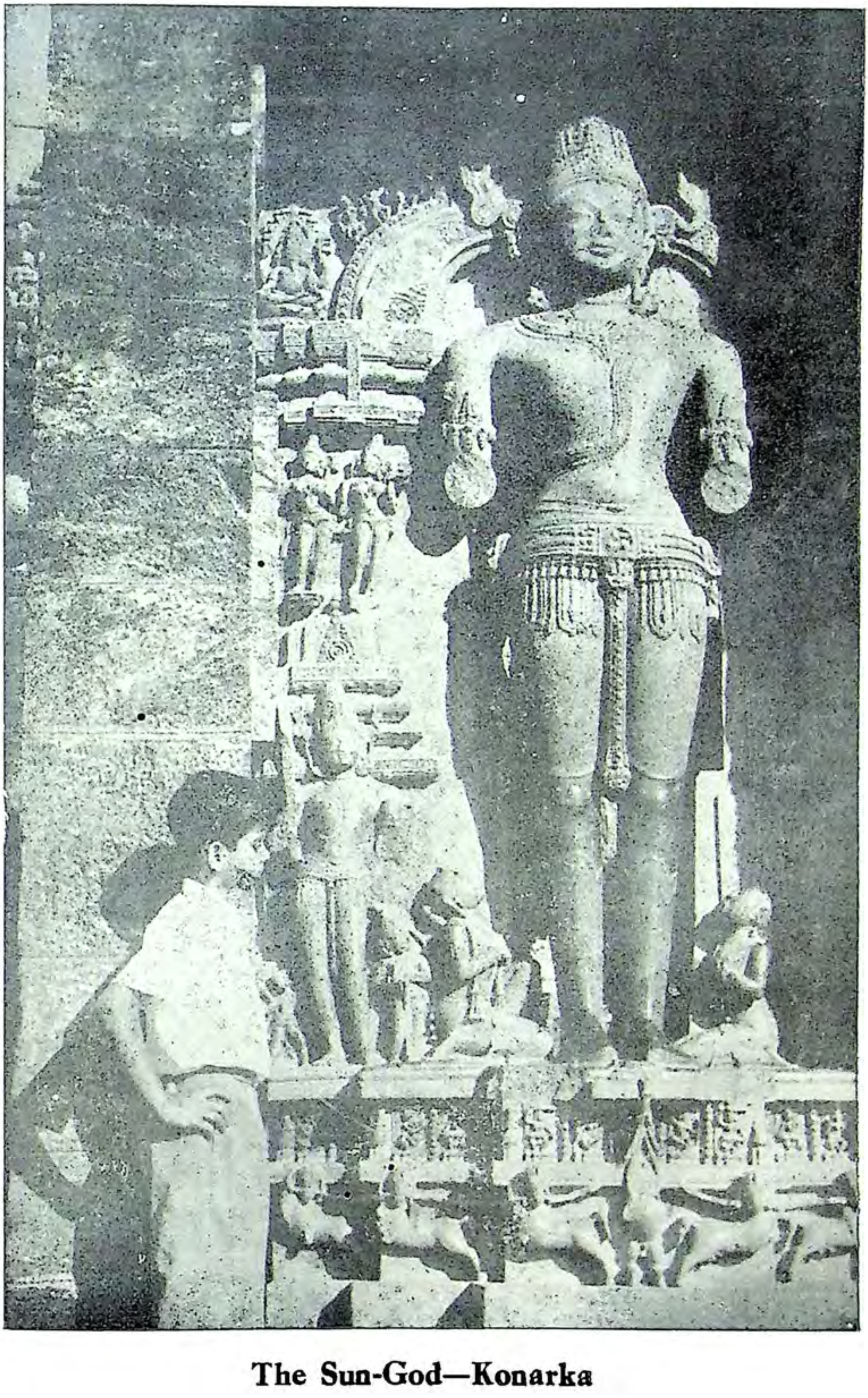
The characteristics of the niche images of the Jagannātha temple are the same as those of the Lingaraj temple. Due to heavy plastering of the Jagannātha temple the outward form of its architecture is totally spoiled, but the temple is a prototype of the Lingarāja in all its features.

The sun temple of Konarka was the birggest of all the temples of Orissa and so its decorative sculptures are proportionately the largest. In the modelling of sculptures of Konarka some softness is noticed in the finishing touch. The image of the Sun god riding on horse carved in a running attitude can be compared with Varuna of the Lingaraj temple.

4 Khiching

Eight copper plate inscriptions discovered from Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar describe that Khijjinga Kotta (modern Khiching) was the capital of the Bhanja kings who were " free from sin by worshipping the feet of Hara " (हरचरणाराधनत्त्रयितपाप:)

This image of Hara with two attendants has been found from the ruins of the temple. All these three images were installed on a single pedestal. This temple found in ruins has been fully restored by His Highness, the Maharaja Sir Pratap Chandra Bhanja Deva. The dates of the copper plates of the Bhanja kings are assigned from the middle of the 9th to the middle of the 10th century A.D. So the Bhanja Kings were powerful after the fall of the Bhaumas and before the advent of the Somakuli Kesari kings. A few other copper plates discovered from Angul prove the existence of the Bhanja kings, earlier than the 9th. century A D. The rock inscription at Dongnaposi in Keonjhar found near the rock painting pushes back the date of the



The Sun-God—Konarka

Bhanja kings to the 4th century A. D. and the family tradition gives still earlier history of the dynasty.

Khiching is situated on the bank of the Vaitarani like Jajpur As Khiching lies on the route from Magadha and Gaya to Utkala, it imbibed all the culture of northern India as well as of Utkala on the south.

The earliest temple of Bhubaneswar is the Parasuramesvara temple It perhaps had no porch or Mukhamandapa which was added later on. But all the temples of Khiching possess no Mukhamandapa. The history of the southern Bhanjas of Bauda has been reconstructed from 22 copper plates and in Baud, two types of temples are found — one is similar to the Parasuramesvara having a Mukhamandapa such as the twin temples at Gandharadhi and another is a star-shaped temple having no Mukhamandapa at Baudgarh. The Archaeological Department of Mayurbhanj commenced its work at Khiching in 1923 when excepting two temples built with Mugni stones all others were in ruins, The two temples standing in a dilapidated condition have been fully restored and the great temple fallen into heaps has also been restored with considerable labour and expenditure. The height of the temple is only 72 feet, which is insignificant when compared with that of Great Lingaraja or the Jagannātha temple. But the decorative sculptures of this temple are quite different from those of any temple in Orissa. This peculiarity of sculptures is due to both the patron and the artists who possessed exceptional aesthetic taste.

In many images of deities carved with attendants or worshippers it is found that the sculptor's special care was concentrated in carving out the main image and not the other figures which were given the subordinate position in the matter of execution. But the attendants of the great image of Hara of the Khiching temple are found to be executed with the same zeal of the artist. The two small female images on two sides of the big image of Siva enhance the beauty of the composition of the whole sculpture. According to Purānas, Siva is the great Yogī and so the sculptor's full stretch of imagination has been concentrated in carving out the human face of the deity with the Yoga posture. Besides this spiritual activity, the deity is not negligent to bestow favours on the worshippers. On either side of the image of Hara were installed the images of Chanda and Prachanda. The standing pose of these images clearly shows as to how the artist carved the images from the observation of nature - the images stand with stress on one leg

which is straight and the position of knee of the other shows its relaxation. Iconographically these three images are unknown elsewhere in India The bodily form of Chanda at once puts the idea of sense of round generally met in the body of a youth. The benign expression of the face of the deity has been superbly carved out on the stone surface. Cut of four hands of the deity two are broken at the joint of the elbow, the palm of the front right hand was carved with the sign of protection to the devotee whereas that of back holds rosary (Akshamālā) which indicates that the deity is absorbed in meditation. The gods and goddesses of Brahmanic and Buddhist religions are generally carved with multiple of hands such as 4, 6, 8, 10, 12 or 18 and this multiplicity of hands no doubt indicates their supernatural activities. The face of the image of *Prachanda,* another attendant of Siva, is carved with a terrible expression but the other parts of the body are prototype of that of Chanda. The sculptors of Khiching paid special attention to the modelling of the lower parts of the images. The special feature of the sculptures of Khiching has led the critics like late Rai Bahadur R P. Chanda, Dr Kramrisch, Dr. Coomarswamy and Dr. Rene Grosset to define it as the Mayurbhanj school of Art.

Hara and his attendants Chanda and Prachanda are the cult images of Khiching and so they were enshrined in the Cella or the Grabhagriha. Below is given the description of some important images which decorated the great temple of Khiching. The niche images of the Lingaraja of Bhubaneswar are Pārvatī, Kārtikeya and Ganeśa, but the niche images of the temple of Hara at Khiching are Mahishamarddinī, Kārtikeya and the dancing Ganeśa. These images were never meant for worship which is proved from the height at which these are fixed in the Lingaraja temple. Such is the case of the niche images of the Jagannātha and the Konarka temples. The construction of three temples and the steps leading to the nice images of the Lingarāja or the Jagannātha temple is the work of the decadence period and not contemporary, which mars the beauty of the main temple. In my opinion these relics were made by those who were the followers of blind faith without a sense of beauty. These temples were the works of independent Oriya nation and it is hoped that now the nation will restore the original beauty of the temples by removing these ugly looking structures added only to mar the grandeur of the ancient monuments.

Among the niche images of the temple of the Hara at Khiching only the image of the *Mahisashuramardd.nī* has been restored almost

fully The images of Kārtikeya and Natarāja Ganes'a have been fixed in the niches after piecing together many parts discovered at the time of excavation. The image of Mahishāsura marddinī is one of the best sculptures of Khiching. In this image the composition of the plastic form of earthly man and heavenly deity has been extraordinarily manifested by the sculptor on the stone. The description of beauty of Durgā as given by the great Kalidāsa in his'Kumārasambhava' seems to be personified in this image. The position of her eyes and the expression of her face remind the observer of the passage of Chaṇḍī-purāṇa wherein she is described to possess military sternness (समर-निष्ठुरता:) mingled with kindness(कुपा),i.e.''चित्ते कृपा समरनिष्ठुरता च दृष्टा स्वयैव देवी भुवनेश्वरी''। The act of killing with eompassion by the Devī as described in the scripture is firmly represented in the sculpture by the able artist who lived in the cultural environment of his age.

The Nāgas and Nāgīs purely introduced for decorative purposes are found at upper positions than in the niches. The images representing the upper half of human body with the lower half of the tail of a serpent are products of pure imagination. The execution of the human part of the Nāgas is different in outward form.

Above the door lintel of a temple of Siva is seen the *Nataraja Siva*. This image of Khiching temple was very badly damaged when it was broken but it is lucky that the face of the image is left unhurt. The colossal *dancing Siva of Elephanta* is no doubt a master piece of art. The fullness of well built muscles of this image makes it very life like. The halt shut eyes indicate that the great Yogī Siva is absobed in *dhyana* even when he is engaged in dancing with regular control of movement of limbs by the measures of music. The complete picture of the image of dancing Siva can be fully imagined from another image of *dancing Siva from Orissa* now preserved in the British Museum. The comparison of these images of dancing Siva with the brass images of dancing Siva of southern India, many of which are preserved in the Madras Museum and elsewhere. clearly shows the difference of technique of the North Indian or Indo—Aryan and the South Indian or Dravidian art. Apart from the position of feet, the South Indian image looks on with wide open eyes. The roundness of the body of the north Indian image is wanting in that of the south Indian which is comparatively slender in proportion of the body.

The story of Brahmanic and Buddhist sculptures of the mediaeval Orissa will remain incomplete without the mention of Jaina

sculptures of the period. The images of *Rshava* and *Mahavira* are so life-like that their photographs appear to be those of two nice little boys. These unique Jaina sculptures are preserved in the London Museum.

I have in this paper .just touched the main points on the interpretation of mind and activity of the sculptors and worshippers of Orissa from the study of sculptures and I hope younger scholars will throw clearer light on this obscure subject by further research. I am a disciple of late Rai Bahadur R. Chanda who was engaged in investigating the mind of the sculptors from the study of sculptures and advised me to take up the thread and in this paper I have said many things which I learnt from hem. I also express my indebtedness to may other critics of Indian Art.

31

DATE OF THE LINGARAJA TEMPLE AT BHUBANESWAR AND THE JAGANNATHA TEMPLE AT PURI.

It is rather unfortunate that the three famous temples of Orissa–Lingarāja, Jagannātha and Konārka do not possess any commemorative inscriptions like the Brahmesvara, Meghesvara and Anantavāsudeva temples of Bhubaneswar which were built by relations of the reigning sovereigns of Utkala;and from this it appears that the great patrons of art and architecture in Orissa were not keen to leave their name behind. But the people of Orissa were not forgetful of the memory of their great kings, and traditions are current in Orissa and also recorded in the *Mādalāpanji* or the chronicle of the Jagannātha temple, that the Lingarāja temple was built by the kings of the Keśarī dynasty and the Jagannātha and Konārka temples were built by the kings of the Ganga dynasty of Orissa, and though these traditions do not give us the exact dates of the temples yet they furnish us with the chronological data on the dates of these temples. In this paper I have made an attempt to assign approximately the definite dates of the Lingarāja and Jagannātha temples from the study of inscriptions.

A. The Lingaraja Temple

The Brahmesvara temple was built by Kolāvatī Devī, [1] the mother of Mahārājādhirāja Udyota Keśari and this Udyota Keśarī is no other than the king of the same name who granted the Bālijhari copper plate [2] As the name Udyota Keśarī is found after Mahāśiva-gupta Dharmaratha, who was defeated by Rajendra Chola [3] in 1024-25 A. D., his date is to be assigned after 1025 A. D. Two kings named Nahuṣa and Yayāti II preceded Udyota and if we allot 25 to 30 years for them, the date of succession of Udyota Keśarī can be assigned to 1050-1055 A.D. and the date of the Brahmesvara temple which was erected in the 18th year of his reign thus comes to some time near 1070 A.D.

R. Chanda writes in his note on *The Lingarāja or the Great Temple of Bhubaneswar* that ' between the style of decoration of the Brahmesvara and the Lingaraja there is considerable resemblance. * * The Brahmesvara and the Lingaraja represent a single line of artistic tradition, the latter monument having been in all probability erected by one of the ancestors of Udyota Keśarī, say about 1000 [4] A.D "

The Ganga king Rājarāja I of Kalinganagara defeated the king of Utkala in 1075-76 A.D. and it proves clearly that the power of the Keśarī dynasty was weak in 1075 A D. On the other hand the inscriptions of Yayāti II and Udyota Keśari show the opulence and power of the Somakuli Keśarī dynasty of Orissa and the weakness of the dynasty may naturally be attributed to a successor of Udyota Keśari after his death before 1075 A.D. During the period of 50 years from 1025 to 1075 A. D we find from inscriptions of the Somakulī kings the names of Nahuṣa, Yayāti and Udyota Keśarī and as the Brahmesvara temple was built in the 18th year of reign of Udyota Keśarī, we may safely say that Udyota Keśarī aseended the throne about in 1050 A.D. If 20 years are alloted to Yayati II., he ascended the throne in 1030 A. D.

Stirling recorded the following tradition in conneetion with the construction of the Lingarāja temple :—

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1. L. I. N. I. Bhandarkar No 1572.
2. *J B. & O. R. S.*, 1931. pp. 1-24
3. *Journal of Indian History*, April, 1941, pp, 1-11.
4. *A. R. A. S I.* 1923-24, pp. 121-22.

" Towards the close of his reign Raja Yayāti Kesari began the buildings at Bhubaneswar."

Ananta Kesari, the second successor of Yayāti, " began the building of the great temple at Bhubaneswar,"

" He was succeeded by Lalāt Indra Kesari, a personage of high repute in the legends of the Bhubaneswar temple, in consequence of his having built or completed the great pagoda at that place sacred to Mahadeo under the title of the Ling Raj Bhubaneswar."[5]

It is all possible that the great structure is a work of two generations and the construction of the temple was begun by Yayāti II towards the close of his reign and completed by Udyota Kesarī at the beginning of his reign after 1050 A. D. It seems to me that *Lalātendu* or *Lalāta Indra* was a title of Udyota Keśarī and the tradition has only adopted the title and not the name. There is a cave called Lalātendu Kesarī's cave in the Khandagiri hill, but the inscription in it refers to Udyota Keśarī who was really the *Lalātendu* or the *Moon on the forehead* of the Somakuli Keśarī kings in cosequence of his having built or completed the great Lingaraja temple at Bhubaneswar

So Chanda's suggestion of 1000 A.D. for the date of the Lingarāja temple accepted by Dr. A. K. Commaraswamy [6] and Mr. Percy Brown [7] needs correction according to the new epigraphical evidence now available and the date of the Lingaraja temple can be safely assigned to the middle of the 11th century A.D

B The Jagannātha Temple

Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy [8] assigns c 1150 A. D. as the date of the Jagannātha temple, but Mr. Percy Brown [9] puts the date of the temple as 1100 A. D.

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5. Stirling's *Orissa* (Bengal Secretariat 1904 reprint from the edition of 1822) Calcutta p. 70.
6. *History of Indian & Indonesian Art*, 1927 p. 115.
7. *Indian Architecture*, 1942 p, 120.
8. *History of Indian & Indonesian Art.*
9, *Indian Architecture* p, 120.

M. M. Chakravarti has approximately assigned 1193-94 to 1198-99 A.D. as the date of the Meghesvara temple [10] at Bhubaneswar which was built by Svapnesvara Deva. The date of the Anantavāsudeva temple by Chandrādevī is 1278 A.D. [11] These two inscriptions do not mention anything about the erection of the Jagannātha temple by Choḍagangadeva or Anangabhīmadeva of the Ganga dynasty. But according to verse 27 of the copper plate of Narasimha II, [12] Choḍaganga built a *Prasāda* for Purusottama and from this M. M. Chakravarti writes that "Under his order was built the great temple of Jagannātha at Puri." [13] This is the only authentic record relating to the date of construction of the Jagannātha temple by a successor of Choḍaganga. Mr R Suba Rao gives the period of rule of Choḍaganga from 1076 to 1147 A. D. [14] and writes that Choḍaganga transferred his capital to Cuttack in 1135 A D. [15] So the date assigned by Dr. Coomaraswamy comes nearer to the last year of Choḍaganga's reign in 1145 A.D.

M M Chakravarti wrote the following in his paper on the "Jagannātha temple in Puri." :—

"1 The present temple of Jagannātha was built under the orders of Choḍaganga.

"2 It existed there at about 1070 A. D. and might have been built between 1085-90 A.D.

"3 The conquest of Orissa took place very early in the reign of Choḍaganga, probably in the first decade of his reign (1075 - 1085 A. D)" [16]

The above conclusion and the date given by Mr. Chakravarti are not proved by the epigraphical records. Full suzerainty of Choḍaganga was not established in Orissa before 1118 A. D. and his capital was not located there before 1135 A D. So the construction of the Jagannātha temple was taken up by him after 1135 A.D. and the work

10. J A S B. 1903, p 116.
11. E I Vol. XIII, p. 151.
12. J. A S B 1896, p. 240.
13. *Ibid.* 1903, p. 110.
14. J. A. H. R S. Vol. VII, p. 182.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
16. J. A. S. B. 1898, p. 331.

was finished during his life time e. g, 1145 A D. The date of the Jagannātha temple at Puri can thus be safely assigned to the middle of the 12th, century A.D.

As regards the date of the Konārka temple both traditions and inscriptions in copper plates of Narasimhadeva II to Narasimhadeva IV agree in ascribing it to king Narasimhadeva I who ruled from 1238 to 1264 A. D, and built the Konārka temple. Here also the date of the Konārka temple can be safely assigned to the middle of the 13th century A.D.

32

STUDIES IN THE TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE IN ORISSA *

1. Pre-Lingarāja Temples:

The earliest relics in art are found at the Dhauli hillock dating back to the 3rd century B. C. and the next relics in art are found in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri hills dating back to the 2nd and 1st century B C. In between Dhauli and Udayagiri — Khaṇḍagiri stands Bhubaneswar where the early evidences of the temple architecture of Indo-Aryan type in Orissa dating back to the 7th century A. D. are to be found in a large number of temples. The only exception is the flat roofed shrine belonging to Mahiṣāsuramarddinī called Sikhara Chaṇḍī temple situated on the top of the hillock called Sikhara Chaṇḍī, a few miles north-west of the village Patia not far from the Mancheswar Railway station in S. E. Rly.

The early *Rekha deula* or Indo-Aryan temples such as, the Sartrughneśvara group of temples do not possess the *mukhaśalas* or *jagamohanas* whereas the temples, such as the Kapālinī, Paraśurāmeśvara, Siśireśvara Mohinī and Mārkaṇḍeśvara all possess the *Mukhaśalas*. All these *Mukhaśalās* are oblong in design with a roof imitated from that of the thatched ones of the locality. With the exception of the Paraśurāmeśvara *deula* in which there are two entrances in to

* From the O. H. R J., Vol. XII, No. 1, 1964.



Rajarani Temple—Bhubaneswar



Mukteswara Temple—Bhubaneswar

the *Mukhaśāla*, all other *deulas* possess only one entrance in the front for entry into the porch.

Temples of this period provided with *Mukhaśālas* of the oblong type are also found at Simhanātha, situated in the bed of the Mahānadi within the ex-Baramba State and now included in the Athgarh sub-division of the Cuttack district, at Gandharaḍhi, situated in the ex-Baud State, now included in the Baud-Phulbani District on the upper vally of the Mahānadi and at Vajrakot on the right bank of the Brāhmani river, situated in the ex-State of Talcher, now situated in the Talcher sub-division of the Dhenkanal district. The *Mukhaśāla* of the Vajrakot temple has been broken. The temple of Kośaleśvara at Baidyanāth on the left bank of the Tel river in the ex-State of Sonpur, situated in the Sonpur sub-division of the Bolangir district, now broken, having a *Muk aśāla* with a flat roof and a peculiar ground plan, is a land-mark of temple architecture of the Tel valley The temple at Charadā in the Sonpur sub-division, though late, possess a *Mukhaśāla* of the Kośaleśvara type. In the interior of the Puri and Cuttack Districts there are good many brick-built temples of the Indo-Aryan style with *Mukhaśāla* also.

Temples (deulas) of the later period without *Mukhaśāla* or *Jagamohana* are found to exist at Koālo (ancient Kodālaka, situated in the Kāmākshyanagar sub-division of the Dhenkanal district),at Khiching (ancient Khijjiṅgakotta), situated in the Panchpir sub-division of Mayurbhanja district and at Baidyanāth in the Sonpur sub-division on the left bank of the Tel river, at Baudhgarh, in the Baud Sub-Division of the Baud-Phulbani District. The special features in architecture of the temples at Baudgarh are their star-shaped ground plan which is very rare elsewhere. The Biranchinārāyana or the Sun temple at Paliā, situated in the Bhadrak Sub-division of the Balasore District is of a special architectural design having four entrance doors on its four sides.

The Mukteśvara temple and the Rājarānī temple of Bhubaneswar are later in date than the Paraśurāmeśvara temple of Bhubaneswar noted above and their peculiar feature in architecture is this that these two temples possess the *Mukhaśāla* or *jagamohana* with a tower or *Sikhar* built with *Piḍha* type of roof although the *deula* or *Vimāna* is of the *Sikhara* type.

Fergusson in his *The History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* writes as follows :—

"The temple of Mukteśvara is very similar in general design to that of the Paraśurāmesvara, but even *richer* and more varied in detail and its porch partakes more of regular Orissan type. It has no pillar internally, and the roof externally exhibits at least the germ of what we find in the porches of the great temples at Bhubaneswar and the Black Pagoda".1

B The Lingarāja Temple of Bhubaneswar :

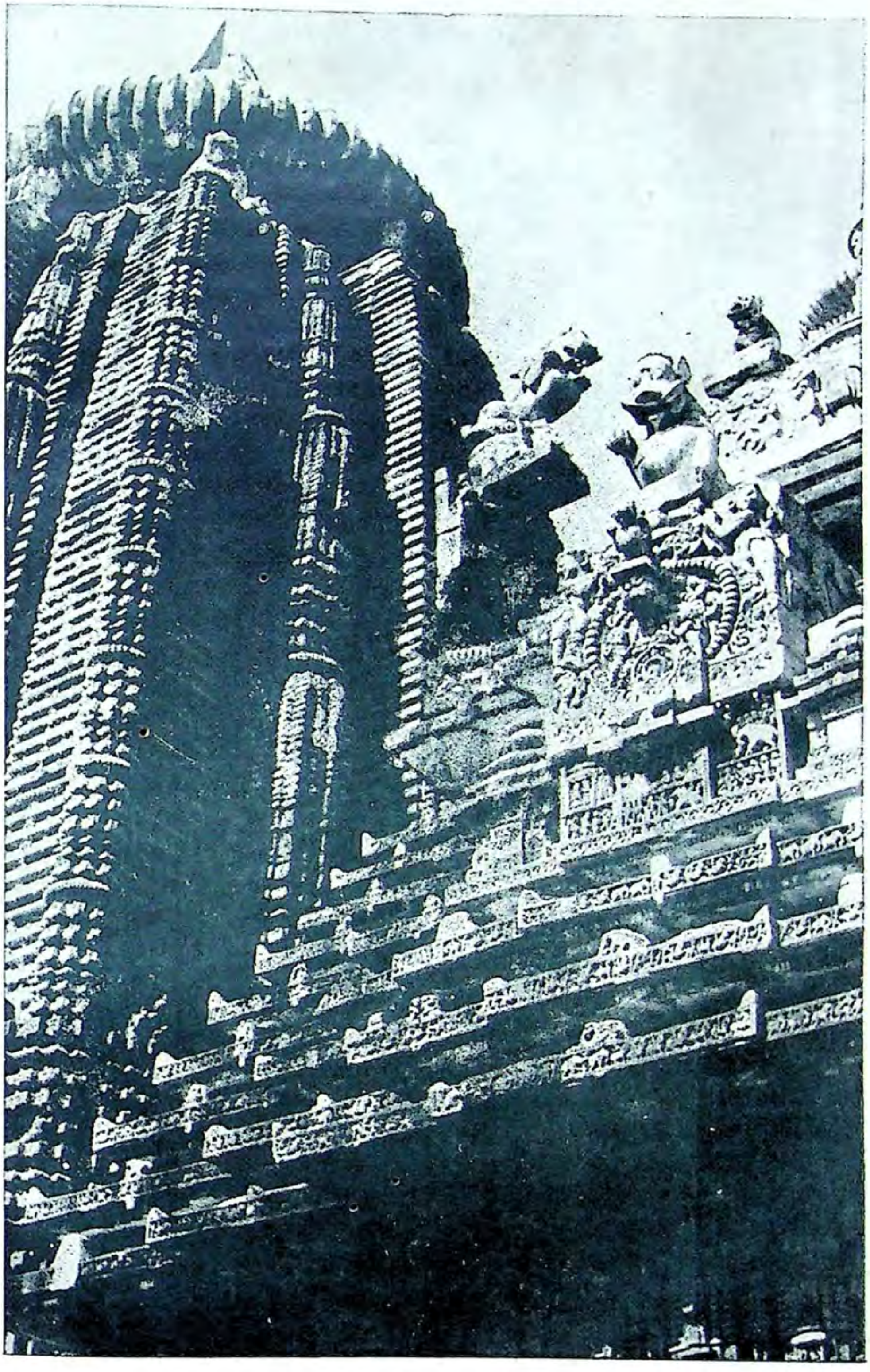
The temple architecture of the Mukteśvara at Bhubaneswar reached its elaborate feature in the middle of the 11th century A.D. when the Liṅgarāja temple with *Deula* or *Vimāna* and the Mukhaśālā or the *jagamohana* was constructed there retaining the full tradition by the architects. The architects who designed the Liṅgarāja *deula* could not concieve to design the *Mukhaśala* to be constructed simultaneously and so it was constructed after the construction of the *bada* portion of the *deula*. R D Banerji, the then Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, who was deputed in 1927 by the India Government to advise the repairs of the *Mukhaśāla* undertaken by the P.W Department of the Bihar and Orissa Government, has written the following about the construction of the *Mukhaśāla* of the Liṅgarāja temple

"The *Vimāna* of the Krittibasa possesses a single opening on the east During the repairs it was discovered that the stone door-frame from which the wooden gates are hung conceals behind it two different stone door frames, the sizes of which do not correspond. The stone lintel of the front door frame is much lower than that of the rear one, proving thereby that the *Vimāna* and the *jagamahana* were not built at the same time. When both of them were finished sufficient care was taken to finish the interior in such a fashion as not to leave any indication of the joining of the structures from the outside." 2

Although the *Deula* or *Vimāna* and the *Mukhaśālā* or the *Jagamohana* of the Liṅgarāja temple were not censtructed simultaneously, it is found that both the structures were built with a foundation

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1. James Fergusson—*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Revised by James Burgess and R. Phene Spiers, Vol. II, 1910, p. 95.
2. R.D. Banerji—*History of Orissa*—Vol. II, 1931 p. 359—60.



The Lingaraja Temple—Bhubaneswar.

of plinth built up to the ground level and the first layer of the stone of the temple was placed on it.

According to the height of the *Deula* or the *Vimana* the positions of the *Pārśvadevatās* were at a height proportionate to the structure beyond the human reach in the *Rāhapāga* and as such, it seems that, the artists carved the images of the Parśvadevatās—*Ganeśa, Kartikeya* and *Pārvati* to be viewed from the ground level. The artists of the temple had the full sense of presenting the object of art at an angle from the ground from where it looks beautiful to the eyes There is a difference in the view of an object when it is seen at the front and at an angle placed at a height. But this object of seeing the images of the *Pārśvadevatās* has been totally obstructed by the construction of the ugly looking structures in their front with crude steps serving the purpose of approach to the images perhaps for the daily worship which was not conceived by the builders of the temple.

The Brahmeśvara temple along with its *deula* or *Vimana* and *Mukhśāla* or *Jagamohana* is contemporary with the Liṅgarāja-temple with this difference that the former is a comparatively smaller one than the latter. Due to the enormous height of the Liṅgarāja *deula* or *Vimana* it has no difference in the shape of the tower or *śikhara* from that of Brahmeśvara but in the Mukhaśālā or *Jagamohana* of the Liṅgarāja, which is a *piḍha deula*, the height has necessiated a two-storey tiers with 9 cornices in the lower storey and 6 cornices in the upper storey whereas the Mukhaśālā or the *Jagamohana* of the Brahmeśvara temple has a single tier.

Like the Mukteśvara or the Rājarāni temple there was only one entrance door in front of the *Mukhaśāla* or *Jagamohana* of the Liṅgarāja temple but in the middle of the southern and northern sides of it like Mukteśvara there were two windows fitted with five stone bars carved with female figures but not with *jāli* or lattice windows of the *Mukhaśāla* of the *Mukteśvara* temple.

Andrew Stirling is the first European scholar who wrote an account of the Liṅgarāja temple as early as 1822*. After him W. W.

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* Stirling's report on *Cuttack proper or Orissa* was first published in 1822 from which a reprint was published in the Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta in 1904. Stirling's work was also published in the *Asiatic Researches* Vol. XV, in 1825.

Hunter's Orissa was published in 1872. The first scientific attempt was made by Rajendralal Mitra whose *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. I and Vol. II were published in 1875 and 1880 respectively. Fergusson's *History of India and Eastern Architecture* was published in 1876. The thoroughness with which Rajendralal Mitra studied the Liṅgarāja temple is proved from the following quotation on the opening of the southern side of the *Mukhaśāla* or *Jagamohana* of the Liṅgarāja temple :—

"I must content myself, therefore, by referring the reader to the annexed photograph of a part of the southern facade of the building (plate XXXIV). It includes the whole of the central projection of the building and portion of the side ones. The door-way in the centre seen in the photograph was originally closed by six mullion bars, each bearing the figure of a danseuse. On the north side that mullion are still *in situ* but on the south three of the bars were sometime ago, removed to form as door-way for the convenience of the priests who found the passage through the Nātamandira circuitous and tiresome.[3]

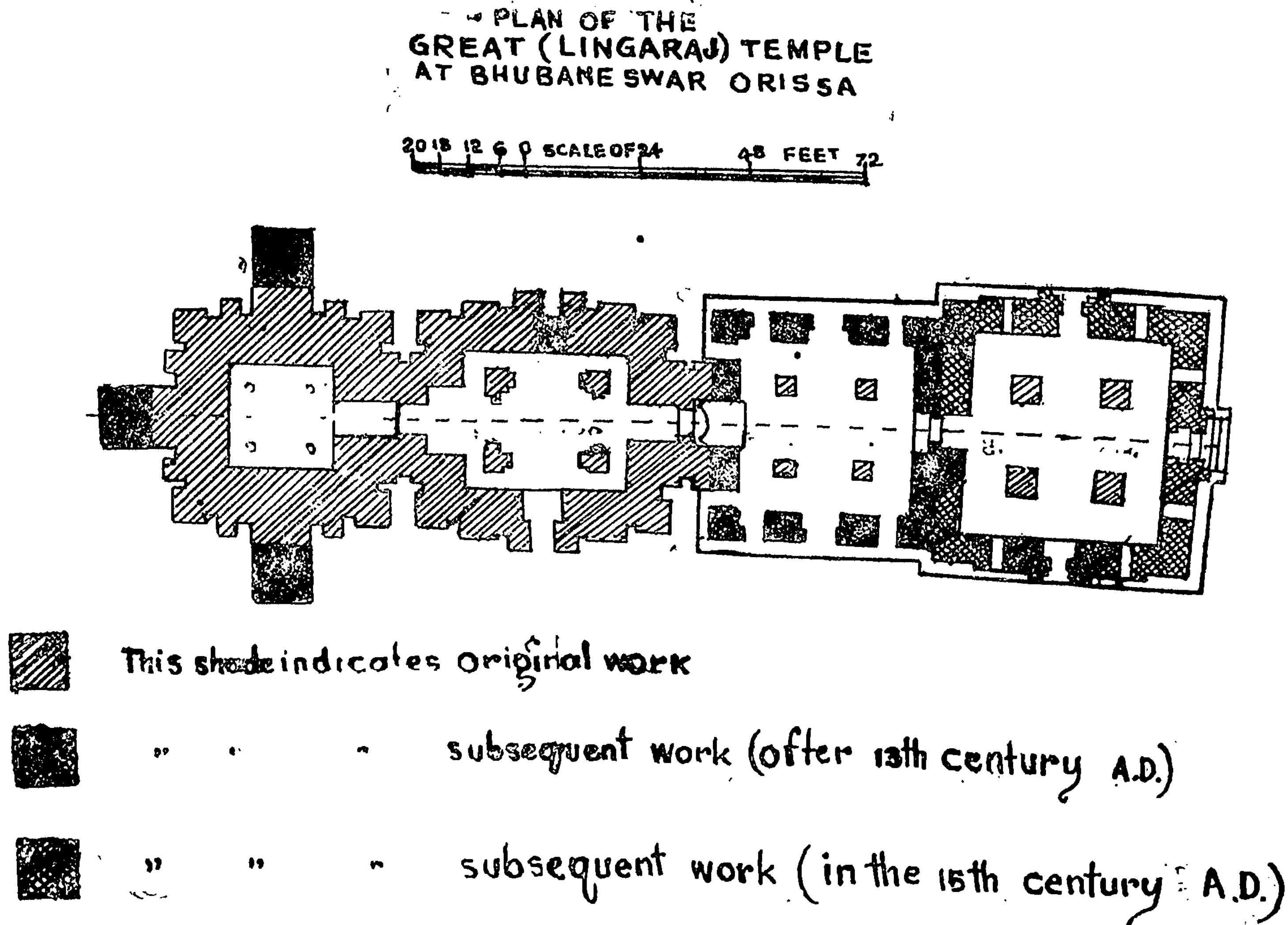
R. D. Banerji's description in this connection is quoted below :—

"There are two openings on the sides, one of which is now a door way and the other a window, closed with large pillars used as bars. Over each of the side openings there is a long bas relief. The doorway is on the south side and, instead of a *Navagraha* slab we find that this bas relief and the ornamentation over this portion are exactly the same, as on the north. These two factors prove that originally the southern opening of the *Jagamohana* was also a window." [4]

James Fergusson's *History of India and Eastern Architecture* was published in 1876 and Rajendralal Mitra's *Antiquities of Orissa* Vol. II was published in 1880, and the revised edition of Fergusson's work was published in 1910 in which there is a diagram of the ground plans of the *Deula* or *Vimana* and the *Mûkhaśāla* or *Jagamohana* marked darker in shade than that of the *Nātamandira* and *Bhogamaṇḍapa*. Below the ground plan the following is written.

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3. R L. Mitra—*Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, 1880 p. 74
4. R. D. Banerji—*History of Orissa*, Vol. II, 1931, pp. 361 - 62.



No. 8 Plan of the Lingaraja Temple pp. 296 - 311

"Plan of Great temple at Bhubaneswar compiled partly from plan in Babu Rajendralal Mitra's work, but corrected from Photograph scale 50 ft. to I in." He further writes that, "The Nāta and Bhogamaṇḍapas shaded lighter, were added possibly about the 12th century or even later "[5] In the Mitra's work the ground plan of the Lingarāja has been published in Vol. II, plate XLVIII As I have not been able to see the first edition of Fergusson's work, it seems that Mitra supplied him with a copy of the ground plan of the Lingaraja temple before the publication of his work. Mitra's plan has been published without any distinguishing shades of the earlier and later works of the 4 parts of the Lingarāja temple, but both Fergusson and Mitra have not shown the structures in front of the *Pārśvadevatas* Both Fergusson and Mitra have not shown, the entrance on the southern side of the *Mukhaśālā* or *Jagamohan* and from this it appears that they both have ignored its existence. M M. Ganguly in his work entitled *Orissa and her remains,* Calcutta, 1212 has not given any ground plan of the Lingarāja temple. Mr. Percy Brown in his work entitled *Indian Architecture* (Buddhist and Hindu Periods) 1959, has given a ground plan of the Lingarāja temple at page 85 and in the plate LXXXV*. He has used the same shade for all the 4 parts of the temple and has also shown a door on the northern side of the *Mukhaśala* or *Jagamohana* which is not actually found there. He also has not shown the stuctures in front of the Pārśvadevatās of the temple on the southern, western and northern sides of the *Deula* or the *Vimana.* I have enclosed in this paper a correct ground plan which indicates the original work as well as subsequent additions to the Lingaraja temple.

Although the knowledge of the architects in regard to the temple architecture consisting of a *Deula* and a *Mukhaśala* achieved much progress with a much bigger size in proportion in the Lingarāja temple when compared with that of Mukteśvara, there was no modification of the component parts of the temple. The architecture of the Lingarāja temple can be assigned to the middle of the 11th century A.D , the end of the second stage of the development of temple architecture, the first being the Paraśu·rāmeśvara–Mohini group of temples. The patrons fo the first stage of the development of architecture were, it seems, the

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5. J. Fergusson. Vol. II, 1910, p 99.

* As the plan by Mitra is corroborated by Percy Brown it seems that Fergusson's correction from Photograph is also incorrect.

Bhauma Kings and those of the second stage beginning with Muktesvara and ending with the Liñgarāja of Brahmeśvara were the Somakuli or Somavamsī kings whose rule was terminated during the end of the first decade of the 12th century A. D. when the kings of the Ganga dynasty became powerful in Orissa. Like the Bhaumas and the Somakulis, the Gangas were also great builders of temples. The great temples at Puri and Konārka were built by the Gangas in the middle of the 12th and 13th centuries A.D. respectively.

The construction of the *Naṭamandira* together with the structures in front of the Pārśvadevatās and the Bhogamaṇḍapa, has been discussed below under the Section E.

A few salient remarks made by Fergusson, the pioneer in the study of the Indian Architecture are quoted below on the beauty of the *Deula* and *Mukhaśala* of the Liṅgarāja temple.

" The outline of this temple in elevation is not, at first sight, pleasing to the European eyes, but when once the eye is accustomed to it, it has a singularly solemn and pleasing aspect." 6

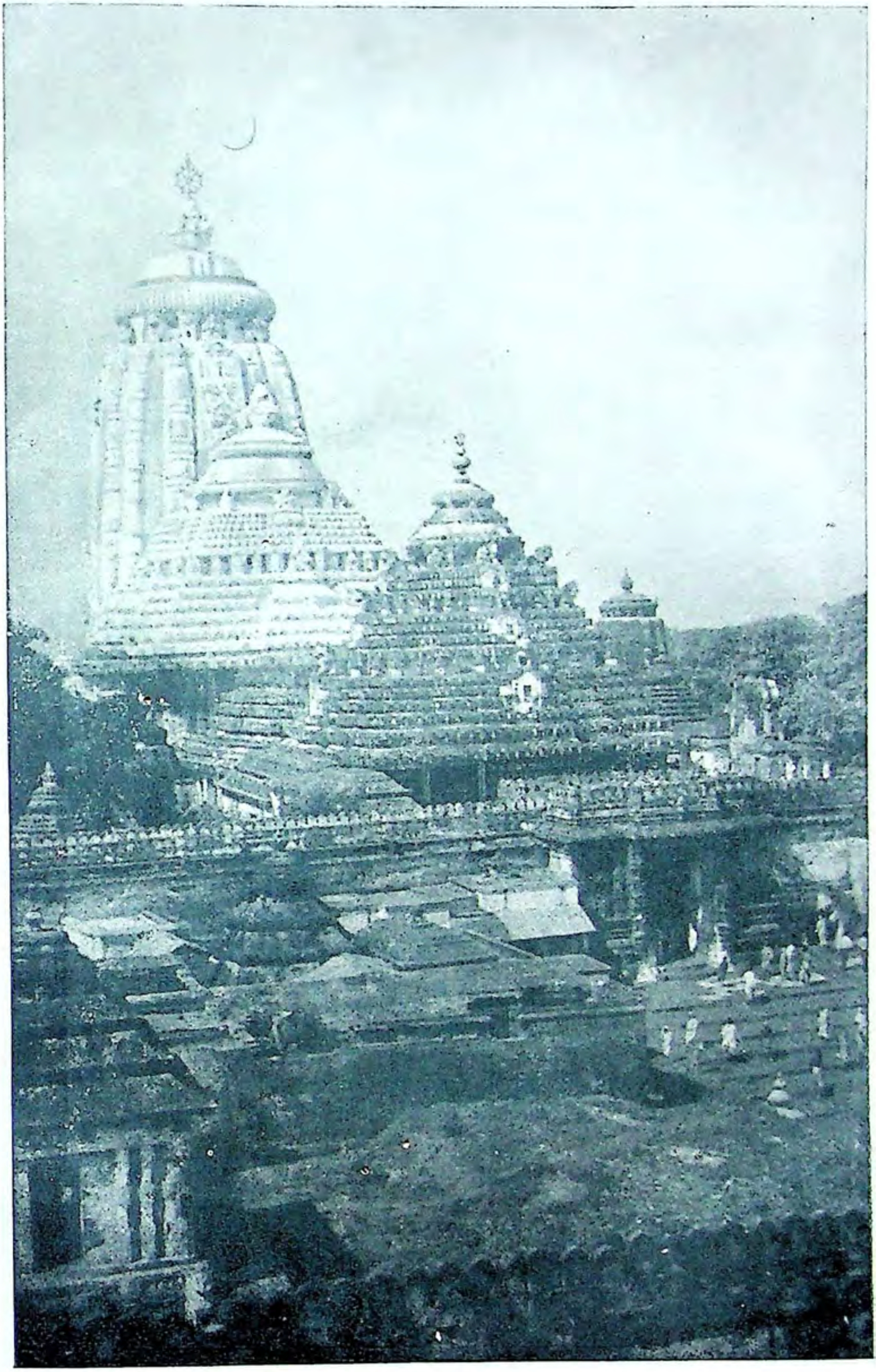
" It is not only the divisions of the courses, the roll mouldings on the angles, or the breaks in the face of the tower; these are sufficient to relieve its flatness, and with any other people they would be deemed sufficient ; but every individual stone in the tower has a pattern carved upon it, not so as to break its outline, but sufficient to relieve any idea of monotony." 7

" A week's study of the *Jagamohana* would every hour reveal new beauties." 8

C. The Jagannātha Temple of Puri :

The Jagannātha temple of Puri was built by Chodaganga Deva the first Ganga king of Orissa who occupied Orissa first between 1110 and 1112 A.D Before this date Chodaganga had no relation whatsoever with Orissa. As he ruled up to 1147, and according to some 1150 A.D., it seems that the erection of the *Deula* or *Vimana* and *Mukhaśala* or *Jagamohana* of the Jagannātha temple was completed towards the close

6. *Ibid*, p. 100-1.
7. *Ibid*, p. 101. cf.
8. *Ibid*, p. 103.



The Jagannath Temple—Puri

of his reign, e. g. approximately the middle of the 12th century A. D. This date gives a margin of difference of one century from that of the construction of the Lingarāja *Deula* and the *Mukhaśāla* at Bhubaneswar. Due to the progress of time and the change of patronage it is natural to expect a change of the Architectural design in the Jagannātha temple. So far the original *Deula* and the *Mukhaśāla* are concerned, it is not possible to visualise the exact outline of the tower of the *Deula* which has been very thickly covered with plastering, but in the *Mukhaśāla* a slight change was introduced by the provision of three entrance doors instead of one door like that of the Lingarāja, but the tower of the *Mukhaśāla* was built with two tiers like that of the Lingarāja temple. Both the *Deula* and the *Mukhaśāla* were built from a invisible foundation like that of the Lingarāja according to the old tradition. The *pārśva-devatās* were placed on the same high position in the *Rāhapaga* beyond any human reach like that of the Lingarāja. The *Sikharas* of the *Deula* and *Mukhaśāla* of the Jagannātha temple are of the same patternas that of the Lingarāja with the exception that these are higher than the Lingarāja In the *Mukhaśāla* or the *Jagamohana* of the Jagannātha temple of Puri originally there were three entrance doors—one from the north, one from the east forming the main entrance and one from the south. But now the northern entrance is totally closed due to the construction of a strong room adjoining the wall of the *Mukhaśālā* The main entrance door has also been partly encroached upon by the *Nāṭa-mandira.* The entrance door on the southern side is in the full view.

The ground plan of the Jagannātha temple was first published in 1872 by Hunter, in the *Orissa* Vol. I, p, 129. The plan was prepared by Radhika Prasad Mukherji, the then Assistant Engineer of the P.W.D. Fergusson also published the same plan in the *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* in 1876. This plan is found to be printed in his work Vol II p. 108 of 1910 Edition. In the *footnote* of page 109 Fergusson notes as follows :—

"The plan is reduced from one to a scale of 40 ft. to 1 inch, made by an intelligent native assistant to the Public Works Departments, named Radhika Prasad Mukherji and it is the only plan I ever found done by a native sufficiently correct to be used, except as a diagram, or after serious doctoring".

Rajendralal Mitra also utilised the same plan in his work. In 1912 M. M. Ganguly also utilised a plan quite similar to those mentioned above, but mention has not been made by whom it was

prepared. The speciality of all these plans is this that they have shown the position of the structures of the Parśvadevatās on the southern, western and northern sides of the *Deula* or the *Vimāna*.

Mr. Percy Brown has published the plan of the Jagannātha temple in the plate CVIII, but he has not shown the structure of Pārśvadevatās. He has assigned 1000 A. D. as the date which is incorrect.

The exterior of the *Deula* or *Vimāna* and *Mukhaśālā* or *Jagamohana* of the Jagannātha temple has been thickly plastered so that the original outline and carvings are totally obliterated from the view. The Jagannātha temple was known to the late 17th century Europeans navigators in the Bay of Bengal as the *White Pagoda* due to the white wash put on the plaster The account of the Mādalāpānji of the 16th to 18thcentury is found to be trustworthy. It records that before the British conquest of Orissa in 1803, the Jagannātha temple was plastered and white-washed four times since 1627 A. D. So naturally when Fergusson visited Puri in 1838 or near about he found nothing but towers fully white-washed Observing this whitewash and plasterings Fergusson has written as follows :—

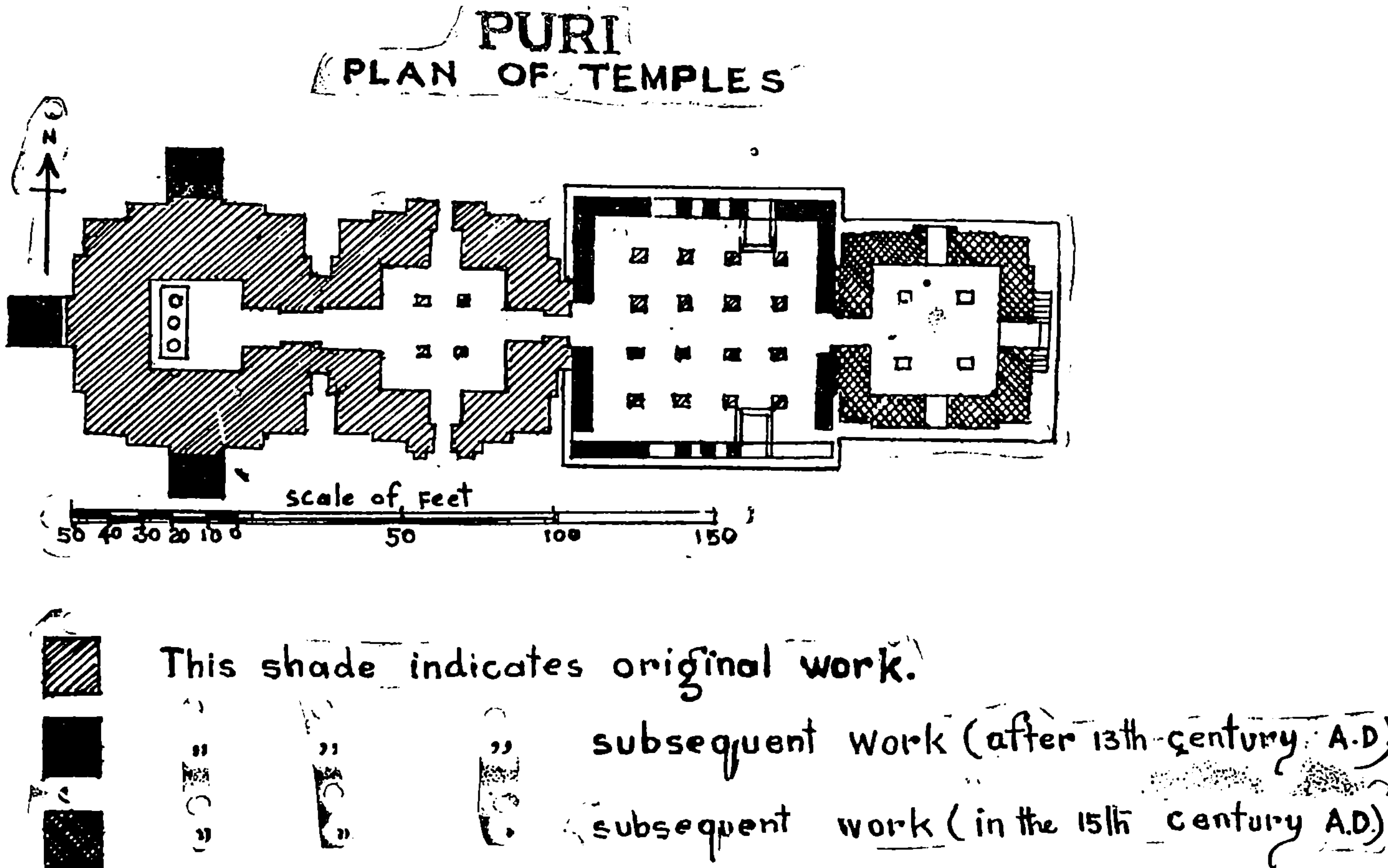
"It is not the details, which, howeve ris seriously obscured by the plasterings applied during the last two or three centuries—but the outline, the proportions and arrangements of the temple shows that the art in this province had received a downward impetus at the time".9

In his account of Konārka Fergusson has written as follows in connection with the Jagannātha temple :—

"Stirling's statement that the present edifice was built by the Raja Narasingh Deva who ruled from about 1238 to 1264 is supported by the copper plate inscriptions. † Complete as this evidence appears, one is almost tempted to question it, for the simple reason that it seems improbable—after the erection of so inferior a specimen of the art as the temple of Puri (*Circa* A. D. 1100) appears to be—the style could have reverted to anything so beautiful as this In general design

9 *Ibid.*, p. 109.

† No copper-plates of the Ganga dynasty were published before 1895. It seems that Burges introduced the last portion. Fergusson's text of 1876 has not been available to me.



No. 9 Plan of the Jaganatha Temple, Puri pp. 296 - 311

and detail it is so similar to the *Jagamohana* of the Great temple at Bhubaneswar that at first sight I should be inclined to place it in the same century; still the details of the tower exhibit a progress towards modern forms which is unmistakable. × × × Narasingh-deva must, however, have employed architects of very different tastes and abilities to those engaged a century earlier in erecting the Puri temple".[10]

The above view of Fergusson was severely criticised by Rajendralal Mitra in his *Antiquities of Orissa*-Vol.II, 1880 pp. 117-118. Mitra fully set aside the argument of Fergusson. Further Mitra proved that the tradition of art in Orissa was continuous from Liṅgarāja to the Sun temple with proportional development which was necessary in course of time. A great feature in the comparative study of the towers of Liṅgarāja and the Jagannātha with that of the Sun temple was overlooked by Fergusson in regard to the point that the tower of the *Mukhaśālā* or Jagamohana of the Konārka temple is of three tiers whereas that of the Liṅgarāja and the Jagannātha are only of two tiers which indicates the development and not the retardation of the architectural design in the temple construction.

In connection with the plastering of the Jagannātha temple, I intend to record here my personal experience. In 1927, I was curious when I missed the images of the *Aṣṭhadikpālas* on the *Deula* of the Jagannātha temple while comparing that with the Liṅgarāja temple of Bhubaneswar. On examining minutely various parts of the *Deula* I noticed small portions of carvings and I was convinced that the *Dikpāla* images had been concealed with in the plaster. At my request late Raja Ramachandra Deva of Puri ordered the removal of the plaster of the *Deula* at a spot selected by me. I selected the north-west corner of the temple where the images of *Varuṇa* and *Vāyu* are placed in the Liṅgarāja temple. My curiousity was fully satisfied when the images of Varuṇa and Vāyu were found in a good state of preservation after the removal of the plaster about one foot deep there. This exposure of the two Dikpāla images clearly proves that the Jagannātha temple is fully decorated like that of the Liṅgarāja temple or the Konārka temple.

I will discuss below in the Section E about the construction of the *Nāṭamandira*, together with the structure in front of the Parśva-

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10. *Ibid*, p. 105–106.

devatās and the Bhogamandapa of the Jagannātha temple which are subsequent additions after the construction of the Konārka temple.

D. The Sun Temple of Koṇārka.

According to copper-plate grant of the King Narasimhadeva II, grandson of the king Narasimhadeva – I of the Gaṅgā dynasty, the Sun temple of Konārka was built by the Narasimhadeva—I, who ruled in Orissa from 1238 to 1264 A.D and it is safe to assign the date of the Sun temple to the middle of the 13th century A.D Thus it appears that a period of a century elapsed between the date of the Jagannatha temple of Puri and that of the Sun temple of Konārka. During this period of 100 years no dated temple has been found in Orissa. It has been stated above that originally there was no structure in front of the *Parśvadevatā* images in the Jagannātha temple of Puri The temple of the Kākuḍiā village, situated near the road from Pipli to Khurdha-road Railway station on the right bank of the Dayā river in the Puri District, shows a structure which provides shade to the images of the *Parśvadevatā* of the temple. As no such structure is known to me at any other place in Orissa, the date of the Kākuḍia temple seems to be later than that of the Jagannātha temple of Puri and I suggest its date somewhere 1200 A D

The drawing prepared by Fergusson in 1838 and published in his work entitled, *Illustrations of Indian Architecture;* shows that the tower of the southern side of the Konārka *Deula* was still standing there more than 120 ft in height. This portion of the broken tower had fallen to the ground sometime before 1869 when Rejendralal Mitra visited Konārka.

An illustration from the *Antiquities of Orissa* Vol. II by Rajendralal Mitra shows the position of the Konārka *Deula* and the *Mukhaśala* before 1870. In this, the Konārka *Deula* is seen as nothing but a heap of sand and stones fully covered with wild creepers. After the clearance of the sand and stones, all embeded lower portions of the *Deula* and the *Jagamohana* including that of the *Natamandira* in front were brought to light.

The description of the different parts of the Konārka temple are given below :—

I. As the Sun temple was conceived to be a pattern of *Ratha*, it necessiated the provision of the wheels 24 in number representing



The Sun-Temple--Konarka

12 bright fortnights and 12 dark fortnights in a complete cycle of a year—on which the Ratha or the *Deula* and the *Jagamohana* were built. The construction of the wheels necessiated a raised platform of *pṛṣṭha* on the outer sides of which the wheels were carved. Such a high plinth *priṣṭha* in a temple architecture is entirely new in Orissa and so it is one of the special features of the Konārka temple. In the temples built subsequently to Konārka, a high plinth was an essential feature.

II The plinth consists of a stylobate, 1 foot in height, forming a pedestal of the plinth which is divided in two parts namely the lower one measuring 13 ft. 3 inches and the upper one or *Khorpṛṣṭha* measuring 2 ft. 3 inches in height. Thus the pedestal and the plinth measure 16 ft. 6 inches in total height. The 24 wheels, each measuring 9 ft. 9 inches in diameter, rest on the stylobate. 7 horses, 4 on the right side and 3 on the left side of the front staircase also stand on the stylobate The body of each horse measure 5 ft 2 inches. There are 3 flights of steps now broken, to the plinth, situated opposite to each of the 3 doorways leading to the *Jagamohana*, from the north, east and south side The *Deula* with 3 *parśvadevata* structures and the *Jagamohana* were laid out on the raised plinth leaving a berm measuring 8 to 12 ft in width, over which one can go round the *Deula* and the *Jagamohana* on all sides. The berm is a new feature in the Konārka temple.

III The next feature of the Konārka temple is its structure built in front of the Pārśvadevatas which can be easily approached by steps from both sides of the berm. Just like the pṛiṣṭha and the berm these structures in front of the pārśvadevatās are not found anywhere in the temple architecture in Orissa and hence these are new conceptions in the temple architecture in Orissa which had great influence in the subsequent period to be discussed below. These structures, in front of the parśvadevatās of the Konārka temple were not known to the scholars of the 19th censury A.D. because these were then buried in the heaps of stones of the fallen tower and sand. During the first decade of the 20th century when debris and stones were cleared, remains of these structures were brought to light. Bishen Swarup in 1910 and M. M. Granguly in 1912 have given descriptions of these structures. With the collapse of the tower of the *Deula*, the towers of these structures were also fallen leaving their floors on the level of the *parśvadevatas*. Belowe thes floors there are rooms facing outside provided with doors fitted with *Navagraha* slabs. The *Navagraha*

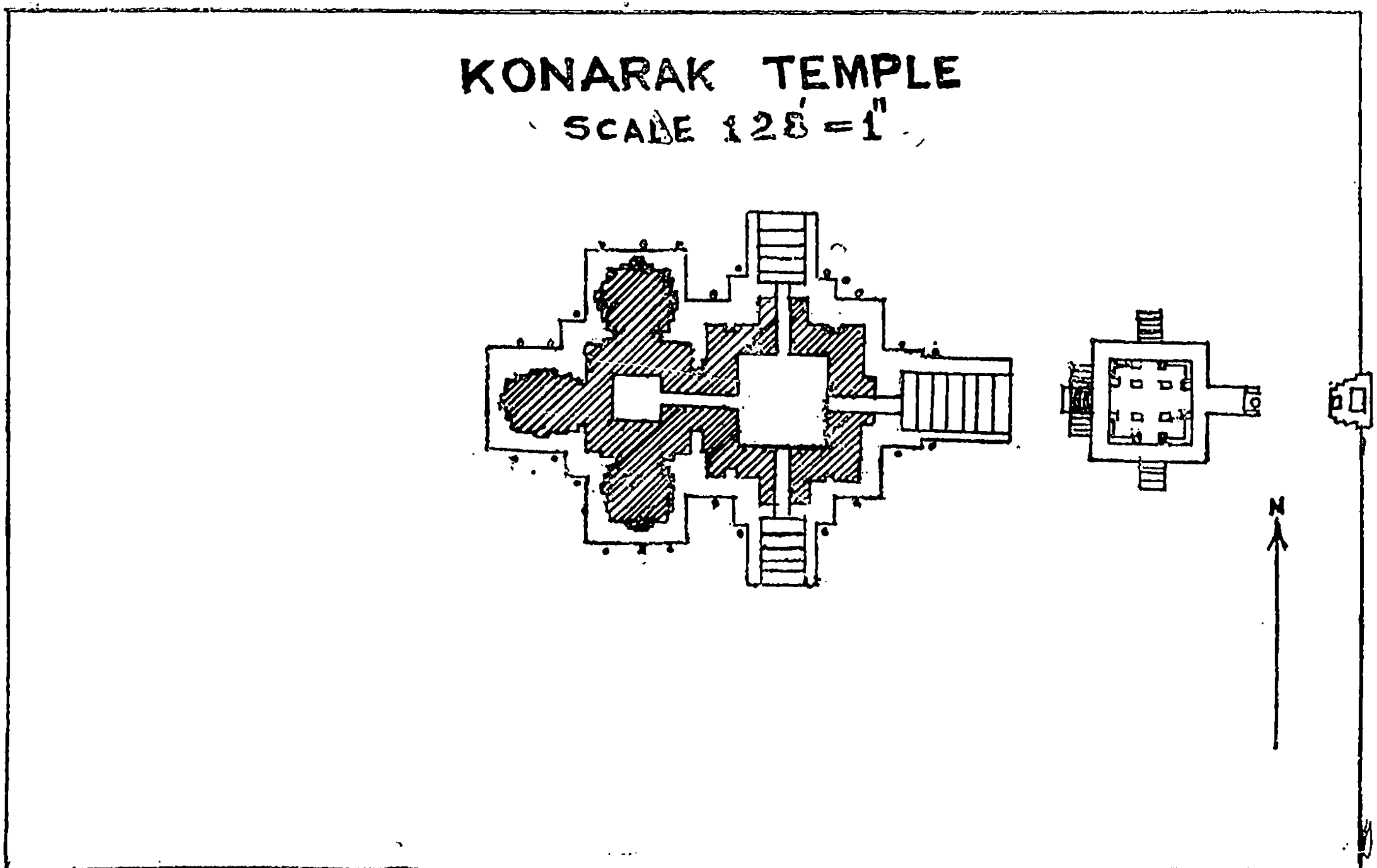
architraves of the northern and western sides are preserved whereas that of the southern side is broken due to the fall of the superstructure.

IV. With the exception of a small portion of the *Baḍa* or the shrine, the whole of the tower or *śikhara* of the *Deula* has collapsed. From the height of the *Mukhaśala* or the *Jagamohana* it can safely be said that the Konārka *Deula* was the highest in Orissa.

V. The *Mukhaśala* or the *Jagamohana* was built in front of the *Deula* as its component part. It possesses three entrance doors from outside to the interior fitted with three door jambs and lintels. There are three steps from the ground level on the northern, eastern and southern sides of the *Jagamohana* which lead to the entrance-doors. Originally on the southern entrance steps there was a pair of horses, on the eastern entrance steps a pair of Gajasimhas and on the northern entrance steps a pair of elephants on the ground level. On both the sides of the main or the eastern entrance steps there were carved 7 horses which appered as if engaged in pulling the *Ratha*. These 3 entrance doors in the *Jagamohana* of the Konārka *Deula* are similar to those of the original entrances of the *Jagamohana* of the Jagannātha temple at Puri, but the tower of the *Jagamohana* of this temple is built with 3 tiers necessary for the height of the adjoining *deula* whereas the tower of the *Jagamohana* of the Liṅgarāja and the Jagannātha temples are of two tiers and in this respect we find a progress in the conception of the architecture here. Fergusson did not notice these special features namely the three entrances and three tiers of the tower of the *Jagamohana* of the Konārka *Deula* and depending only on the decoration of the exterior of the *Jagamohana* suggested that the date of the Konārka temple was earlier than that of the Jagannātha temple at Puri which was refuted by Rajendralal Mitra.

VI. The *Aruṇa* pillar constructed in front of the Sun temple is also a special feature. Such pillars are not provided originally in front of the Liṅgarāja and the Jagannātha temples. The *Aruṇa* pillar was standing at Konārka when Abul Fazl wrote the A'n-i-Akbari. It was removed to Puri during the Maratha rule in Orissa towards the close of the 18th century A. D.

VII. The *Natamandira* with a plinth or pṛiṣṭha as high as that of the temple built in front of the Konārka *deula* is entirely a new type of temple architecture in Orissa which exercised a great influence



No. 11 Plan of the Sun Temple at Konarka pp. 296 - 311

on the temple architecture in the subsequent periods not only in other new temples, like the Laksmi temple within the enclosure of the Jagannātha temple, the Pārvati temple of the Liṅgarāja temple enclosure and the Ananta Vāsudeva temple of Bhubaneswar but also in the older temples like the Liṅgarāja and Jagannātha temples. But Bishen Swarup in his work on the Konārka, has given the name of the *Nāṭamandira* or *Bhogamaṇḍapa* but in the description he is silent about the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* the construction of which as a part of the temple was not known in the 13th century A.D. It seems that the conception of the construction of the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* is a development of the 15th century A.D. in Orissa and I have not been able to trace its source.

The ground plan of the Konārka temple was published by Bishen Swarup in 1910 and then by M. M. Ganguly, Gurudas Sarkar, Nirmal Kumar Bose and Percy Brown. In no plan the three doors of the Jagamohana were shown.

E. After the construction of the new type of architectural structures namely the *Pārśvadevatā* temples and the Nātamandira together with the high plinth in the Konārka temple, it was felt, as it seems, that such additional structures were necessary in the Liṅgarāja and the Jagannātha temples which had earned reputation and also were visited by a large number of pilgrims by the time when the Konārka temple was finished. The *Pārśvadevatā* temples of the Liṅgarāja and the Jagannātha temples clearly show that these structures were constructed long after the original temples. Although there is a raised plinth in the Konārka temple on which the *Pārśvadevata* temples were built at the time of construction of the *Deula*, construction of such high plinth was not possible at the Liṅgarāja and the Jagannātha temples and as such the *Pārśvadevata* temples were constructed with crude steps for the approach just in front of the Rāhapāga in which the *Pārśvadevatas* were placed in the temple.

Similarly the *Naṭamandira* was also constructed in front of the *Mukhaśālā* of the Liṅgarāja and the Jagannātha temples which were built on a high plinth being entirely the new structures where the architects had a free hand.

The dates of construction of the *pārśvadevata* temples and the *Nātamandira* of the Liṅgarāja and the Jagannātha temples are not known but it is certain that these structures were added after the construction of the Konārka temple built in the middle of the 13th century A. D.

In the ground plans these additions are shown in different shades from that of the *Deula* and the *Mukhaśāla*.

Fergusson rejected the traditional date of the Konārka temple on the ground of want of decoration and on the report of Abul Fazle.[11] As regards the art of the *Nāṭamandira* of the Liṅgarāja temple he wrote as follows :—

"It is elegant, of course, for art had not yet perished among the Hindus, but it differs from the style of the porch to which it is attached × ×. All that power of expression is gone which enabled the early architects to make small things look gigantic from the exurberance of labour bestowed upon them. A glance at the Nāṭamandira is sufficient for the mastery of its details".[12]

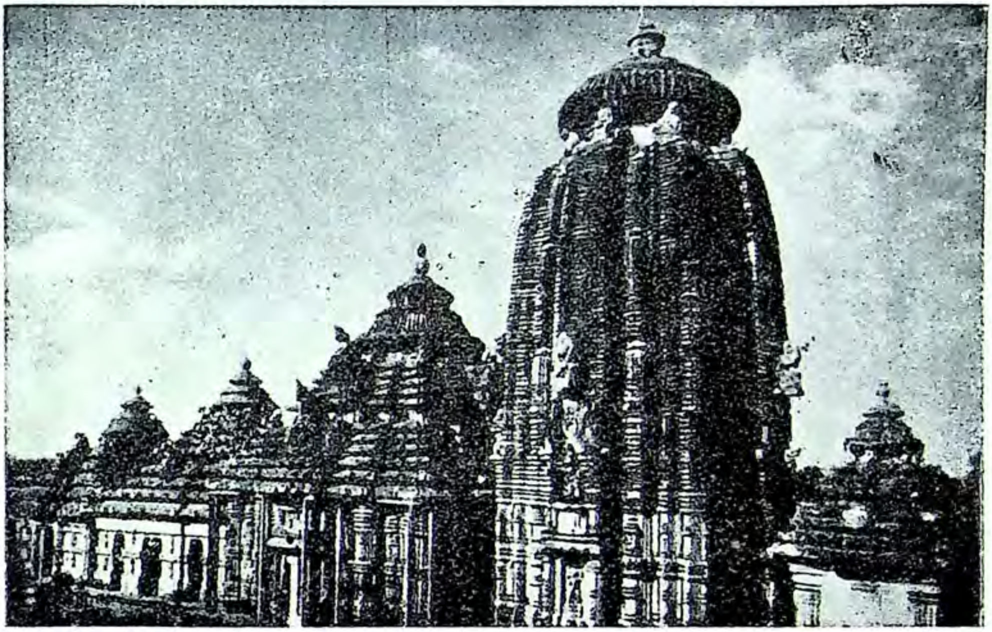
It seems that at the time of addition of the *Nāṭamandira* in the Liṅgarāja temple the southern window of the *Mukhaśāla* was converted into an entrance door by the removal of three pieces of window bars whereby a second entrance to the inside of the *Mukhaśāla* was provided. It may be recalled that a second entrance from the southern side of the Jagamohana of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple was provided at the time of the construction of the Mukhaśālā. As there were three doors from outside to the interior of the *Mukhaśāla* of the Jagannātha temple, there was no necessity for an extra door there.

According to the tradition recorded in the Mādalāpañji, the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* was added in front of the *Nāṭamandira* of the Jagannātha temple by the Gajapati Puruṣottama Deva (1467-1497 A.D.) during the early period of his rule. It seems that the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* of the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar was erected also during this period. We find at Bhubaneswar and Puri that the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* was erected on a plinth similar to the height of the Nāṭamandiras there.*

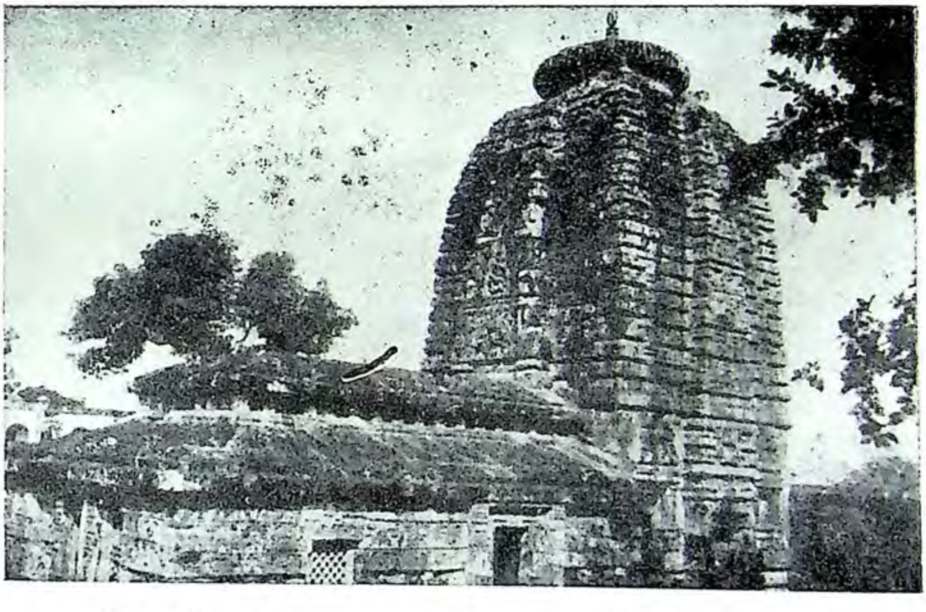
It further seems that apartments of the *Nāṭamandira* and the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* were constructed in the Lakṣhmi temple situated within compound of the Jagannātha temple of Puri and in the Parvati temple situated within the compound of the Liṅgarāja temple and also in the Ananta Vāsudeva temple of Bhubaneswar. The date of Ananta

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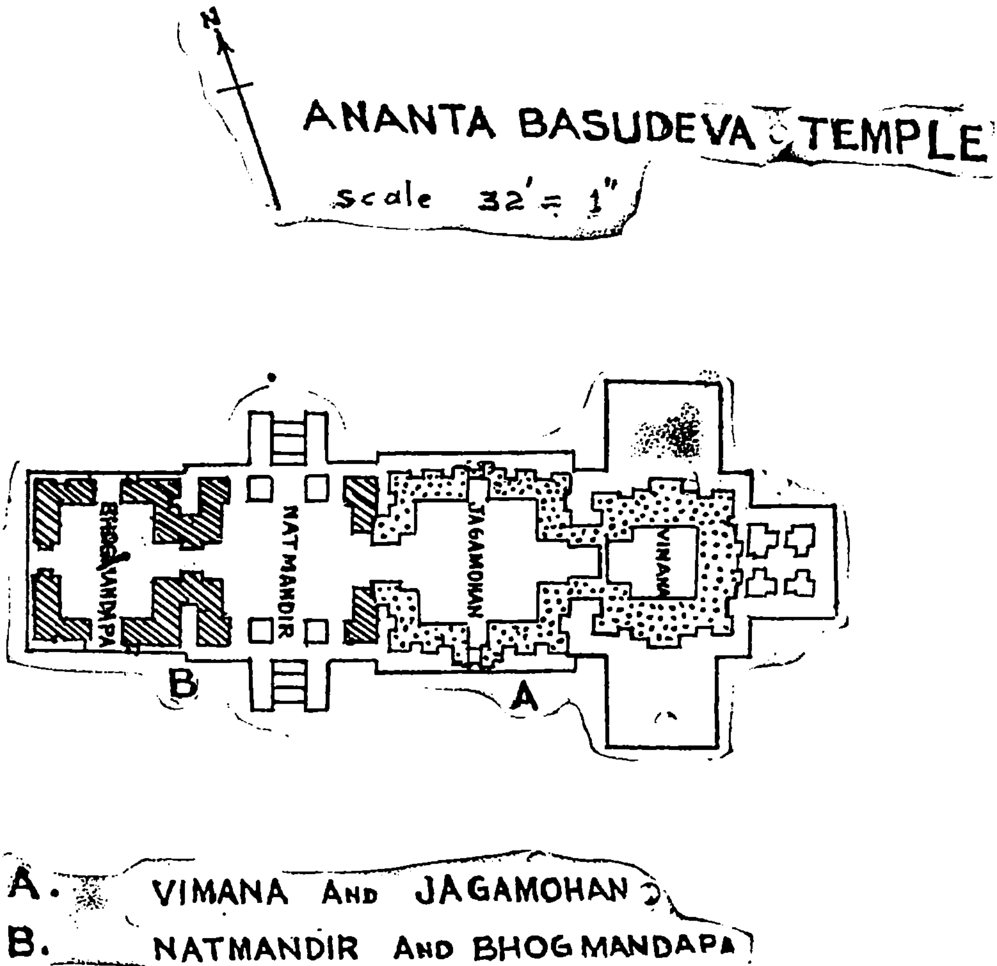
11. *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 99 and p. 102.
12 *Ibid* pp. 103.
* The spire of the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* of the Jagannātha temple is of three tiers like that of the *Jagamohana* of the Konārka temple.



The Ananta Basudev Temple—Bhubaneswar



The Parsurameswar Temple—Bhubaneswar



No. 12 Plan of the Ananta Vasudeva Temple, Bhubaneswar pp. 296-311

Vāsudeva temple is 1278 A. D. according to the inscription slab of Chandradevi. This temple possesses all the apartments of *Deula* and *Jagamohana* with the *pārśvadevatā* temples on the three sides of the *Deula*. It is only fortunate that out of the three pārśvadevatā temples of the Anata Vasudeva *Deula* only one, situated on the back of the *Deula* on the eastern side, is in perfect condition and other two are broken leaving only the bases on the plinth. Like the Konārka temple there are no side doors in the *Jagamohana* due to its smallness in size. The stones of the *Nāṭamandira* and the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* clearly indicate that their construction was made in a subsequent period about the date of which no record is available.

Thus we see the that development in the temple architecture in Orissa from a single cell chamber to four apartments was continuous for a long period from the 7th century to the 15th century A. D. Adetailed study of each apartment of different temples is as laborious as anything but the craftsmanship of the architects of each period was stamped in the monuments in its best illustrations.

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33

DIKPĀLAS AND THEIR ŚAKTIS IN THE TEMPLES OF ORISSA*

The history of temple architecture goes back at least to the period of 7th century A.D. if not earlier in Orissa. In the early period the temples called Lakshmaneśvara, Bharateśvara, Satrughneśvara and Svarnajāleśvara were constructed at Bhubaneswar. The special features of this group of temples is the absence of the porch (Mukhaśālā or Jagamohana) in the front. The temples called Paraśurāmeśvara, Vaitāla and Siśireśvara belong to a later phase of this period due to the presence of Mukhaśālās attached to them. In all these temples are found the Ashṭa-grahas or eight planetary deities in stead of popular nine ones carved on the lintels of the door frames of temples; The Navagraha slab of the Konarak temple is well known, but in early temples the planet Ketu is not included. It seems that the conception of the 9th planet Ketu in the temple architecture is a of later date. Similarly the introduction of Dikpālas in the temple architecture is also of later origin. In the Satrughneśvara temple, one of the earliest temples of Bhubaneswar, the Saiva deities are placed in the niches of 8 corners of the temple. In the Paraśurāmeśvara temple there are 8 niches which are now found empty. In absence of any sculpture there it is not safe to conjecture that the niches were meant for the Dikpālas or the cardinal deities.

The temples of Mukteśvara and Gourī in the premises of the Kedārakuṇḍa are later in date than the Paraśurāmeśvara temple. There are 8 niches on four corners of the Mukteśvara temple which are empty now, and it is not possible to suggest the purpose for which these were constructed.

Next to Mukteśvara is the date of the Rājarāṇi temple not far from it and its date has been assigned by all to 1000 A.D In this temple the 8 Dikpālas or cardinal deities have been prominently carved out according to their positions as mentioned in the lexicography of Amara or Amarkosha. From this survey it appears that no temple before 1000 A.D. was adorned with Dikpālas.

* From the O H.R.J., Vol. II, Nos. 3 and 4.

The Amarakosha contains the following verse on the eight Dikpālas :

इन्द्रो वह्निः पितृपतिर्नैरृतोवरुणोमरुत्
कुबेरईशपतयः पूर्वादीनां दिशां क्रमात् ।

In the consecutive order from the eastern quarter are to be placed Indra, Vahni, Yama, Nairta, Varuna, Vāyu, Kuvera and Iśāna.

The Pratimā-lakshana and Bṛhat Samhitā give the description of the vehicles and weapons (Ayudhas) of the 8 Dikpālas. The quarters, vehicles and weapons of the Dikpālas of the Rājarāni temple are noted below.

	Name	Quarter	Vehicle	Weapons
1,	Indra	East	Elephant	Vajra and Aṅkuśa
2.	Agni	S. E.	Ram	Akshamālā and Kamandalu
3.	Yama	South	Buffalo	Danda, Khadga, Triśula and Akshamālā.
4.	Nairta	S. W.	Human body	Khadga and Dhāla
5.	Varuna	West	Makara	Samkha and Padma
6.	Vāyu	N. W.	Deer	Chakra and Ketana.
7.	Kuvera	North	Seven pitchers	Vara and Abhaya
8.	Iśāna	N. E.	Bull	Triśula and Kapāla.

The images of the above Dikpālas of the Rājarāni temple of Bhubaneswar are in a good state of preservation and that of Varuna is a fine specimen of image-sculpture. All the images of the Dikpālas are carved out in standing postures.

The date of the great Liṅgarāja temple of Bhubaneswar has been assigned to about 1050 A.D This temple has been adorned with the 8 Dikpālas in a sitting posture. The Mukhaśālā of the Liṅgarāja temple does not possess any image of the Dikpālas from which it can be said that upto the middle of the eleventh century the introduction of the Dikpālas in the Mukhaśālā of a temple was not popular in the temple architecture.

Among the temples of Bhubaneswar, the temple of Brahmeśvara possesses an inscription which gives its date as well as the name of the builder of the temple. The name of the builder is Kolāvatī Devī, the mother of Mahārājādhirāja Udyota Keśarī, the son of Yayāti II of the Somakuli Dynasty, popularly known as the Keśarī dynasty in the chronicle of the Jagannath temple at Puri. According to the Madalāpānji,

these deities. Even in the Jagamohana of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple, the Liṅgarāja temple was built by Yayāti Keśarī. So the temple of Brahmeśvara comes chronologically after the temple of Liṅgarāja. In the Brahmeśvara temple there are Dikpālas both in the main shrine as well as in the Mukhasālā. This is no doubt a new addition to the temple architecture at Bhubaneswar.

The temple of Jagannātha at Puri constructed perhaps in the middle of the 12th century A. D. and naturally decorated like the Liṅgaraja, has been fully covered with plaster in the subsequent period. Due to the covering of the plaster the decorations and the images of the Dikpālas have been lost to the sight of the pilgrims At my request the Rāja Ramachandra Deva of Puri caused the removal of the plaster in a small place at the southwest corner of the temple and the image of Vāyu was found at a depth of 12 inches of the plaster. If the coat of plaster is removed the decorations of the walls of the Jagannātha temple will be found similar to those of the Liṅgarāja temple.

The temple of Megheśvara of Bhubaneswar is also dated by an inscription. It was built by an officer of Aniyaṅkabhimadeva during the period of 1190-96 A. D. In this temple there are images of Dikpālas. As the temple is not fully decorated it seems that its Mukhasālā was not provided with Dikpālas like the Brahmeśvara temple.

I have not noticed the images of the Dikpālas in the Jagamohana of the Konāraka temple. As the main temple is broken much below the height of the wall assigned to the Dikpālas, there is no chance of knowing the Dikpālas. The date of this temple is about 1250 A. D. and it is natural that it possessed the images of Dikpālas. I have not noticed any image of the Dikpālas meant for the great temple in the collection of sculptures from its ruins.

In 1278 A. D. Chandrā Devī, the daughter of Anaṅgabhima Deva, sister of Narasimha Deva I and aunt of Bhānu Deva I, built the Anantavāsudeva temple at Bhubaneswar. In this temple, which is in good preservation, there are images of 8 Dikpālas at the four corners over which are the images of their Saktis (female energies) in the main shrine as well as in the Jagamohana. Thus we see in this temple that a new type of architectural decoration was first introduced in Orissa.

In the Devi-Mahātmya or Chaṇḍī we find the description of Ṣapta or Ashṭa-Mātṛkās and at Jajpur and Puri we have the images of

there are Sapta-Mātṛka images on its wall. So the conception of Saktis or female energies of deities was not a new thing. Even in the Devi-Kavacha of Devī-Mahātmya the Saktis of the Dikpālas find mention as follows :

" प्राच्यां रक्षतु माहेन्द्री आग्नेयां मेषवाहिनी ।
दक्षिणे चैव वाराही नैरृत्यां खड्गधारिणी ।
प्रतीच्यां वारुणीरक्षेद् वायव्यां मृगवाहिनी ।
उदीच्यां रक्षेत्कौबेरी ऐशान्यां शूलधारिणी ।।"

Let Indrānī protect (us) in the east, the Sakti of Agnī in the south-east, Vārahī in the south, the Sakti of Nairta in the south-west, Vāruni in the west, the Sakti of Vāyu in the north-west, Kauverī in the north and Iśānī in the north-east.

In the above description we find Vārāhī or Yama-śakti having the vehicle of buffalo. The image of Vārāhī of the Sapta-mātṛkās having the vehicle of buffalo is carved with the face of a boar, but the face of Yami is of human form With the exception of this difference of the image of the female energy of Yama there is no other difference in the scripture and the sculpture of the Saktis of the Dikpālas from that of the Sapta mātrikās.

The temples called Sārī, Chitrakārinī, Yameśvara, Mitreśvara and Varuneśvara of Bhubaneswar are all later than the Ananta-vāsudeva temple and the Dikpalas with their Saktis adorn both the main shrines and Jagamohanas of this group of temples.

M. M. Ganguly in the *Orissa and Her Remains* p. 174 first discussed the importance of Dikpālas in the temple architecture of Orissa, but he did not notice the female energies of the Dikpālas.

The images of Dikpālas and their Saktis have been carved in various ways by different sculptors in a period of 500 years from 1000 A. D.

34

NOTE ON THE NAVAGRAHA SLAB IN THE TEMPLES OF ORISSA. *

In 1924 Ramaprasad Chanda, the then Superintendent of the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta first drew the notice of scholars to the names of the planets inscribed on the door architrave of the sanctum of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple of Bhubaneswar [1] It was subsequently reported by R. D. Banerji, [2] Dr K. C. Panigrahi discovered the second inscription on the graha-slab of the Satrughneśvara temple. He assigned the Paraśurāmeśvara and Satrughneśvara temples on the palaeographic grounds to the first quarter of the 7th century A. D. [3]

The *graha* slabs of the Paraśurāmesvara and Satrughneśvara, the earliest temples so far known in Orissa contain the images of 8 *grahas* below which there are inscriptions giving their names namely 1 Aditya. 2. Soma, 3. Aṅgirasa. 4. Budha 5. Bṛhaspati, 6. Sukra. 7. Saniśchara and 8. Rāhu.

In the *Navagraha pujāpaddhati* there are Vedic *mantras* attributed to the 9 planets which are found in the astrological works. I have not been able to consult *Jyotisha* belonging to Vedāṅga and so I am unable to give the date of its origin But Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-Samhita* is a dated work of the 6th century A. D and it allots one chapter each to 9 planets namely 1. Aditya, 2. Chandra, 3 Rāhu, 4. Bhauma, 5 Budha, 6. Bṛhaspati, 7. Sukra, 8. Saniśchara and 9. Ketu, Varāhamihira has allotted the 3rd position to Rāhu and the nineth position to Ketu, but now-a-days Rāhu is allotted the eighth position.

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* Read at the Oriental Conference held in Kashmir in October, 1961 and printed in the Orissa Historical Research Journal, Vol XI, 1962, No. 2,

1. Annual Administration Report-Archaeological Survey of India 1923-24.
2. R. D. Banerji,—History of Orissa, Vol. II, p. 340.
3. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol, XV, pp. 109-118.

In the Paraśurāmeśvara and Satrughneśvara temples the planet Ketu is absent and Rāhu occupies the 8th position. Although we find earlier references to 9 planets in Varāhamihira, it is not understood as to why the *Silpis* or architects of the temple deviated from the tradition of the literature or *Sastra* in these two temples of Bhubaneswar It is reported by my friend Sri Kedarnath Mahapatra, that one of the group of five ancient temples at Kualo in the Dhenkanal district dateable in the early eighth century contains a slab with eight *grahas*. This deviation is due perhaps to the astrological calculation of the period of life made according to the *Astottari* or 108 years and *Vimsottari* or 120 years. In the *Astottari* system Ketu is absent whereas in the *Vimsottari* Ketu finds a place in the list of 9 *grahas*. The conception of *grahas* in the early temples of Orissa may be due to the popularity of the *Astottari* system there. Again in the subsequent period in the Mukteśvara temple, of Bhubaneswar the date of which is generally assigned to the middle of the tenth century A. D. we find the full set of Navagrahas, the representation of which continued in the Orissan temples up to the middle of the 13th century A.D. when the Konarka temple was built.

Mrs. Devala Mitra, the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, Calcutta reports in the guide book entitled " *Udayagiri and Khandagiri*. 1960 " that in the cave of Khandagiri there are two images of Tīrthankara Rshabhanātha carved on the back wall of the cave and in the two sides of the images are carved 8 *grahas* (page 60). In the cave 9 of Khandagiri there are two chlorite images of Rshabhanātha belonging to the same art tradition as that of the images of the cave 10, the back slab of which contains Astagrahas also. The date of the cave 10 falls in the later half of the 11th century A.D. The dates of the Mukteśvara, Rajārāni and Lingarāja temples of Bhubaneswar are earlier than that of the cave 10 of Khandagiri, but the date of Brahmeśvara temple of Bhubaneswar is contemporary with that of the cave 10. The cave 10 is contemporary with the cave 11 which contains an inscription recorded in the 5th regnal year of the Somakuli King Udyota Kesarī and the Brahmeśvara temple was built by the mother of Udyotakeśarī in his 18th regnal year. The Jaina panel contains Astagrahas whereas the Brahmeśvara temple contains Navagraha It seems that Astagraha according to the *Astottari* system of calculation of Jyotisha, was popular among the Jainas, whereas the followers of the Brahmanic faith adopted the *Vimsottari* system prescribed by Varāhamihira. The Navagraha slab of the Konarka temple proves that the Brahmanic art tradition continued in Orissa much longer.

The *Gruhapujā-paddhati* gives the description of figures of each graha, the main features of which are given below but in the lithic representation we miss most of the attributes.

1. *Rabi* has 2 hands holding lotus-stalk and has a *ratha* drawn by seven horses.

2. *Chandra* has 2 hands holding a *gadā* and *Varada mudrā* and has a *ratha* drawn by 10 horses.

3. *Maṅgala* has 4 hands holding a *khaḍga*, *Sakti*, *gadā* and *Varada mudrā* and with a ram as his vehicle.

4. *Budha* has 4 hands holding sword, shield, *gadā* and *varada mudrā* with the lion as the vehicle.

5. *Bṛhaspati* has 4 hands holding *daṇḍa Akshasūtra*, *Kamaṇḍalu* and Varada mudrā with the swan vehicle.

6. *Sukra* has 4 hands holding *daṇḍa*, *akshasūtra*, *Kamaṇḍalu* and *varada mudrā* with the frog vehicle

7. *Sani* has 4 hands holding *Sūla*, bow, arrow and the *varada mudrā* with the vulture vehicle.

8. *Rāhu* has 4 hands holding sword, *Sūlas* and *varada mudrā* with the *makara* vehicle.

9. *Ketu* has 2 hands holding *gadā* and *varada* mudrā with the vulture vehicle.

The images of *grahas* carved in the Paraśurāmeśvara and other temples are small ones and those at the sides of the Jaina Tirthankaras are smaller still. In the representation of the Navagraha in a slab nearly 20'×4'×4' of the Konarka temple which is the best specimen of its kind, we find that with the exception of *Rāhu* all the other eight *grahas* are in the human forms having 2 hands each, all seated cross-legged excepting Ketu. The image of *Rabi* holds two lotus stalks but those of *Chandra*, *Maṅgala*, *Budha*, *Bṛhaspati*, *Sukra*, *Sani* and *Ketu* show varada mudrā in their right hands and hold a vase in the left hands. The image of Rāhu is represented by his head, his right hand holding the crescent of the moon and the vase in the left hand. In the iconographic representations we miss plurality of hands, in cases of *Maṅgala*, *Budha*, *Bṛhaspati*, *Sukra*, *Sani* and *Rāhu* and so also

weapons and vehicles in all the 9 cases. Ketu has no legs and it sits on the coil of a serpent. The face of Rāhu is hideous and that of Bṛhaspati possesses long beard. All other grahas have got cleanly shaved faces,

35

CHRONOLOGY OF THE ANCIENT ART OF ORISSA

I

The ancient art of Orissa is divided into architecture and sculpture with the inclusion of paintings, decorative motiffs and designs familiar to the creativeness of the then artists. The earliest specimen is the front part of an elephant carved on the top of the Rock-edicts of Asoka at Dhauli dating back to the 3rd century B. C. This piece of solitary specimen of the Maurian art in Orissa establishes the capability in carving the life sketch in stone by the Orissan artists of those days.

The next in importance are the caves of the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills not far from Dhauli and Bhubaneswar. The caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri belonging to the 2nd and 1st centuries B. C, furnish us with evidence that the art in Orissa was then in a thriving condition. In these caves we find the capability of artists in carving out caves from solid rocks. Most of the caves are even well-decorated with human sculptures combined with animal and plant life. Very little comparative study of these sculptures and designs has been made with other contemporary monuments like Bharhut and Sanchi. These caves were meant for the Jaina mendicants and such early art of the Jaina sect is rare else where in India. No trace ef Fuddhism or Brahminism is found anywhere in the caves of these two hills.

From the lst century B.C to the 5th century A.D. we have not got any specimen of art in Orissa. This long absence of artistic work has been a problem to historians as well as to archeologists. The darkness of history is faintly brightened by the Bhadrakali temple inscription belonging to the 3rd or 4th century A. D. Near about 15 miles s. w. of Bhadroka in Gandibedha were found coins bearing the inscription of

Nanda and the design of a bull on the reverse which contribute a very meagre idea. Similarly the find of a large number of copperKushan Coins is in no way helpful. But the rock paintings of a procession followed by the king on the elephant at Sitabinjhi in the Keonjhar District dispels the darkness to some extent of the period and establishes that the trend of art in Orissa was not interrupted.

II

Then again we are plunged into darkness for a period of two hundred years upto the middle of the 7th. century A.D Although there are good many copperplates of the later half of the sixth century, no monument or temple belonging to the period has been brought to light. This dark period in Orissa is the most prosperous one in the history of India for development of culture representing the literature,art architecture and sculpture of the Gupta age. Yuan Chuang during his visit in 630 to 42 A. D came to Orissa and refers to buildings and sculptures in the port of Chelitolochei, but the identification of this port has not been made as yet. The Archaeological relics at Jajpur, and Cuttack hills called Ratnagiri, Udayagiri and Lalitagiri and Bhubaneswar go te prove clearly that the descendants of artists of Orissa were capable of producing objects of art to their best ability after imbibing the spirit of the Gupta art from the North.

The artists as a rule depend on the patrons who employ them and with the continuous works they find scope for maintaining the culture and high ideals Towards the middle of the 7th century or in the beginning of the 8th century A. D. a powerful dynasty of rulers called the Bhaumas ruled in Orissa who were more or less tolerant towards ·Brahminism although they were followers of Buddhism. During the period of rule of these rulers, Orissa was lucky enough to have in possession of a large number of temples and stupas decorated with sculptures. The period of rule of the Bhauma kings roughly continued for 300 years from the middle of the 7th century A D. and that of their successors,the Somakuli Keśari kings for 150years after the Bhaumas. During this period the division of art into architecture and sculpture became very conspicuous and we may safely say that this is the most glorious period in the history of Orissa The practice of religious faiths of Buddhism and Brahmanism and even Jainism was followed according to texts of Sanskrit works of Yoga and the artists while carving sculptures were also fully imbibed with the

idea regarding the posture of deities in yogāsana in which the position of the eye in the sculptures was copied from the living yogis. So the Bhauma art in Orissa is the product of the post Gupta art in India.

With the rise of the supremacy of the Bhauma kings extending over an area from Midnapur in the North to Mahendragiri in the south comprising the hilly tracts of Orissa upto Baud and Sonepur, the country of Utkala had a stabilised administration for a period of at least 200 years from 700-900 A. D. It is the general rule that while peace and tranquility prevail in a country, the people find opportunity in developing the objects of art and science.

The geography of Orissa divides the country into regions having isolation due to intervening hills as well as association due to connecting rivers, and this environment gave rise to the local groups or schools of art with some distinct features in each group or school So far these local schools are known, such as :— (1) Jajpur, (2) Cuttack hills (3) Bhubaneswar Puri and Konarka, (4) Khiching in Mayurbhanj, (5) Baidyanath and other places in Balangir, (6) Bhimkanda, Sarang, Kualo, Vrajrakot etc. in the Talcher area of the Dhenkanal District All these local schools did not develop at the same time in the centres noted above The first flow was perhaps in the coastal tracts and the second one in the hilly tracts towards the close of the period as is evident from the workmanship of temples and sculptures found in those regions.

Jajpur was the centre of culture as it was the capital of the Bhauma kings. It is not known how many temples and stupas were there, but the remains of the past indicate that there were numerous temples and stupas there. The prominent faiths were Buddhism and Saktism. The Matrika images of Saktism are the best specimens of Indian art. The chisel of the artist has brought the life-like shape to the imaginary images of the Goddesses. As all the Matrika images are carved in the Mugni stones, the sculptors had the advantage of carving delicate details in the hard substance. At a glance of these images the observer is at-once struck with the artistic sense of roundness, naturally associated with the beautiful female form. If the sculptor had not been the master artist, it would not have been possible to carve out such images with natural expressions. Like the images of the Matrikas of Jajpur, there are a set of Matrika images at Puri. These images of Puri are further developed by the

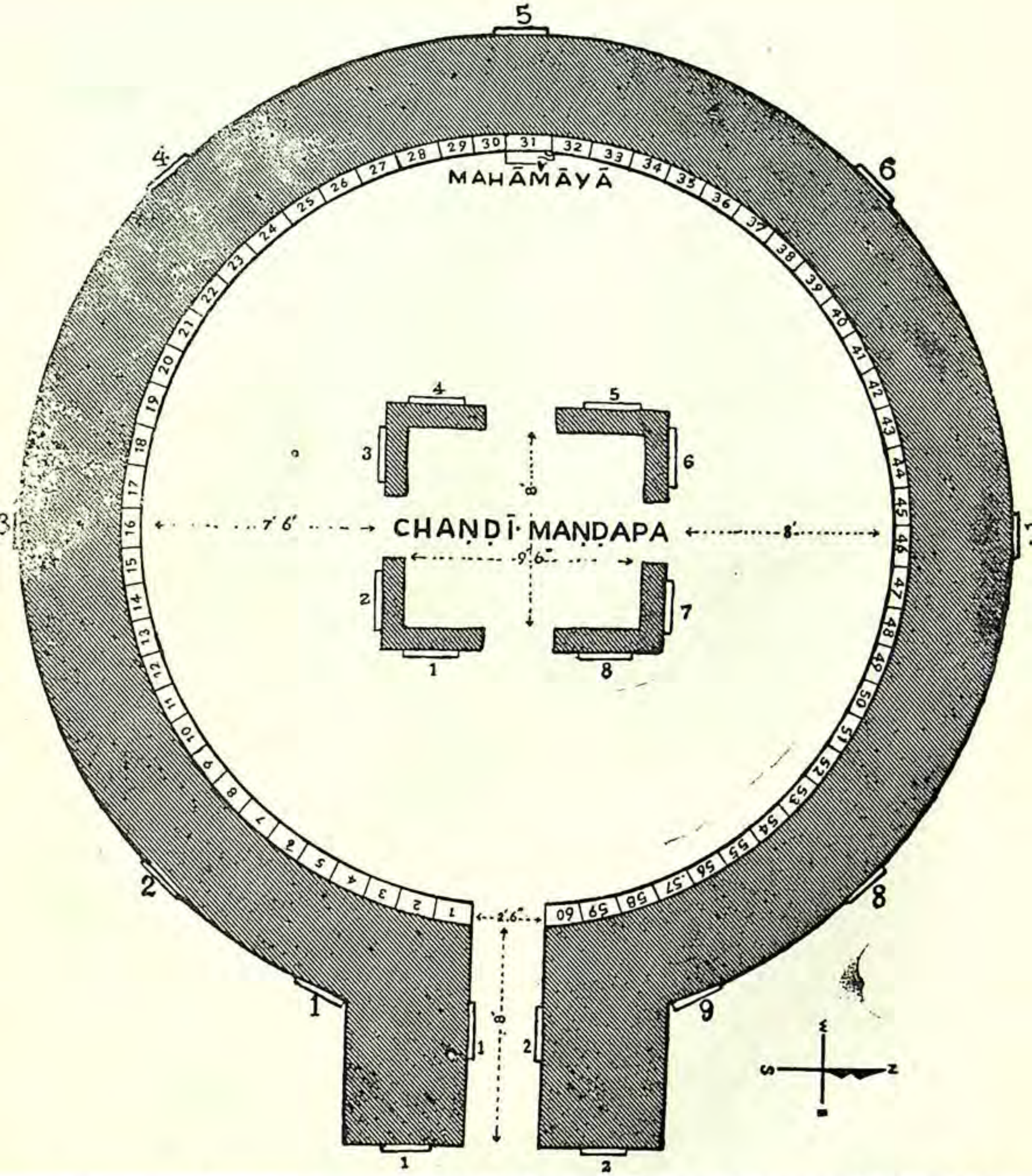
artists as we find in their facial expressions as if they are lost in meditation like the images of the Cuttack hills.

The colossal image of Padmapani at Jajpur seems to be the result of competitive activity of the Mahāyāna Buddhism with Saktism. This image unfortunately has been badly damaged and not yet completely restored. The pedestal and the lower part below the knee are missing. When complete it was an image of about 22ft. high and as such it was the biggest image of the Buddhists in Orissa.

At Khadipada on the left bank of the Vaitarani at a distance af about 8 miles N. E. from Jajpur, there was a Bhddhist site containing a good many Buddhist images. One of them contains the inscription of Santikaradeva of the Bhauma dynasty.

About 20 miles south of Jajpur are situated the famous ruined Buddhist centres in the Cuttack hills, known as the Ratnagiri, the Udayagiri and the Lalitagiri These hills are included in the Asia range of hills of the Cuttack district. The history of these hills is not well known. The recent excavation at Ratnagiri carried by Srimati Devala Mitra, the Superintendent of Archaeological Department, Eastern Circle is expected to throw more new light on their history. All the three hills are mines of relics of the Buddhist Art. The Buddhist stupas are no more than heaps of brick ruins, the sculptures are abundant every where The sculptures of the hills are carved in the locally available stone called Khandolite. The images of the three hills one very life-like The image of Vajrapani from Lalitagiri is so perfect in execution that its photograph appears to be that of a living man. The dual attributes of Vajrapani—firstly a devotee himself and secondly a God to the worshippers appear to have been successfully carved out by the sculptor. The eyes of this image are half shut and fixed at the tip of the nose and from this posture it appears that the God is engaged in meditation, but at the same time the position of the hand shows that he is also busy in bestowing *abhaya* (protection) to the worshippers. The facial expression of these sculptures is in harmony with the bodily form. In a word, it may be said that liveliness and spontaneity of expression are the special features of the sculptures of the Cuttack hills from which they spread to other parts of Orissa.

Neither at Jajpur nor at Cuttack hills we have got the complete shape of the architecture of the monuments in which these



No. 14 Circular Temple of Sixtyfour Yoginis at Hirapur Page - 323

sculptures were enshrined or decorated. But we are lucky to find a good number of earlier temples of this period preserved in a far better way which furnish us both the outward and inward form of architecture along with divine, human and animal forms of sculptures and decorative motiffs. The sculptures however at Bhubaneswar rank secondary in importance to the architecture and inspite of this, in sculptures of Bhubaneswar we find the influence of the Cuttack hills very clearly. The form of temple architecture at Bhubaneswar is unique in India and we do not find any such temples elsewhere.

At Bhubaneswar the Sikhara of the earliest temples is well developed, but there is no such temple in which the Sikhara is flat like that of the Gupta temple at Bhumra, There is a tiny little temple called Sikhara Chandi on the top of a hillock near Patia about 8 miles north of Bhubaneswar. The roof of this temple is a flat one and the back slab containing the image of Mahishasuramardini forms the back wall of the temple. The image is earlier than the Matrikas at Jajpur.

Among the temples of the earlier period of Bhubaneswar are the Lakshmanesvara, the Bharatesvar,the Satrughānesvar. the Svarnajāles-vara which have no mukhasāla in front of the Vimānas; but the Parasurāmesvara, the Sisiresvara, the Vaitala, the Mārkandesvar and the Mohini possess Mukhasālas. The temple at Simhanātha in old Baramba state (now in the Cuttack district) situated on an island in the bed of the Mahanadi, the temple of Vajrakot in old Talcher state (now in the Dhenkanal district) and the twin temples of Gandharadhi in old Baudha state (now in the Phulabani District) are architecturally similar to these temples of Bhubaneswar.

After this phase of architectural development in temples, we find only the Muktesvara temple at Bhubaneswar which is perhaps a work of the last decades of the Bhauma period. There is a Chaushasthi Yogini temple at Hirapur at a distance of two miles as the crow flies from Bhubaneswar to the east which though architecturally different, is sculpturally similar to Muktesvara. The temple of 64 Yoginis has a circular wall which bends inwards at about 10ft. high with an entrance in front There is a square structure in the centre The deities are arranged in different niches on the inner as well as the outer walls. The 3 temples (3 out of 4) with a star shaped ground plan at Baudgarh and the temples at Khiching belong to this period with this difference that the temples at Baudgarah and Khiching have no Mukhasālas. The

sculptors at Baudgarh and Khiching fully assimilated the workmanship of Bhubaneswar or that of the sea-board districts of Orissa. The temple of the Sun-God at Palia near Bhadrakha is a peculiar one of this period having four doors on four sides in which is enshrined a sun God with four faces. The two Anantasāyī Vishnu images in the upper valley of the Brahmanī in the old Talcher area are also to be assigned to this period. One of them at Bhimkand measures 42'-3", the other at Sarang five miles from Talcher town measures 49'-10" The vitality and expression of the sculptures of these two images at once astonish the visitors. The image at Bhimkand is better preserved as it was carved out of a sand stone rock only exposed to weather, whereas that at Sarang is carved out of a rock on the bed of the Brahmani river, the floods of which year after year pass over it, some times covering it fully with sand.

The Temples of the Tel valley or of the Balangir district possess the *Sikhara* similar to those at Buadgarh and other places The well preserved temple at Charda is a later type of structure than that of Vaidyanath and Patnagarh, but its *mukhasala* is a prototype of that of the Vaidyanath temple which is an earlier one In these temples the architecture of the Mukhasālā is a unique feature inOrissa.The Mukhasālā at Vaidyanath is in a very dilapidated condition and its original *Vimana* is lost The Mukhasālā is built with a flat root with an intricate ground plan with four pillars on a square base in the middle and the inner side of the wall of theMukhasālā and the pillars are fully decorated with life-like figures of Brahmanic Deities. The styles of sculptures are different from those found in other parts of Orissa. It is unfortunate that the temples of this style at Patnagarh and Belkhandi are not only in ruins, but totally changed by modern structures. There are some ruins of temples including a temple for 64 Yoginis at Ranipur-Jharial which may or may not be of this period.

At Khiching in the Mayurbhanj District the Bhanja rulers built their capital and they were also patrons of art. All religious faiths thrived there. Their date may be assigned to the early part of the 10th century A, D when the art of temple building in other parts of Orissa was very popular and every where a *Jagamohana* was added to the *Vimana*. But the artists and patrons did not follow the established path and not only erected temples without *Jagamohana* but adorned the temples with sculptures both divine and human following the principle of the artists of the early Bhauma period. The artists of

Khiching were very lucky that they got the best *muguni* stone with which they built temples as wellas the sculptures and other decorations.

From the copper plate grants of the Bhanja kings of northern Orissa issued from Khijinga kota (modern Khiching) we find that they were the worshippers of the image of Hara and actually this image of Hara with two attendants was found from the ruins of the temple. We have got a large number of Siva Linga temples all over Orissa and even at Khiching there are too many. It is not understood what was the urge for the patron to build the image of Hara for his worship. This question is yet to be solved. While making images the sculptors usually pay more attention to finishing the upper part carefully and leave the work of the lower to the assistant sculptors The best peculiarity of the art of Khiching is that even a small decorating image has been executed with full care of modelling the lower part Iconographically the image of Hara with his two attendants called Chanda and Prachanda is rare in India.

Towards the close of the Bhauma period in the sea-board districts of Orissa especially in the Cuttack and Puri districts, due to want of stone, the people started building Indo-Aryan style of temples with bricks Even at Ratnagiri, Udayagiri and Lalitagiri people used bricks for building stupas although the stone blocks were abundant there

III

Towards the middle of the 10th century A.D the Somakulī Keśarī kings became the rulers in Orissa. It is presumed that they occupied the whole area of the Bhaumas Their period of rule ended in 1111 A. D. and their ruling period may be calculated only for about 150 years There is no doubt that the early Keśarī kings namely Janamejaya and Yayāti were great builders of temples. According to the Madalapanji, Janamejaya established himself at Chowduar and Yayāti Keśarī at Jajapur and Bhubaneswar At Bhubaneswar Yayāti Keśarī built the great Lingarāja temple. The Brahmesvar temple inscription records that queen Kalavatidevi wife of Yayāti II and the father of Udyota Keśarī built the Brahmesvar temple. This contemporary inscription and the comparative study of the temple architecture of Brahmesvar and the great Lingaraja leaves no doubt that Yayati II of the Somakuli Keśarī dynasty is the builder of the Lingaraja temple. In the early Bhauma temples at Bhubaneswar we first find the Aṣṭa Grahas (eight planets) excluding Ketu and the names of the planets are

inscribed in the temples of Lakshmanesvar and Parasuramesvara at Bhubaneswar with contemporary letters. In the Muktesvara and other temples of the subsequent period we find the 9 planets or Navagrahas. Inclusion of Ketu in the list of planets is certainly a subsequent thought.

In the temples of the Bhauma period, we do not find the Asṭhadikpālas but we find them first at the Rajarani temple in the standing posture. The Rajarani temple is a work of the Keśarī period. The decorations of the dikpālas in the Lingarāja temple and in all subsequent temples indicate that those works were done during the Keśarī period A few temples of the Kesari period are in existence, but the Lingaraja surpasses all in height and grandeur indicating the vitality, courage and culture of the artists and their patrons. It is only a matter of regret that they have not left any record behind to satisfy our curiosity. The three niche images of the Lingaraja temple, Ganeśa Kārtikeya and Pārvatī are colossal ones and show the sculptor's great ability in his profession.

The Somakuli Keśarī kings were ousted by the Gaṅga king Anantavarma Choḍagaṅga Deva of the Gaṅga dynasty of Mukhalingam in about 1111 A. D. His inscription in the Lingaraja temple of the year 1112 A.D. shows his supremacy over Orissa. According to the tradition recorded in Madalāpānji, the Jagannātha temple at Puri was built by Anaṅgabhīma Deva (1212-1238 A.D) and the Konārka temple was built by his son Narasimha Deva 1 (1238-1264 A.D.) But recently the discovery of the Dasgoba and the Nagari copper plates have proved it conclusively that the Jagannātha temple was built by Choḍagaṅga Deva before his death in 1147 A.D. The Dasgoba copperplate was issued by the grand son of Chodaganga in 1198 A D, and the Nagari plate was issued by Anangabhima Deva in 1230 A D. These two copper plates and all subsequently issued copperplates upto Narasimha Devā IV, mention that Chodogaṅga Deva was the builder of the Jagannātha temple at Puri. Thus its date may be fixed sometime between 1135-45 A.D. The copperplates of Narasimha Deva II the grand son of Narasimha Deva I mention that Narasimha Deva I built the Konarka temple during his reign So the date of the Konarka temple may be fixed between 1250-62 A D.

The Jagannātha temple was fully decorated like the Lingaraja or the Konarka temples but cover of plaster of 12 inches or so in a subsequent period has distorted the outward form of the Sikhara as

well as the vertical portion of the walls. The Jagannātha temple has Dikpālas similar to those of the Lingarāja, but their existence there was not known upto 1927 when at my request the late Raja Rama Chandra Deva of Puri got the plaster removed by employing masons and the images of Varuṇa and Vāyu were visible in similar postures to that we find in the Lingarāja temple. Similarly many decorated temples in Orissa have lost their architectural beauty by plastering in subsequent times by the unskilled repairs.

As the Jagannātha temple built sometime in 1140 A. D. has been fully covered with plaster, it is unfortunate that we have not got any other temple for comparative study of the development of art and architecture from the time of Liṅgarāja to that of Kanarka. Moreover the Sikhara or the Vimāna of Konarka is gone. But in the Jagannātha temple we find that the niches for the Pārśvadevatās are within the walls like the Lingarāj, whereas in the Konarka there are separate small size temples with approaches from the ground, out side the main walls. This is a new addition to the Architecture of the temple at Konarka. The Gopīnātha temple at Kakudia seems to have been built after the Jagannātha temple for the reason that it has got pillars with a projection at the base and a structure for shade at the top. It seems that this small structure developed fully at Konarka for the shelter and worship of the Pārśvadevatās. Such structures in the Lingarāja and Jagannātha temples were built after the Konarka temple.

The other important variation is the raised plinth both for the Vimāna and the Jagamohan at Konarka which we miss at the Jagannātha and the Lingarāja temples. The date of the Ananta Vāsudeva temple at Bhubaneswar is 1278 A. D. and thus its date is not far from that of Konarka Both the builders were brother and sister. So what we miss at Konarak we find in the Ananta Vāsudeva where again the female energies of the Dikpālas, find place in the temple niches

As regards the sculptures from Lingarāja to Konarak we find the same spirit of the artists of the Bhauma and the Keśarī periods, who were cleverly adopting the posture of yoga. In the Lingarāja the Dikpāl Varuṇa is found carved out in such a way that its vehicle is in motion, but the deity sits on it in a yogāsana with half shut eyes. Similarly at Konarak we find the rider the Sun-God sitting on the running horse in a dhyāna posture.

The Konarak temple is the climax of development of art and architecture of the Oriya artists of the middle of the 13th century A. D. After this the Oriya artists built temples with intricacy of ground plan from Pancha Ratha to 11th or 13th Rathas which has made the śikhara almost circular in appearance, but it seems that their activity was stereotyped having lost the spontaneity of workmanship.

IV

After the Gangas, the Suryavamśi kings came to be very powerful in Orissa and they extended their territory far and wide. But they never attempted to build temples like the Jagannātha or the Konārka. It is attributed to king Purusottama Deva that he added two new structures in architecture called Nātamandira and Bhogamandapa to the Jagannātha temple. The workmanship of the Bhogamandapa of the Jagannātha temple shows the deterioration of art in the 15th century A. D. It seems that two similar structures were added to the Lingarāja temple during this period. The addition of these two structures has modified the surrounding of these two temples to a great extent. After this the Orissan temple is said to possess 1. Vimāna, 2. Jagamohana, 3. Nātamandira, and 4. Bhogamandapa.

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NOTES ON THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES AND TEMPLES AT KHICHING

The exploration of Archaeological remains at Khiching goes back to 1837 when Lieutenant Tickell visited the place soon after the formation of Kolehan in the District of Singhbhum. Tickell wrote a Memoir on *Hodesum* (improperly called Kolhan) in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1840 pp. 706-709. In this Memoir he wrote as follows :—

"In none of these places could I perceive inscriptions of any kind, and I cannot here avoid expressing a regret, that my ignorance

of Indian antiquities prevented my throwing any light on the history of these truly interesting relics;— Interesting, as being situated in such unknown wilds, as indices of the entire revolution that has taken place in the political history of the country, and as proofs of these untrodden jungles having once been the seat of opulence, industry, and power, so utterly decayed, so long departed, as not to have left a record behind."

From the above it is clear that in the middle of the 19th century people clearly forgot the history of Khiching.

In 1871 two copper-plate grants belonging to the Bhanja kings of Khijjinga Kotta were published in the said Journal, but the editor failed to throw any light on the Archaeological remains of Khiching. In 1875-76 Beglar, an assistant of Cunningham, the then Director General of Archaeology in India, visited Khiching while surveying the Archaeological remains in the hilly parts of Orissa, but he too did not throw any light on the history of the place.

In 1905-06 Maharaja and Ruler Sri Rama Chandra Bhanja Deo established the department of Archaeology in Mayurbhanj State and N. N. Vasu was appointed as the State Archaeologist. Credit goes to Vasu that he identified Khiching with the Khijjnga-Kotta and excavated few mounds, outside the Thākuranī compound.

The Thākhrānī of Khiching is called Khichingesvarī and is the patron deity of the Bhanja rulers of Mayurbhanj. In the Sanands issued by the Bhanja rulers of the 17th and 18th ceuturies A.D., she is used to be invoked in each Sanad along with Jagannātha by each ruler.

In 1922 late Maharaja Purnachandra Bhanja Deo requested the Director General of Archaeology in India to depute an officer to fully explore Khiching. Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, the Superintendent of the Archaeological section, of the Indian Museum, Calcutta visited the place in the winter of 1922 and submitted a report to the Director General of Archaeology stating that the sculptures of Khiching belong to a new school of Art in Orissa. The Maharaja of Mayurbhanj then arranged to excavate the Thākurānī's compound under the supervision of Rai Bahadur Chanda. Sri P. Acharya had the opportunity of wroking under Rai Bahadur Chanda during the winter of 1923. When the broken images were pieced together, many important deities were identified, chief among which is the image of Hara with two attendants

Nandi and Vringi. The copper plates describe the Bhanja rulers as "Haracharanārādhana-kshayita-pāpa" eg., "one whose sin has been washed away by the worship of the feet of Hara." The worship of Siva in the form of Linga is very common, but the worship of Hara in the human form as a cult image is very rare. The identification of Hara of the copper plate grants of the 10th and 11th centuries A. D. with this image was very significant for the date of remains of Khiching. The Archaeological Department of Mayurbhanj was established in 1924-25.

After the excavation it was decided by the Maharaja to preserve the image sculptures and decorative stones of the broken temple in a Museum. The Museum building was completed in 1928 when the sculptures were arranged in the Museum.

While the Archaeological works were going on it was observed that unless the temples, which were then standing in a dilapidated condition were protected, they would collapse like the temple of Hara. Sri P. Acharya, the State Archaeologist dismantled the temples of Chandraśekhara and Kutaiturḍi and restored them from the bottom to the top. After the restoration of these two temples H. H. Maharaja Sri Pratap Chandra Bhanja Deo of Mayurbnanj decided to restore the broken temple of Hara for the use of the Thākurānī. The broken temple was so badly damaged that even its ground plan was disturbed. The State Archaeologist and of his assistant late S. P. Bose were able to find out the ground plans by piecing together the original stones and then the reconstruction was on easy matter. In 1942 the reconstruction of the temple was over and after consecration of the temple by His Highness the Thakuranī was enshrined there. The majority of sculptures arranged in the Museum were originally used in the temple in their respective places.

While the reconstruction of the temples was going on some Archaeological sites at Khiching were excavated and studied. The most important site is Biratgarh which was fully covered with sal jungle. The excavation brought to light many antiquities from brick buildings which are exihibited in the Museum. The discovery of real Kushan coins pushes its date to the 2nd century A. D. or a little later.

From the study of cult images of Khiching it is found that Brahmanism including Saivaism, Saktism, and Vaishnavism, developed

at Khiching side by side with Buddhism and Jainism. From this existence of different religious cults at Khiching it appears that the Bhanja rulers were tolerant in religious affairs of their subjects although they were followers of the Brahminical faith.

The peculiarity of sculptures of Khiching which was styled by Rai Bahadur Chanda as a local school of Art has been described by Rene Grosset of the Museum Gemme of Paris as the *Mayurbhanj school of Art* in his work, the *Civilisation of the East.* Dr. Stella Cramrisch has also described the art of Khiching as a separate branch of the Orissan schools of sculptures.*

37

REPORT ON THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORATION IN TALCHER.

Valantine Ball of the Geological Survey of India visited Talcher in December 1875 and found a palaeolith at Kusramunda on the 11th, December, 1875 and in his '*Jungle Life in India*' pp 507-8 he writes as follows :—

" December 11th. Kusramunda :— To-day I found an ancient stone implement of the chipped quartzite type very similar to a form of which great numbers have been found in Madras. Subsequently I met with a few others "

From his note published at pp 122-23 in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1876 and the plate I of the App.B.of the Jungle Life in India, I was interested to see the site called Harichandpur in Talcher. I left Baripada on the 16th. Feb, 1949 for Cuttack where I met Mr. Samuel Das, the Chief Administrator of merged States of Orissa and Mr. Das was very kind to give me a letter to Mr. Durga Prasad Tripathi, the Administrator of Talcher. I left Cuttack in the morning of the 18th. February for Talcher by train and arrived there at noon. I met Mr Tripathy who was very kind to arrange a Jeep for my journey to Harichandpur on the 20th. morning At Talcher I met the Ruler of Talcher and he was pleased to suggest that I should see

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* Report written by the author on the 13th, Nov, 1956.

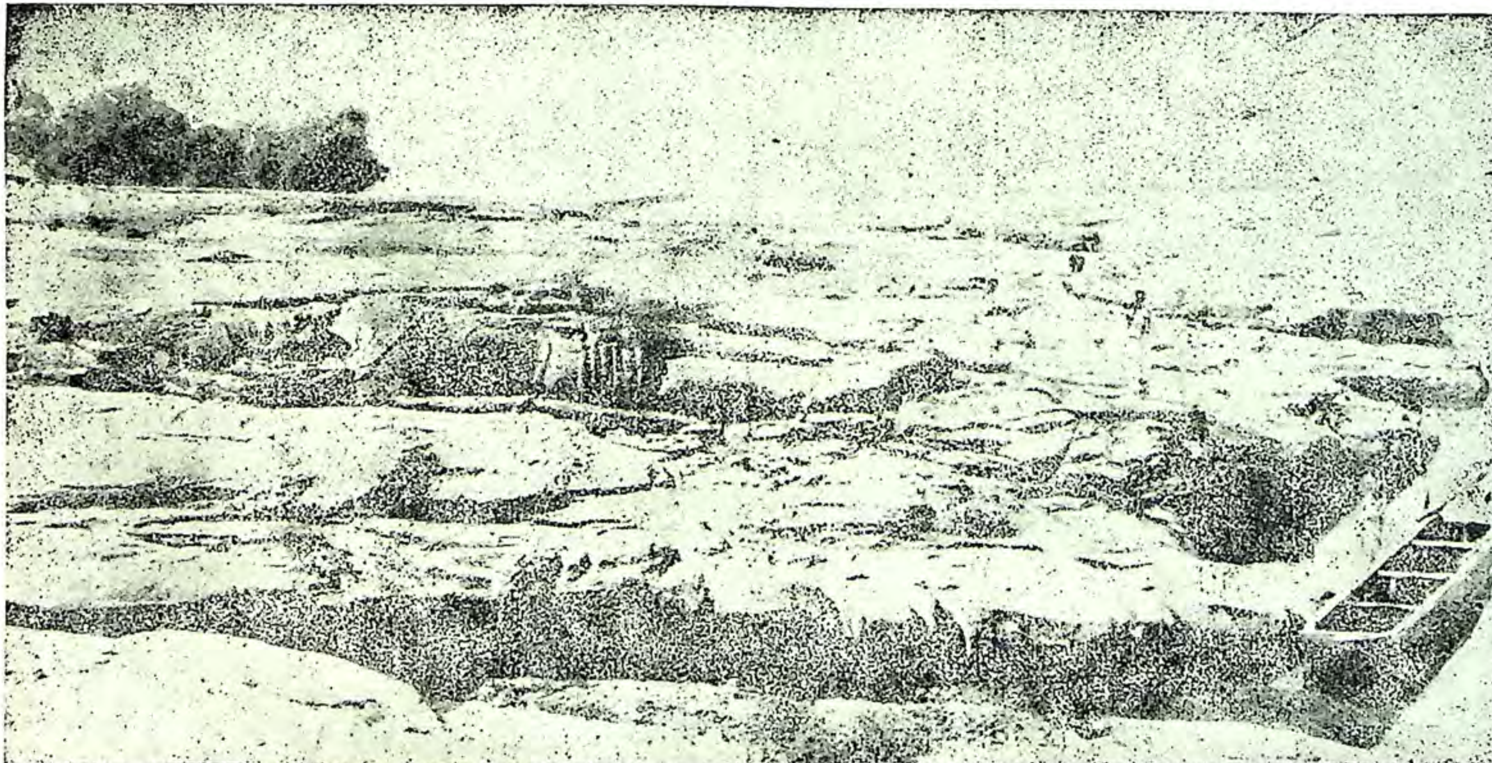
Balangi, and Bhimkand which are on the way to Harichandpur and also the temple at Vajrakot from Kaniha.

I left Talcher at 8 a. m. On the way at Balangi 12 miles N. W. of Talcher I found a modern Siva temple, but on the wall of this temple there is an image of Siva in the posture of Yoga. It is an image with two hands and the workmanship is very fine. The date of the sculpture may be 8th or 9th century A D. The iconographic peculiarity of the image is rather rare to my knowledge in Orissa and the image can be mistaken for that of a Dhyānī Buddha if one overlooks the vehicle the bull and the third eye on the fore-head.

At Bhimkand situated at about 18 miles N. W. of Talcher after crossing a jungle of shrubs one meets with a sand rock adjoining the paddy fields to its west and north. On the northern side of the rock is carved out an image of Vishnu in a sleeping posture. The image sleeps on his right side for which two right hands are not carved. The image measures 41 feet 6 inches from top to toe. The waist measures 6 ft on its exposed side. The measurement from the right shoulder to the left one is 8 feet.The head measures 4 feet 6 inches from the forehead to the chin. The measurement of the left hand from the elbow to the tip of the finger is 12 ft 6 inches. The diameter of the Chakra is 4 feet. The length of the Gada is 5 feet. The measurement of the legs from the knee to feet is 11ft Each foot measures 4ft. 4 inches. The palm measure 5 feet 10 inches.

The proportions of different limbs to the body of the image appear very beautiful to the eye. The style of the sculpture appears to be very natural inspite of the hugeness of the image and the image can be assigned to the 8th or 9th century A.D. from its natural softness of execution.

This image lies on the right bank of the Brahmani river which flows at a distance of about one mile, but the image of Vishnu carved out of a similar rock measuring abot 49 feet lies at Sarang on the exposed rock in the bed of the river. I saw the image in October 1946 but on this occasion it was covered with the sand of the river. The village Sarang is situated on the left bank of the Brahmani, quite opposite to the temple of Paschimeśvara on the Talcher side at a distance of about 2 miles from the Talcher garh. At Paschimeśvar there is a sitting image of Dhyānī Buddha which is built with several pieces of stones. Such images built with more than one piece of stone are



No. 15 Anantasayi Vishnu image at Sarang Page - 332

common at Udayagiri not far from one of the branches of the Brahmani in the Cuttack District

Carving out of an image of 41 ft. 6 inches in length with due proportions ofthe limbs is no doubt a bold conception on the part of the sculptor. As there are two such unusually big sculptures in the Brahmani valley, it seems to me that this area was once inhabited by highly civilised people.

The Puri District possesses all the three big temples of Orissa which are works spreading over a period of two centuries from 1050 A.D., but the Talcher State possesses two colossal images which were left unknown till now so to say. The great image of Gomtesvara on the Dodda-betta hill in the Mysore State measures 57ft in height and the is bigggest free standing image of India, but the image of Vishnu at Sarang is the largest sleeping image in India and stands second in measurement to the Gomotesvar image of Mysore.

From Bhimkand I went to Vajrakot which is situated at about 32 miles from Talcher on the right bank of the Brahmani. Tradition has it that Vajrakot was the capital of Jita Raja. The word Jita is a apabhramśa of Aditya and the Kshatriyas of Aditya family were once ruling in Manbhum area. The Kshatriyas of the Pāla family are the rulers of Pal-Lahara State since centuries past. So long no epigraphic record is found, it is unsafe to accept these traditions as true.

At Vajrakot there stood a large number of temples, which is proved from the stone blocks of temples scattered all over the village. Fortunately there stands only one temple of Siva Vringesvara The temple is of the Paraśurāmesvara style, but Paraśurāmesvara has got a developed Jagamohana in its front, whereas the Vringeśvara temple had a pillared hall in its front quite detached from the temple. The door frame is very prominent with various designs. There is one Dvārapāla with a female attendant on each jamb The images of the Gangā and the Jamunā are carved not on the jambs, but on the front wall out side the jambs. The workmanship of these sculptures of the Gaṅgā and the Jamunā is very excellent and reminds one of those of the post-Guptà period. On the lintel there are 8 images of celestial planets instead of Navagrahas of the Hindu Astronomy and it is remarkable that the first one is Surya holding two lotuses but the other six images are of one type. The last one

is that of Rāhu shown with its bust only. The temple has three Pārsvadevatās namely Ganeśa on the south, Kārtikeya on the west and Mahishāsuramardinī locally known as Vringesvarī on the north. The image of Ganeśa possesses some peculiarities which are not met generally, the main peculiarity is its sitting posture. The temple is sparingly decorated.

Near the Upper Primary School there stand two jambs with a lintel. The decoration of the jambs and the workmanship of the Dvārapālas are of the same style as that of the Vringeśvara temple. This temple had a porch or a pillard hall.

The remains of Vajrakot are very interesting as they are now situated in such unknown wilds which was the seat of opulence and power in the days of yore.

In this connection, I like to deal about the Archaeological remains at Khiching in the Vaitarani valley, at Vajrakot in the Brahmani valley and at Bauda garh in the Mahanadi valley of Orissa. Khiching, Vajrakot and Bauda Garh are in no way geographically connected with each other, but the temples without porch of these places establish a connected link of the civilisation that once spread in these hilly parts of Orissa.

It is a matter of regret that famous Antiquities like the Anantaśāyī Vishnu images at Sarang and Bhimkand, the Vringesvar temple at Vajrakot situated in the Brahmani valley were unknown to the world of scholars as yet. The Antiquities in the upper and the lower valleys of the Brahmani river indicate the existence of such relics in the middle portion of the valley in the area of Dhenkanal which is surrounded by hills like the upper one.

On my way back I visited Harichandpur from Kahnia, the headquarters of the Kahnia sub-division The formation of the soil is mainly laterite. From the jungles I collected a few pieces of Palaeoliths On enquiry I came to know that villagers find Chadaka Pathara from the fields and so Harichandpur is also a Neolithic site. In 1875 V. Ball collected only a single piece and in 1949 I collected during my short search about a dozen and it is hoped that many more can be found by thorough search.

38

CUTTACK AND ITS MONUMENTS *

(a) A Short Historical Account of Cuttack

Cuttack, the capital of the Province of Orissa, is situated in Lat. N 20° 29″ and Long. E 85° 56″. The town of Cuttack stands at the apex of the delta of the Mahanadi, the great river of Orissa. The town extends from the Mahanadi on the north to the Katjuri on the south and covers an area about four square miles. The Railway line is the base of the triangle of the town of Cuttack with the Mahanadi and its first branch the Katjuri on the right as two other sides. The situation of Cuttack on a tongue of land near the bifurcation of the mahanadi was commanding in various ways to be fit for the capital of a Province in bygone days. The scenery of the town on its south, west and north is very lively due to appearance of forest clad hills on the far off horizon on all the three sides as far as the eye can reach, and this pleasing prospect of the town gives a permanent impression on the mind of the visitors. The geographical position of Cuttack as a town at the bifurcation of a river is unique in India, where all big towns are generally situated at the junction of two rivers which was called in Sanskrit *'Pattana'*. The geographical situation of Cuttack is such that it served as the only narrow strip for the land route through the country and as such people coming from the north to south or from south to north had no other alternative but to cross the Mahanadi at or near Cuttack. The hill ranges to the west and wide rivers to the east of Cuttack exclude all possibility of the alignment of the high way from north to south and it seems that the Nanda and Maurya kings of Magadha had to cross the Mahanadi at or near Cuttack and the same route was traversed by Kharavela at the time of his Magadha campaign. Neither the Dhauli rock edicts of Asoka nor the *Aatigumpha* inscription of Kharvela mentions any high way from Kalinga or Orissa to Magadha. The route of communication

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* Vide 'ORISSA REVIEW' – Vol. VI, *Orissa Monuments Special*, 1949, published by the Public Relations Department, Government of Orissa.

from the Central India lay through the valley of the Mahanadi and terminated at Cuttack.

On the north and south of Cuttack are situated respectively the sites of Chaudwar and Sarangarh where there are ruins of big forts, the fort of Chaudwar lies on the left bank of the Virupa, and that of Sarangarh on the right bank of the Katjuri which branches off at Naraj where the Mahanadi first emerges from its rocky bed to the alluvial plains. Although the geographical position of Cuttack is favourable for commercial and traffic points of view since time immemorial, there is no evidence to prove its antiquity belonging to the Maurian period and several centuries afterwarsds of the Indian history.

The word CUTTACK is an Anglicised form of the Sanskrit word KATAKA which signifies seven different meanings out of which the two noted below namely (1) the "military camp" and (2) "the fort or capital or the seat of the Government protected by the army" are applicable here. According to the MADALAPANJI. the chronicle of the Jagannatha templeat Puri, recorded by Stirling as early as 1822, "it was one of the five KATAKAS † or capitals of Gangeswar Deo, the second Prince of Ganga Bansa line, and is still distinguished as Katak Biranasi or Benares, by which name also it is mentioned in Ferishteh's History of Bengal, and the "Ayin Acberi".[1]

There is absolutely no evidence on the foundation of the Cuttack town, but according to the tradition recorded in the Madala-panji, it was the work of the Kesari dynasty. Stirling on the authority of the Madalapanji and other sources writes that "Raja Nirupa Kesari, a martial and ambitious prince, who was always fighting with his neighbonors, is said to have first planted a city on the site of

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† Elsewhere at pp. 71 Stirling writes that Gangeswar Deo the Ganga king "had five Katakas or Royal Metropolises. viz. Jajpur Chaudwar, Amarvati, Chatta or Chatna and Birannasi, the modern Cuttack." In a manuscript of the Madalapanji the names of five Katakas namely (1) Jajpur Kataka, (2) Chhatia or Amaravati Kataka, (3) Chaudwar Kataka, (4) Baranasi Kataka and (5) Saranga-garh Kataka are mentioned. Stirling omitted Sarangagarh.

1. Stirling's Orissa, Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta 1904, pp. 18,

the modern Cuttack, about A. D. 989. The reign of Markat Kesari was distinguished for the construction of a stone revetment, or embankment faced with that material (probably the *ancient* one of which the remains are yet to be seen), to protect the new capital from inundation in A. D. 1006".[2]

The modern researches on the inscriptions on the Somavamsi or Somakuli kings have conclusively proved that the tradition of the Somakuli kings gave rise to the origin of the Kesari dynasty of the Madalapanji. The last king of Somakuli dynasty, was defeated by Chodaganga, the first king of the Ganga dynasty, during the first quarter of the 12th century A. D.

Stirling writes :—

" No information whatever is aforded as to the origin and pedigree of the Princes called the Keshari Vansha or Kesari Bansha. The founder of the new dynasty was Jajati (Yajati) Keshari, a warlike and energetic prince, but who he was or whence he came we are not apprized. He soon cleared his dominions of the Javanas who then retired to their own country. His Court was held at Jajapur where he built a palace (Nour) and Castle, called Chaudwar, or Mansion with four gates " [3]

From the above traditions we got Jajapur and Chaudwar as the places where the Kesari kings established court or the fort. On the other hand the copper plate inscriptions state that Mahāsivagupta Janamejaya,the first king of the Somakuli dynasty came from Dakshina Kosala and established Vijaya Katakas or the victorious camps. His son was Māhasivagupta Yayāti. Tradition no doubt has made a confusion in the order of line. There is a tradition at Chaudwar that Janamejaya of the Pauranic tradition performed the snake sacrifice there. So we may accept that Jajpur and Chaudwar were the places of residence of the Kesari kings. From the copper-plate inscriptions of the Somavamsi or the Somakuli kings we know that there was a place called Yajātinagara on the Mahanadi and the Madalapanji mentions also Abhinava Yajātinagara. If Yajātinagara is to be identified with Binka or Sonpur, Abhinava Yayātinagar is to be located at Chaudwar on the Virupa branch of the Mahanadi or at Jajpur.

2. *Ibid.* pp. 70
3. *Ibid,* p. 69.

The Madalapanji compiled by the retired Prof. A.B.Mohanti and printed in Oriya mentions at page 23 that Chodaganga after occupation of Utkala first made an entry to Jajpur where he built his palace. Srirling adds that " Traditions also ascribes to him (Churanga or Saranga Deo) the building of the forts and palaces both at Sarangar and Cuttack Chaudwar. [4]

The establishement of Cuttack and the construction of revetments of rivers at Cuttack are mentioned in the Madalapanji during the Kesari period, but such traditions are not corroborated by any other contemporary source. So Vijaya Kataka mentioned in the copper-plates of the Somakuli or Somavamsi Kesari kings bears no reference to the Cuttack town as accepted by Dr. Fleet,

The following further traditions on Cuttack are recorded in the Madalapanji :—

"Anangabhima Deva used to reside at the town called Chaudwar Kataka. While he was residing there, and day the king crossing the Mahanadi saw on its southern bank in the vicinity of Visweswar Siva situated in the village Barabati in the Kodinda Dandapata, that a heron had killed a hawk. The king was astonished at this unusual event and laid the foundation of a Kataka in the Barabati village and after building the palace and making it a Kataka, called the place as the Varanasi Kataka and left Chaudwar Kataka." [5]

On the ruins of Chaudwar Kittoe wrote as follows :—

" The road was very good as far as Chaudwar where we turned off and passed over the ruins of that ancient city, which extend for many miles. There are very few ruins above the ground, but the foundations of many are visible, particularly of the walls and moat which were faced with stone; there are numerous reservoirs also, and the remains of temples, the stone was removed in former years to build the fort of Cuttack and the revetment." [6]

These traditions are no doubt genuine and furnish evidence that Anangabhima Deva transferred his capital from Chaudwar Kataka

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4. *Ibid* p. 71
5. Madalapanji edited by Prof. A.B. Mohanty, pp. 27.
6. J. A. S. B. 1838 pp. 202.

to the village Barabati on the opposite bank of the Mahanadi. The establishment of the capital between the Mahanadi and the Katjuri by Nrupa Kesari and the building of protective revetment byMarkata Kesari long before Anangabhima Deva, do not find support from contemporary records. The Nagari copperplate of Anangabhima Deva discovered in August, 1949 mentions that in the year 1251 Saka or 1220 A. D. it was issued from Abhinava Vārānaśī Kataka. The naming of a capital as New Vārānaśī Kataka by Anangabhima Deva is very significant and furnishes evidence that the traditional story about the foundation of the capital at Cuttack is not based on true fact. So it may safely be concluded that Vārānaśī Kataka or modern Cuttack town, was founded by Anangabhima Deva III sometime after 1211 A. D. and before 1229 A.D. According to inscriptions Anangabhima Deva ascended the throne of Orissa in 1211 A. D. The copper-plates of the Somavamsi Kesāri Kings mention Yayātinagara as one of their capitals.In the Madalapanji there is mention of one Abhinaba Yayātinagara in the account of Anangabhima Deva. As Chaudwar and Jajpur were the capitals of the Somavamsi kings, it seems that one of them was called Abhinava Yayātinagara. When Anangabhima Deva established his new capital at Barabati,it seems that he called it as Abhinava Vārānaśī Kataka, The kingdom with its capital Yayatinagara was known to Muslim historians of the early 13th century as Jajanagar. With the beginning of the 13th century some historical accounts are found from the Muslim Historian Minhaz who in his *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, mentions that in 1205 A.D. Sheran brothers were deputed by Bakhtiar Khilji towards Jajnagar [7] and in 1211 A. D. when Anangabhima Deva came to the throne, Ghyasuddin Iwas used to get tribute from Jajnagara. [8] The power and opulence of the Ganga kings of Orissa in the early 13th century prove the claim of the Muslim historian to be false. Further it seems that there is a mistake in the decipherment of the Persian text of the place in Tabaqat-i-Nasiri which is identified with Tripura.

For over 200 years from 1211 A. D. to 1421 A,D. during the Ganga rule the Muslim historians described Orissa as Jajnagar in connection with various raids by thes ruling Muslim powers which are supported by contemporary inscriptions of the Ganga kings of Orissa; but it is strange that the *Madalapanji* contains no mention of these historical events.

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7. Tabaqat-i-Nasiri pp. 573.
8. *Ibid*, pp. 587-88.

During the fights between the Rai of Jajanagar and the Sultans of Lakhanavati of Bengal in 1243-46 A.D. the author of Tabaqat-i-Nasiri does not hesitate to describe the defeat of the Sultan at the hands of the king of Orissa. Then again in 1323 A.D Ulugh Khan raided Jajnagar from Warrangal which is described by (1) Barni, (2) Yahiya, (3) Nizamuddin, (4) Badaoni and (5) Ferishtah. In 1361 Sultan Ferozshah Tughlaq of Delhi came to Jajnagar for hunting excursions of elephants. This event has been described by (1) Shams-i-Siraj Afif, (2) the unknown author of Sirat-i-Firozoshahi, (3) Aynul Malk Mahru,(4) Yahiya, (5) Nizamuddin, (6) Badaoni and (7) Ferishtah. Out of these the first three authors are contemporary and the narrative of these authors gives us some idea about the events that happened at Cuttack in 1361 A. D.

Aynul Malk Mahru writes :—

" They (the kings of Jajnagar) have not been reduced by any force and have never paid tribute to any one ; but they were reduced by His Majesty's invincible army, and the booty taken was immense." 9

The description of elephants presented by the *Rai of Jajnagar* is given by Aynul Malk Mahru, who as it appears, was present at Cuttack-Banaras which is quoted below :

"Out of nineteen celebrated elephants, Rai sent to His Majesty eighteen No crown head had such elephants in his *Pilkhana*. They were such that it is impossible to describe their excellence. No poet can describe them, no painter can paint their excellence. Every one of them was as majestic as mountain, and more formidable than the later, In size and gait each was better than the other." 10

Shams-i-Siraj Afif writes as follows about Jajnagar and Varanasi Kataka :—

" The country of Jajnagar was very prosperous and happy. The author's father, who was in the royal suite, informed the writer

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9. J. & P. A. S. B. 1923, pp 285.
10. *Ibid* pp. 286,

that it was in a very flourishing state and the abundance of corn and fruit supplied all the wants of the army and animals, so that they recovered from the hardships of the campaign. Sultan Firoz rested at Banarasi, an ancient residence of the arrogant Rais. At that time the Rai of Jajnagar, by name Adaya, † had deemed it expedient to quit Baranasi, and to take up his residence elsewhere; so Sultan Firoz occupied his palace. The writer has been informed that there were two forts in Banarasi, each populated with a large number of people. The Rais were Brahmans, and it was held to be a religious duty that every one who succeeded to the title of Rai at Jajnagar, should add something to these forts. They had thus grown very large " 11

The narrative of Afif states that "there were two forts in Banarasi, each populated with a large number of people." Out of these "two forts" the first fort is, no doubt the Barabati fort, but it is not possible to identify the second fort in the present area of Cuttack town.

In 1361 A.D. Sultan Firozshah stayed long at Baranasi Kataka (modern Cuttack) and visited Puri but the *Madalapanji* or the temple chronicle makes no reference to this historical event. Like the Firozshah's account the *Madalapanji* omits another interesting Persian account on the expedition of Jajnagar by Sultan Hussang of Malwa in 1421-22 A. D. Due to possession of elephants the Gajapati kings of the Ganga dynasty of Orissa were troubled by the Muslim Sultans from Bengal, Jaunpur and Bihar, Central India and the Deccan, and the accounts of these expeditions are given by the various Persian historians; but the chronicle of the Jagannatha temple on the other hand did not mention any account; and the reason may be attributed to this that these raids or expeditions for getting some elephants which had no price so to say for the kings of Orissa, did not produce any permanent political effect in the country.

Bhanu Deva IV of the Ganga dynasty was the king of Orissa (called Jajanagar by Muslim Historians) when in 1421 A. D. Hussang Shah of Malwa came to Cuttack.

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† He has not been identified. The ruling king was Vira Bhanu Deva.

11. Elliot's History of India 1871, Vol. III, p. 312.

During the period from 1435 A.D. to 1534 A.D. when Orissa was ruled by kings namely Kapilendra Deva, Purusottama Deva and Pratapa Rudra Deva of the Solar dynasty, Cuttack remained the capital of Orissa

Stirling notes as follows about the reign of Govind Deva or Gobinda Vidyadhara.

"Two remarkable personages became first generally known during his administration, Mukunda Harichandan, the Telinga, who received the Government of the town Cuttack, and Danaye or Danardan Bidyadhar, who was appointed Prime Minister."

"The usurper's nephew Raghu Bhanj Chotra and Balunki Sri chandan taking advantage of the opportunity afforded by his absence, formed a conspiracy against his authority; they drove Mukunda Harichandan from Cuttack and gained possession of the capital. These occurrences obliged the Raja to return with a large part of his army, and a pitched battle took place between the parties, when the insurgents were defeated and pursued as far as the Ganges. Raja Gobinda Deo died on the banks of the river at Das Aswamedhghat."

"There being no heir left of the Rajas of Orissa, a Chief named Narsing Jenna, distinguished for his bravery and conduct, stepped into the vacant seat of Government. Jealous of the influence of Danaye Bidyadhar, he procured his attendants from the Deccan, and then with assistance of his rival Mukunda Harichandan, threw him into chains and imprisonment at Cuttack. In the meantime Raghu Bhanj Chotra, having recovered from his former defeat, entered Orissa again at the head of a large force to assert his claims to the Raj. He was opposed by Mukund Harichandan, who took him prisoner after many bloody battles." *12*

Then Telinga Mukund Deo occupied the throne of Orissa. He was a man of courage and ability. "He has been honoured with a notice in the work of the Jesuit Tieffenthaber, who extends our knowledge of his character by informing us that the last king of the Orissans was called Mukunda, who was very polite to strangers and had four hundred women." *13*

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12. Stirling's Orissa, pp. 82-83.
13. *Ibid*, pp. 83.

Tieffenthaler's statement regarding the number of his women and his hospitability to strangers are corroborated by the account in *Hapt Iqlim.*

Kalapahada, the Afghan General of Salaiman Karani, the King of Bengal, invaded Orissa in 1568 A. D. He occupied Kataka Banaras, the then Capital of Orissa.

Badaoni (Vol. II pp. 174) writes that "Sulaiman conquered the town of Katak Benaras, the mine of unbelief."

The Moghal settlement of Orissa finds mention in the Ain-i Akbari' by Abul Fazl Allami.

Orissa was under the Subah of Bengal in which there were Sarkars named (1) Jaleswar, (2) Bhadrak, (3) Katak (Cuttack), (4) Kaling Dandapat and (5) Raj Mahindra.

Under Sarkar of Katak there was a Mahal called " Katak Benares, Suburban District with city, has a stone fort of great strength and a masonry palace within." *14*

Abul Fazl writes about Cuttack that "It is the residence of the Governor and contains some fine buildings." *15*

The mention of the "Governor" suggests that at the time of writing of the Ain-i-Akbari in 1594—95 Cuttack was the capital of the Moghal Government. From 1592 when Raja Man Singh finally conquered Orissa, all the Moghal Subadars of Bengal or Naib Nazims of Orissa under Subadars of Bengal resided at Cuttack which was the capital of the Province of the Mughal Orissa till 1751 A. D.

On May-day of 1633, a small party of English merchants headed by Cartwright arrived at Cuttack from Masulipatam via Haribarpur.

C R Wilson writes as follows :—

" Agha Muhammad Zaman of Taharan, a Mogul Viceroy, now abode in the stately palace of " Malcândy." The English travellers

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14. Ain-i-Akbari Vol. II, pp.
15. *Ibid*, pp. 127,

reached the place from the east, over a long narrow causeway, and were conducted through a labyrinth of buildings to the court of public audience." 16

They halted at Cuttack up to the 9th of May, 1633, when they took leave of the Moghal Court. During the rule of Khan-i-duran from 1660-67, may local Oriya rulers were put into prison at Mankhandi palace according to Maraqat-i-Hassan.

Among the buildings of the later half of the 17th century the Juma Muszid in Balubazar bears a Persian inscription.

The next important building is the Kadam-i-Rasul which also bears Persian inscriptions during the rule of Murshid kuli Khan.

Cuttack was the scene of struggle in 1741-42 when Alivardi Khan, the Nazim of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa wanted to establish his supremacy in Orissa. During his first campaign " A providential victory thus fell to the good fortune of Ali Vardi Khan Mahabat Jang, 17 " Issuing proclamations, Ali Vardi Khan won over to his side the Collectors, Zamindars and officers of Orissa. And in the course of one month, having finished the organisation and settlement of the Subah of Orissa, he entrusted the charge of that Province to said Ahmad Khan, his nephew. Ali Vardi Khan then returned, triumphant and victorious, to Bengal."

" Saulat Jang was of a churlish disposition and regulated himself by avarice. The citizens and soldiers *en masse* broke out into revolt, and under cover of the darkness of night they besieged Saulat Jang, took him prisoner along with his followers and relations, and looted his treasures and effects. Then inviting over Mirza Bapir Khan, son-in-law of Murshid Quli Khan, from Sikakul across the Chilkah lake, they placed him on the masnad of the Nizamat of Orissa, and advancing with their forces they conquered Mednipur and Hijli." 18

Soon after Alivardi Khan sed out for Cuttack with immense army equipped with a battering artillery On the approach of Alivardi Khan, the " Kataka Army " returned to Balasore and lost heart.

16. Early Annals of the English in Bengal, Vol, I, p. 7.
17. Riyazus Salatin p. 330.
18. *Ibid* p. 332-33.

" Ali Vardi Khan, after holding a thanksgiving service for meeting Saulat Jang and obtaining victory, allowed Saulat Jang to retire to the city of Kataka for rest, whilst he himself, after resting some time and being freed from all anxiety on account of the enemy entered Katak trimphantly."

Ali Vardi Khan returned to Bengal following the Badsahi road through Mayurbhanj where he halted for some time to chastise the Ruler of Mayurbhanj. In the meantime, the Marhatta army from Nagpur passing through western Mayurbhanj entered the *Chakala*, Burdwan and so Ali Vardi returned to Bengal with forced marches and defeated the Maratha army.

After a long struggle for 10 years, in 1751 Ali Vardi Khan made a treaty with the Bhonsla Raja of Nagpur under the terms of which the Province of Orissa virtually became a territory of the Marhatta empire with the capital at Cuttack.

The history of Cuttack is inseparable from the history of Orissa. The treaty of 1751 with the Marathas by Ali Vardi Khan practically dismembered Orissa from the Moghal empire. "The conditions of the treaty being very indifferently observed, on the part of the Bengal government, a fresh army invaded Orissa in 1160,(1752-53 A.D.) under the command of Raja Bhonsla and Mir Habib Ullah, who in the same year in their camp at Choudwar, near the Mahanadi, projected and arranged a partition of the province between themselves, for the maintenance of their respective armies. Its resources on this occasion were estimated at only ten lacs. The northern portion from Pattaspur to Burrunwa, yielding six lacs, was assigned for the support of the Afghan troops, and the southern from Barrunwa to Malud, rated at four lacs was to be held by the Marhattas. On the treacherous murder of Habib Ullah Khan shortly afterwards, in his camp at Garpedda, near Balasore, Raja Janoji become master of the whole province from Pargunnah Pottaspur to the Thaneh of Malud." [19]

Abul Fazl was the first Muslim writer who described the town and fort of Cuttack in 1594 A.D.The next authentic description is found from the European traveller Mr. T. Motte who visited Cuttack in 1766 A. D.

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19. Storling's Orissa, pp. 89.

On the 19th October, 1786 A D. Motte met Bhawani Pandit and wrote as follows about their talk :—

" I went again to the Mahratta camp; found Bowanee Pandit had considered what I had advanced at the last meeting. He seemed convinced. It was more for the interest of Jannoojei to cede Orissa to the English, provided the payment of the stipulated sum was secure. I answered, as a gentleman must be sent to Nagpoor, his residence there would be the best security. He had, according to the custom of the country, given me a dress of muslin, stained yellow. In the warmth of conversation, he declared, if I was sent to Nagpoor, he would go with me; and exchanged turban with me, by which we became sworn brothers. [20]

The Maratha camp three miles from the town is the same place which is now situated to the east of the Railway Station where the headquarters of the Orissa Military Police are located,

Cuttack was the scene of first treaty of the East India Company with the Bhonsla Raja of Nagpur in 1781. In that year a large army appeared at Cuttack under Chima Sau for collecting the arrear of Chouth by military raid from Bengal. The Collector of Midnapur named Colonel Pearce came to Cuttack with some company's army paid Rs 1200,000/- towards the payment of Chauth and utilised the Maratha force against the Nizam in the Deccan. Hunter records this event as follows :—

" The Marhattas demanded black-mail from the then British Province of Bengal, and we found ourselves too weak to venture on any bolder policy than conciliation and bribe." 21 During the period of his stay at Cuttack Chimna Sahu had a fight with the then Raja of Dhenkanal and this event is the theme of the Oriya poem *Samara-taranga* by Brajanath, Badagena who, it is said, read the poem before Chimna Sahu

In 1790 Mr. Leckie visited Cuttack on his way to Nagpore. He arrived at Cuttack on the 3rd March and halted there up to the 17th, April, 1790.

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20. Early European Travellers in the Nagpur Territory p 49.

21. Hunter's Orissa Vol. II, pp. 48.

From Leckie's 'Journal' we come to know that in 1790, the Katjuri was flowing from the Mahanadi at a place not far from Dhavaleswar island with a hillock in the Mahanadi.

No historical account of Cuttack town from 1781 to 1802 A. D has yet been discovered " In 1803, Lord Wellesley resolved to root out once and for ever the Marhattas from Orissa" 22 In July, 1803, first preparations for the conquest of Orissa were made in Ganjam and on the 4th September, 1803, the British troops marched out from Ganjam, and they did not receive any opposition before their arrival at Cuttack on the 8th October 1803 Hunter writes :—

" We reached Cuttack city, which we entered unopposed—'the gates open, and all the inhabitants' houses empty. Six days sufficed to build our batteries and extend our approaches to the Fort This stronghold, firmly fixed between two branches of the Mahanadi, formed the one difficult fortification in Orissa. Faced with stones, defended by eight small towers, surrounded by a high rampart and a deep moat, '20 to 30 paces broad, and in some places by a double ditch, its single weak point was the number of hollows in the neighbouring fields, which afforded good cover for the besiegers. At 10 A.M. on the 4th, October, an English officer blew open one of the small gates, receiving a wound the same moment in the neck, and a storming party dashed into the heart of the fortifications. A few moments ended the struggle. The Colonel of the attacking party fell with a wound in his leg; two or three soldiers were killed; the Marhattas leaped the ramparts and streamed out of the other gates; about thirty of their dead bodies were carried out in bullock carts to the river, where they were eaten by wild beasts and birds. ' 23

After the conquest, Cutteck was made the capital of Orissa by " the Commissioners for the affairs of Cuttack " It remained as a Divisional Headquarters upto the 31st March 1936 under the Governments of Bengal and Bihar & Orissa The separate province of Orissa was formed on and from the 1st of April 1936 according to the India Act of 1935.

During the long period of over 130 years, Cuttack developed to a great extent and is now the centre of activities of the Oriya people.

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22. Hunter's Orissa Vol, II p. 54.
23. *Ibid.* p. 57-58.

MONUMENTS AT CUTTACK

1. The headless image.

Although the Jagannātha temple at Puri and the Sun temple at Konarka were built at the time when Cuttack was the capital of the great Ganga Kings of Orissa, no relics of any temple with the exception of the headless image now preserved at the State Museum have been recovered from the Cuttack town. This image can be compared with any image sculpture of the Sun god of Konarka.

The Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhima Deva (1211-1238) built a temple for the image of Purusottama at Abhinava Vārāṇasī Kataka and consecrated the image and temple in 1230 A. D. according to the Nagari copper plate issued by him. Feroz Shah destroyed the temple and the image in 1361 A.D. The image of Vishnu called Purusottama was perhaps destroyed by Firoz Shah and thrown into a tank.

2. Stone Revetment of Cuttack.

Among the civil works of great engineering skill of Cuttack are the abatements of the rivers Mahanadi and Katjuri which protect the city from the floods of these two rivers.

The traditional date of thess works goes back to the 10th century A.D. when the Kings of the Kesari dynasty of the Madala-panji were ruling in Orissa; but up till now no evidence has been found which supports the tradition. The stone revetment of Cuttack is such an engineering work in Orissa that there is no second work in India which can be compared with it.

Lieutenant John C. Harrish, a Bengal Government Engineer studied the flood of the Mahanadi and Katjuri rivers, during the season of 1855 A.D. with special reference to its effect on the Cuttack town and submitted a report to the Government suggesting measure of danger to this town, the cause and remedy. This Report was published in 1860 as "Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal, No. XXXV—*Papers relating to the Cuttack Rivers.*

Lt. Harrish gives a general description of the Cuttack protective works as follows :—

"The revetment may be described as an irregular line of masonry, partaking of the character of a wall in some portions, of a simple casing in others, constructed of large blocks of laterite and sandstone, set in mud cement, and painted with lime plaster exteriorly, the weight of its crest varying from 17 to 36 feet above the low waterline, and width at top and bottom respectively from 3 to 4 and 5 to 8 feet.

"Upon what foundations this wall rests, is matter of the purest speculation at this day. It is not known in fact to have any foundations whatsoever, other than such as it has formed for itself by settlements, either gradual, owing to the action of gravity upon the loose soil beneath it, reduce as this is, during floods to a semi-fluid state or again bodily, in the form of breaches after the subsidence of the waters." 1

"All evidence that I can obtain from history, traditions, and from nature, is in favour of the supposition that the Katjooree's breadth has increased amazingly in size since the period of the foundation of Cuttack. The measure of the change is indeterminate, as is the period it has occupied nature in effect it; but as the mind can comprehend the lapse of time, so can the change be comprehended to have taken place. The Katjooree has doubtless sprung from nothing, originally risen from insignificance within the space of a few centuries. Such is my belief; such I trust, will be found that of all interested in my theme." 2

Colonel H. Goodwyn, the Chief Engineer while forwarding Lt. Harriss's letter to the Superintendent of Embankments, Fort William, concludes with a reference to Mr. Moffat Mill's minute dated the 23rd January 1847, which is quoted below. Moffat Mill was the Commissioner of the Orissa Division.

"The Cuttack revetment has this year (1847) given way in several places and understand that its restoration will cost not less than 3,90,995 Rupees. The Mahanadi river, which is said to rise near Bustar, enters the plains at the station of Cuttack, throwing off its tributary, the Katjooree, to the south of the town. In the

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1. Cuttack Rivers p. 44,

2. *Ibid.* p. 42.

rains the torrents descend with fearful rapidity, and to protect the town from inundation on the southward; this solid embankment was constructed by the Mogul Government in the reign of Jahangeer, 225 years ago, and has been always kept in repair by our Government." 3

Moffat Mills has not given any reference from which he got the information that "this solid embankment was constructed by the Mogul Government in the reign of Jahangeer, 225 years ago." Col. Goodwyn remarks on this that "This must be the modern wall built on the Katjooree side." We, however. have not got any contemporary evidence from the Persian sources regarding the maintenance or repair of the revetment during the Moghal rule in Orissa.

The stone revetment is a horse shoe pattern. It begins on the left bank of Katjooree from near the Purighat and stretches westward as far as the Chahataghat of the Mahanadi and then stretches on the right bank of the Mahanadi upto Jobraghat. This continuity of the revetment indicates that the revetment was made at the time of the bifurcation of the Katjooree river from the Mahanadi; otherwise there is no reason why so much labour and material were utilised for erecting the revetment from the Chahataghat to Satichaura burial grounds. The Katjooree river has receded from the opposite bank of the Chahataghat to Naraj since the time of erection of the abatement. From Lt. Harrish's report it is learnt that Katjooree was widened one-third of a mile within a period of 15 years. From Leckei's Journal we learn that in 1790 the Katjooree was flowing off the Mahanadi at a place south of Dhabaleswar. He writes :—

"About two miles from Cuttack, to the west, at the foot of a Hindoo temple the Cutjora, separating itself from the Mahanaddy, flows to the southward of the town." 4

The present good condition of the Cuttack revetment particularly of the Katjooree side is due to the constant repair during the British period by the Government. Mofiat Mills writes that "The existence of the town depends on the continuance of the revetment, Cuttack contains a population of about 50,000 persons; there are about

3. Cuttack Rivers p. 32
4. Early European Travellers in the Nagpur Territories p. 55 and p 57.

6,300 houses of which 1/6 are pucka, many of them built of stone, (amongst them that fine mansion, the 'Lalbagh' which is built on the revetment). The city is situated on a tongue of land at the bifurcation of the Mahanuddy and on the high road to Ganjam;it affords convenience for carrying on a commerce with Sumbulpoor to the West, Madras to the South, and the Low countries to the East while its proximity to the Hills points it out, in a political point of view, as the most desirable place for the cantoning of troops. I am of opinion that the restoration of the revetment is a work of too great public advantage to be weighed by considerations of expense only and would, therefore, earnestly recommend that it be re-built."

It is pity that we do not know when and how this great work of engineering was executed as a protective measure of the capital of Orissa since the time of Anangabhima Deva III in the first quarter of the 13th century A.D. if not earlier as is known from the tradition. According to the Nagari Copper plate Abinava Varānasī Kataka was built earlier to 1230 A. D. The modern village Bidanasi (a corruption of Vāranāsī or Vāranāsī Kataka of the inscription) has been built on a place where the Katjuri river was once flowing.

3 Forts and Palaces of Cuttack.

According to the tradition recorded in the Madalapanji printed by the retired Professor A. B. Mohanty, the Gaṅga King Anangabhima Deva built a palace at the Barabati village and called it Vāranāsī Kataka. Stirling [5] and Kittoe [6] both recorded the tradition on the foundation of the Barabati fort at Cuttack. The newly discovered copper plate of Anangābhima Deva III (1211-1238 A. D.) dated in the year 1230 A. D. mentions *Abhinava Vāranāsī Kataka.*

Shams-i-Siraj Afif in his Tarikh-i-Firozsahi writes that "The writer has been informed that there were two forts in Banarasi, each populated with a large number of people. The Rais were Brahmanas and it was held to be a religious duty that every one who succeeded to the title of Rai at Jajnagar, should add something to those forts. They had thus grown very large." [7] From this account we come to

5. Stirling, page 71
6. J. A. S. B. 1838
7. Elliot's History of India, Vol, III, p, 312.

know that there were two forts at Baranasi Kataka and one of them is certainly the Barabati fort and we cannot locate where the second one was situated. Firoz Shah came to Cuttack in 1361 A D.

Abul Fazl Allami's description of the Barabati fort in Ain-i-Akbari was perhaps based on the report by Raja Man Singh who conquered Orissa in 1592 A. D. Ain-i-Akbari was compiled in 1594-95 A D. Abul Fazl writes :—

" Katak (Cuttack). The city has a stone fort situated at the bifurcation of two rivers, the Mahanadi held in high veneration by the Hindus, and the Katjuri. It is the residence of the Governor and contains some fine buildings. For five or six *Kos* round the fort during the rains, the country is under water. Rajah Makand Deo built a palace here nine storeys in height; the first storey was taken up for the elephants and the stables; the second was occupied by the artilery and the guards and quarters for attendants. The third by the patrol and gate keepers, the fourth by the workshops; the fifth, by the kitchen the sixth contained the public reception rooms the seventh, the private apartment; the eighth, the women's apartments, and the ninth, the sleeping chamber of the Governor. " [8]

The Persian word 'asianah' of the Ain-i-Akbari was translated by Gladwin during the last decade of the 18th century A. D. from which Stirling adopted the description in 1825 A. D. Rajendralal Mitra objected to the translation of nine storeys in height and suggested the nine quarters. But Jarret retained the translation of Gladwin without criticising the views expressed by R. L. Mitra. But M. M. Chakravarti rejected Jarret's translation of the Ain-i-Akbari and stated that the fort was built by Mukunda Deva who was defeated and killed in the battle in 1568 A D. Ain-i-Akbari was written after 26 years of Mukunda Deva's death. That the fort was built by Mukunda Deva was certain. Ain-i-Akbari writes that the seven the chamber was used by the Mughal Governor, who was Rāja Mansing Bruton's account States that it was the office of the Governor in 1633 A.D

We have a description of the splendour of Malcandy fort by Bruton who visited it with Ralph Cartwright in May, 1633. C.R. Wilson writes as follows on this visit of the English merchants :—

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8. Ain-i-Akbari Vol, II, p. 126-127.

" Agha Muhmmad Zaman of Tahran, a Mogul Viceroy. now abode in the stately palace of 'Malcandy'. The English travellers reached from the east, over a long narrow causeway and were conducted through a labyrinth of buildings to the court of public audience. 9 Bruton writes—" Thus have I plainly and truly related the occurrences that happened at the Court of *Malcandy*; but although the palace of the Nabob be so large in extent, and as magnificent in structure, he himself will not lodge in it etc."10 Bruton's Malcandy fort is the Manikhandi Naura of the Madalapanji which was occupied by Mukunda Deva. So Ain-i-Akbari's fort is Manikhandi of the Madalapanji. In 1660 A.D. Maraqat-i Hassan mentions the fort Mankhandi.

O'malley, the compiler of the Gazetteer of the Cuttack District writes that "Malcandy is apparently a corrupt form for Mukunda Deva".11 Stirling identified the stately court of Malcandy with the Lalbag Palace on the bank of the Kathjuri, which is not tenable.

T. Motte visited Cuttack in 1766 on his way to Sambalpur. On the 6th of May 1766 he saw the Barbati fort from the opposite bank of the Mahanadi and writes that "the great number of mosques with which it is adorned and the regular appearance of the citadel strongly resembling the west side of Windsor Castle unite to make the prospective view of the place extremely grand." 12

T. Motte describes the Barabati Fort as follows :—

" Cuttack is not fortified now, but on the side next the Maha Nuddee is a citadel, called *Barahbattee*, because it is said to contain 12 battees, or 240 biggahs of land. But this must be understood not only of the fort itself, but of the official fief annexed to the command; for the fort itself did not appear to me above 800 yards in circumference. It is square with a small bastion at three angles; at the fourth, to the N.W a very large one,evidently the improvement of an European engineer, to counteract a lofty mosque, which commands that quarter of the fort; the ditch is 20 yards wide; and 7 deep, lined with stone, and a perfect square without; for the bastions having been added

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9. Early Annals of the English in Bengal Vol, I. p. 7.
10. *Ibid.* p 13. The full account of Bruton has been published before.
11. Cuttack District Gazetteer, p 205.
12, Early European travellers in the Nagpur territories, p. 16.

since the fort was built there are no projections in the ditch to answer the projections of the bastion. The works are formed of two stone walls, each 18 inches thick, built perpendicular two feet from each other, which distance is filled up with rubbish. The outer wall being raised five feet higher than the inner forms the parapet, which is only one stone thick. The entrance is defended by three gateways, so strong, it would be impossible to force them, if they were manned by brave fellows, for the passage between them is narrow and winding, with a stone wall on each side, thirty feet perpendicular, from the top of which, if they were to let large stones fall, every man in the passage must be crushed. The fort is, however, too smale to make a long defence against an European enemy." [13]

Stirling was present at Cuattack from 1818 for a year or two and saw the then condition of the Barabati fort. His description is quoted below :—

"Its square sloping towers or bastions, and general style, bespeak clearly a Hindu origin. The Mohammedan or Marhatta Governors added a round bastion at the N. W. angle, and constructed the great arched gateway in the eastern face, which alterations are alluded to in a Persian inscription, giving for the date of the repairs and additions according to the rules of the Abjed, the fourth year of the reign of Ahmed Shah or A.D. 1750. The fort has double walls built of stone, the inner of which enclose a rectangular area measuring 2,150 by 1,800 feet. The entrance lies through a grand gateway on the east, flanked by two lofty square towers, having the sides inclining inwards, from the base to the summit A noble ditch faced with masonry surrounds the whole, measuring in the broadest part two hundred and twenty feet across. From the centre of the fort rises a huge square bastion or cavalier supporting a flag staff This feature, combined with the loftiness of the battlements on the river face, give to that edifice an imposing, castellated appearance, so much so that the whole when seen from the opposite bank of the Mahanadi, presented to the imagination of Mr. La Motte, who travelled through the province in 1767 A. D, some resemblance to the west side of Windsor Castle. No traces of the famous palace of Raja Mukund Deo nine stories in height, mentioned in the Ayin Acberi, are to be found within the walls of fort

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Ib.d p. 17.

Barabati, but the fragments of sculptured cornices, &c. which have been dug up at different times, and more especially a massive candelabra, or pillar furnished with branches for holding lights, formed of the fine grey indurated chlorite or pot stone, are probably the remains of some large and splendid edifice." 14

The Barabati Fort suffered much from the vandalism of the Public Works Department of the Government. Toynbee wrote the following in 1872 on the then conditions of the Fort at Cuttack.

" There is but little in the present appearance of the fort which answers to the above description. The Public Works Department have converted this fine building into an unsightly series of earthen mounds, and the ground within the moat into a wilderness of stone-pits. The stones composing the walls of the moat which surrounds the fort are now being used to build a hospital. Some of the fort stone was, I believe, used for the lighthouse at False Point and for other public buildings; the dust of the rest is shaken off our feet against us on the station roads. The " great arched gateway of the eastern face,' as Stirling calls it, and a fine old mosque, called after Fatteh Khan Raham, are almost the only objects of antiquarian interest which remain intact. The fate of many interesting ruins in the province has unhappily been similar." 15

Fergusson has written the following on the Barabati Fort. " It too however, has suffered, first from the intolerant bigotry of the Muslim and afterwards from the stolid indifference of the British rulers, so that very little remains. But for this the great palace of Mukunda Deo, the contemporary of Akbar, might still remain to us in such a state at least as to be intelligible. Abul Fazl's description of this palace, however, has been misunderstood by the translators, who have represented it as consisting of nine storeys instead of nine courts or enclosures." 16

Late M. M. Chakravarti, vide J. and P., Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol XII, suggested the meaning of the word " *ashianah* " as quarters and not storeys. Sir Jadunath Sarkar was written to give his

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14. Stirling's Orissa p 18–19.
15. Toynbee's A sketch of History of Orissa, 1872, p. 4.
16. History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, Vol. II, pp. 112-13

opinion on the meaning of the word "*ash'ana*" and he wrote as follows to support the meaning as given by Jarret in his English translation of the Ain-i-Akbari :—

" Received your query about the correctness of Jarrett's translation of the Persian account of Katak in Akbar's time.

" I accept the first suggestion of Monomohan Babu, that the town of Katak and not its fort was situated at the junction of the two rivers. This is the correct interpretation of the Persian text, which uses the words "Katak is a stone (Persian *Sangin* may mean either *built of stone* or *very hard and strong*) fort " loosely in the sense of 'a city with a fort '

" But I cannot see how Monomohan Babu's second suggestion that the " *Nine storied palace* " can be a mistranslation of " a palace with 9 quarters or residential wards." " The Persian text has *Ashinah*, which means a nest, perch, or lofty seat, and cannot be taken to mean paras or wards lying side by side. There is nothing incredible in a palace of nine storeys if built of wood and bamboos on a stone foundation. The Dravidian temples have gopurams (gateways) towering up to 13 storeys, but built of stone. In the Gaekwad's dominions, in the old Hindu city of Sidhpur, there are the ruins of a stone palace known to have been of seven storeys."

As Abul Fazl's description was furnished by some one who saw the palace at the Barbati fort, it seems that it was destroyed by the Moghals, and this assumption is proved from the fact that neither Bruton or Motte has left any account on the existence of a palace nine storeys high. Stirling writes that " From the centre of the fort rises a huge square bastion or cavalier supporting a flag staff." This high bastion cannot be explained now.

4 Lalbagh, Juma Musjid and the English factory

The Lalbagh palace of the Moghal period stood on the bank of the Katjuri, but there is nothing now which gives any appearance of the ancient palace. The date of the erection of the palace may be ascribed to the year 1633 A. D. according to William Bruton's following description :—

" Although the palace of the *Nobob* be so large in extent, and so magnificient in structure, yet he himself will not lodge in it, but

every night he lodgeth in tents, with his most trusty servants, and guards about him : for it is an abomination to the *Moguls* (which are white men) to rest or sleep under the roof of a house that another man hath built for his own honour. And therefore he was building a palace which he purposed should be a fabric of a rest, and future remembrance of his renown." 17

No other description of the palace has been found up till now from any Persian sources. In the Lalbagh area, the Juma Musjid of Cuttack town was built in 1102 Hijra or 1690 A D. by Zaibun Nisa Khanam, the Shahzada Begum wife of Ekram Khan, the Governor, during the reign of Aurangzeb as known from its inscription. The Musjid was quite near to the Lalbagh Palace.

T. Motte's account of the condition of the Lalbagh Palace is quoted below as it gives some idea about the extent of the Palace in 1766 A. D. " Each of the sides of the triangle, on which Cuttack is built is two miles, but on the banks of Cutjuree is best inhabited. On it is Lollbug the residence of the Governor of the Province, a large building, laid out in a number of courts, in the Morisco taste, but much out of repair; the Governor, when one part is ready to fall, removing to another. From the principal entrance of the palace, runs the great street. formerly built in a straight line one mile and half long, and still the chief place of business in the town. On the right of it is the English factory, the meanness of which does no credit to so flourishing a company." 18

The Juma Musjid is a nice building belonging to the Mughal period, but it is so much encroached now from all sides that no visitor is attracted towards it.

Like the Lalbagh Palace, no relic of the English Factory built in the 17th century at Cuttack is seen anywhere. The name Firingi Bazar in the Cuttack town indicates the locality where once stood the English factory.

5. Kadam Rasul

Kadam Rasul is another building of the time of the Moghal rule in Orissa. It contains certain relics of the Prophet commissioned

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17. Early Annals of Bengal, Vol. I, p. 13.
18. Early European travellers in the Nagpur Territories, p. 16.

from Mecca by Shujauddin Mohammad Khan. The inscription in the building records that it was built in the year 1127 Hizra or 1715 A. D. during the reign of Shah Alam Badshah.

There are three other inscriptions in this compound one of which records that Nawab Mahmmad Taqi Khan was buried within the enclosure of the Kadam Rasul in the year 1147 Hizra or 1734 A.D.

6. Temples and Maths

There are many temples dedicated to various Hindu deities at Cuttack, but none of them possess any special features. There are also a goodmany maths at Cuttack. The building of the Mastaram Math belongs to the Maratha period, but it is out of repair and is in a dilapidated condiiion.

MONUMENTS OF THE CUTTACK DISTRICT

Monuments at Jajpur

There are in Orissa the Pancha Kshetras or 5 places of pilgrimage dedicated to Brahmanical Pancha devatas, namely, Ganeas', Bhāskar, Vishnu, Siva and Durgā. Jajpur or Virajā Kshetra belonging to Durga, stands on the right bank of the Vaitaranī, the Styx of the Hindus. Jajpur is a Subdivisional head quarters of the Cuttack District.

Viraja is the another name of Brahmānī, one of the seven Matrikas of the Chandi Purana and is the patron deity of the city of ten horse sacrifices which is guarded by eight Chandīs and eight Sambhus.

Besides this, Jajpur is famous as a place of offering Pinda by the Hindus to ancestors and so is called Nābhi Gayā indicating the Vaishnavic influence.

In the Mahābhārata Book III Ch. 85 we find the mention of the Vaitaranī and Virajā Tīrtha in the following verse after enumeration of holy rivers of eastern India like the Lauhitya the Karatoya and the Gangā :—

"ततो वैतरणीं गत्वा सर्वपापप्रमोचनीम्
विरजातीर्थमासाद्य विराजति यथा शशी ॥"

This reference to Jajpur or Virajā Tīrtha on the Vaitaraṇī in the great epic, shows that it was the first Kshetra or holy place in Orissa that attracted pilgrims from upper India. The stone images of Jajpur bespeak its ancient importance.

The most notable objects of antiquarian interest are the four big images which are first met by a visitor of Jajpur at the compound of the S.D O- One of these is an image of Bodhisatva Padmapāṇi, now lying on the ground on its back. It measures 16 ft. without feet and pedestal. The complete image in standing posture would have been 21 feet.

The three other big Mātrika images, Vārāhī Chamunda, and Indrāṇī, in the said compound, measuring about 9 feet in height, were removed from the Cenotoph of Saiyid Bokhari of Mukti-Mandapa hall of Jajpur. Mukti-mandapa is a large platform constructed with dressed stones and measures 100 feet square. These images of Mātrikas originally stood on the platform which was broken down by the Muslims. Stirling wrote on them in 1822 as follows :—

"They lie with their heels upper most, on a heap of rubbish, in precisely the same position, apparently, that they assumed, when tumbled from their thrones above, by the Mussalman conquerors of the province who destroyed a celebrated temple at the spot and further desecrated it, by creating on its ruins, a shrine and mosque of their own worship".

As regards the workmanship of the images Stirling remarks that "though the subjects are grotesque, the execution is distinguished by a degree of freedom; skill and propriety, quite unusual in the works of Hindu sculptures." p. 114.

He further writes that "on the banks of the river, one meets with the sort of a raised gallery filled up with mythological sculptures, amongst which seven large colossal figures of the female divinities called Matrika, are particularly remarkable. They are said to have been recovered, lately out of the sand of the river, where they were tossed by the Moguls on their shrines being destroyed— by a Mahajan of Cuttack, who built the edifice in which they are now deposited." (p. 114)

After Stirling Lieut. M. Kittoe visited Jajpur in 1837 and he wrote as follows in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1838 pp. 54-55;

"I visited the different temples, none of which are worthy of notice or at all ancient, though they occupy the places of those destroyed by the Muhammadan conquerors × × × I remarked a number of Jaina and Buddhist figures in different places scattered about."

Actually no temple, contemporary to the sculptures of Jajpur, is in existence and so evidence for the study of characteristic features of early Orissan architecture of the temples of Jajpur is lost to us, but the ornamented stones and sculptures that decorated these ancient temples, furnish us with some idea about the style of architecture of the place.

Among the modern temples of Astha Sambhus of Jajpur, the Akhandaleswer temple is one, but there is a large number of old sculptures one of which is a Jaina deity. At Varāhanātha there is a Siva linga with a human face. The lingas called Harantesvar and Trilochanesvara also possess human faces. Nearby Trilochanesvar there is another Siva linga with four faces. Siva Lingas with human faces have been found rarely elsewhere in Orissa.

The early sculptures of Jajpur scattered all over, can be well compared with those of Ratnagiri, Lalitagiri and Udayagiri which are of Buddhistic origin. All over Jajpur Brahmanic Pancha-devatā images are found along with Buddhistic and Jaina images.

The monolithic pillar or the Subhastambha is the unique piece of old architecture of Jajpur. Fergusson, the eminent authority in architecture, writes that "Its proportions are beautiful, and its details in excellent taste × × originally it is said to have supported a figure of Garuda'. On the sculptures of Jajpur, he says, that, "They are in quite a different style from anything at Bhubaneswar or Konarka, and probably more ancient than anything of the same kind at those places."

The pillar "is square at the base for 1 ft. 5 inches, octagonal for next 9 inches and 16 sided above. The cap consists of a 16 sided Cylendrical block 4 feet high, ornamented with Kritimukha heads with heavy pearl garlands pendant and surmounted by a lotus caly × × × × Its total height from the present ground level to the top of the square abacus is nearly 33 feet." The Aruna Khamba at Puri affords an analogous instance which is a few inches higher and

much more slender and light. Mr. J. A. Page is of opinion that the Gruda found at Jajpur is not its capital for the reason that the square abacus at the top of the pillar has not been damaged in any way by its removal.

At Siddheswar 4 miles east of Jajpur there is an inscription of five lines covering a space of 5 ft. long on a Siddha Stambha which is not yet deciphered.

All the existing temples of Jajpur, though modern, are built according to the Orissan style of Architecture, which is a living art now in Orissa.

Hunter writes that "The Mahammedans of the 16th and 17th Century stabled their horses in Hindu palaces and tore down the great temples, stone by stone, to build Royal residences for their own Chiefs."

Adjoining the compound of the Subdivisional officer stands the mosque of Nawab Abu Nasir Khan which contains a Persian inscription stating that it was built in the year of the Hizra 1093 corresponding to 1686 A D. The mosque was built with the materials obtained from the demolished Hindu temples. T. Motte who visited Jajpur on the 2nd May of 1766 wrote as follows on the mosque :—

"This is built in the style of the Turkish Mosques, having a lofty minaret at each end of the front angles, which takes of their disagreeable acuteness, and being built airy and light, form a pleasing contrast to the disgusting clumsiness of the domes."

Markham Kittoe remarks that "The mosque is rather a pertty object but of rough workmanship."

This is a short account of the relics of Jajpur and the period may be assigned on stylistic grounds from the 7-8th century to the 18th century A. D.

Mahāvinayaka hill is the seat of Ganeśa with very few relics of the ancient period.

BUDDHIST MONUMENTS OF THE CUTTACK HILLS

The Asia range of hills situated within the Jajpur subdivision is the eastern most hill range in the Cuttack district, and the Udayagiri is the most easterly peak of this hill range. To the south of the Asia range is situated at a distance of about 5 miles the isolated Nalati-

giri and to its east almost at the same distance stands the isolated Ratnagiri. The Buddhist relics in all these three hills can be conveniently visited from the Gopalpur Canal Bungalow which can be approached from the Dhanmandal Railway Station by a road up to Baliohandrapur whence there is a road on the canal bank. The alternate route is the road from the Kendrapara Road Railway Station via Salepur and Mahanga.

Nalatigiri

The Nalatigiri or Lalitagiri has been divided geographically into three hillocks called the Olasuni, Landa (bald) and Parabhadi (pigeon hole). The eastern part of Nalatigiri is called the Olasuni; the middle part is called Parabhadi and the western part is called the Landa. The relics of the eastern side of the Landa hillock are numerous. Besides Mahayana sculpture images, there are ruins of brick-built shrines. In the northern side of the Parabhadi, there is a long shelf cut off the hillside popularly called Hatikbal. On this shelf there are remains of what was once a gallery of life size Buddhist images. It seems that the top portion of the shelf or cave has fallen The images that are exposed over the surface by reckless digging for bricks are best specimens of the post-Gupta in Orissa A visitor can find a shelter at the rest house at Haribhaktapur, quite close to the Landa hillock

Udayagiri

The Asia range of hills is surrounded by the river Virupa and its branch Genguti which joins with the Kumbhiria, a branch of the Brahmani, which again joins the Virupa to the east of the hill range. A thorough survey of this has not yet been made.

From the Gopalpur bungalow,the eastern slope of the Udayagiri containing the Buddhist ruins can be visited after crossing the river Birupa. At the foot of the hill there is a Vapi which bears two inscriptions belonging to one Ranaka Sri Vajranāga. To the west of the Vapi are scattered the ancient ruins.

J Beams removed a gateway of excellent workmanship from this area to the Cuttack town and kept it on the left bank of the Taladanda canal quite close to the West Hostel of the Ravenshaw College from where the gateway and a few other Buddhist sculptures brought by J. Beams from Udayagiri, have been removed to the Patna Museum.

Apart from the vast ruins of brick built shrines and Buddhist sculptures on the slope of the Udayagiri, there is a row of alto-relievo sculptures on the peak. No detailed report about these sculptures is available Late Rama Prasad Chand did not see them Recently Dr. Y. D. Sharma, M. A. D. Phill (Oxon). officiating Superintendent of the Department of Archaeology, Eastern Circle of the Government of India was successful in getting a few photographs of these sculptures.

A detailed report of the sculptures of Udayagiri is given in the Memoirs of. Archæological Survey of India, No 44 by Late R.P. Chanda.

Ratnagiri

Ratnagiri can be visited from Gopalpur on foot only. It is situated to the east of the stream called Kelua and on the left bank of the Virupa below the junction of the Kumbhira. The hillock is flat at the top and the village Ratnagiri is situated on its slopes to the west and south. The whole hillock is a quarry of antiquities, and the Buddhist sculptures are of human size A head of Buddha is exposed there which measures 4″×3″. The measurements of the head go to prove that the image to which it belonged is about 16 feet high if it were a seated image or is about 26 ft. high if a standing one.

Late R. Chanda mentions that from Ratnagiri he collected a stone slab bearing an inscription in Gupta characters of the 6th century A.D. on palæographical grounds. In the account of Yuan Chwang the University and monastery of Puspagiri find mention, and the vast ruins of these three hills in the Cuttack district can be identified with the site mentioned by Yuan Chwang. From the inscription of the Nagarjunikunda it is learnt that Budhishri built pillars at Puspagiri. All these stray references need corroboration from the local evidence which is not possible from the surface relics of these hills.

Between 1950 and 1958 I surveyed the coastal area of the Cuttack district and discovered some ancient brick temples of Indo-Aryan style at Panchalinga near Parahat and at the Tandikul in the Balikuda area. Some interesting sculptures at Paramahansa, and the unique Durgā image in Suklesvara Nuagan were also noticed by me. I took the photograph of the Chātesvara temple, built by Vishnu

Acharya, the capable general of Anangabhima Deva (1211-1238) for the first time. I also discovered a Panchāyatana Vishnu temple at Ganesvarpur, situated to the east of the Jaulaka hills and the images of Indra and Indrani at Amaravati Kataka near Chhatia.

The Madalapanji printed in Oriya states that during the rule of the Bhoi dynasty in the middle of the 16th century A. D. *Kataka Sri-na-a-ra* was occupied by Danai Vidyadhar and *Manikhandi Sri-na-a-ra* was occupied by Telenga Mukunda Deva. So we find the truth of the account of *Tarikh-i-Ferozshahi*.

From 1660 to 1750 no account of the forts of Cuttack is found. In 1757 according to a Persian inscription of the Barabati fort noticed and published by Kittoe in 1837, the main gate of the Barabati fort was repaired and reconstructed during the Marhatta rule.

Then we find the description of the Barabati fort and the Lalbagh palace by T. Motte in 1766, when the Manikhandi palace was converted into Lalbagh palace by the Muslim Government.

Monuments of the Puri District :

The monuments of the Puri district specially the Dhauli, the Udayagiri and Khandagiri, hills and the temples at Bhubaneswar, Puri and Konarka are too well known to be described here. Survey made after 1950 has brought to light many new temples in the Puri district of which I made notes only. At my request my friend Sri K. N. Mahapatra discovered the temple of sixty-four Yoginis at Hirapur, Gopinatha temple at Kakudia and a Siva temple at Buddhapada. I discovered the Gaṅgeśvar temple near Gopa and a Siva temple at Kalarahang and a Durga temple at Sikharchandi near Patia. My friend Sri K. N. Mahapatra also brought to notice the Varahi temple at Chaurasi and many other temples in Kakatpur area. I first noticed that the Jagannatha temple at Madhava was built by Anangabhima Deva. Broken temples at Punjiama and a big brick temple near Banapur were also discovered by me in the Puri district.

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MONUMENTS OF THE BALASORE DISTRICT *

The date of Soro copper plates is the early seventh century, but so far no monument has been discovered which can be ascribed to that period. There are some ruins at Kopari the date of which has not yet been assigned. N. N. Vasu made an archaeological survey of some places in the neighbourhood of Balasore from which it is learnt that during the 10th century there were some monuments there. The Fort at Raibania situated on the border of the Midnapore district is the biggest fort in Orissa, but its history is still unknown. The study of forts in North Balasore and Mayurbhanj will throw light on the military organisation against the attack of the enemy from the North. At Gaganeswar near Kasiadi in the district of Midnapore there is a Fort with strong laterite walls, and in this fort there is a stone inscription belonging to the period of Kapilendra Deva. The inscription has been so badly damaged that no decipherment is possible.

(i) AYODHYA— The former Nilgiri State is now a subdivision of the Balasore district. At Ayodhya in Nilgiri there are vast ruins of a town where there were a large number of Hindu and Buddhist temples. But not a single is there with its former grandeur. From the inscriptions on the images, the date of Ayodhya can be safely assigned to the 10th century A. D. if not earlier. Some Matrikā images have also been found from villages not far off Ayodhya.

(ii) BIRANCHI NARAYANA TEMPLE at Palia near Bhadrak— A temple of Indo-Aryan Style with four doors on four sides. The image enshrined has also four faces on four sides.

(iii) MANI NAGESVARA—The temple at Maninagesvara is of about 10th—11th century. The reconstruction has spoilt the original structure.

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* Vide 'ORISSA REVIEW' Vol. VI, *Orissa Monuments Special*, 1949, Published by the Public Relations Department, Govt. of Orissa.

(iv) SERGARH—There are some temples and images at Shergarh.

(V) HARICHANDANGARH at Kurdia contains vast ruins of an old fort.

Monuments of the Mayurbhanj District

The hill system of Mayurbhanj divides Mayurbhanj into eastern and western parts. In the eastern part flows the Burabalanga with its tributaries. The valley of the Burabalanga is full of Pre-historic sites out of which Kuliana is famous for the Palaeolithic implements and Baidyapur for the Neolithic ones. Besides these stone age relics, some relics of the copper age have been discovered also in Mayurbhanj. In March and April, 1949, Dr. Zeuner, the Geochronologist of the London University who was brought by the Archaeological Department of the Government of India, visited Kuliana which is one of the important Pre-historic sites in India. In 1940 Dr E. C. Worman of the Peabody Museum of the Harvard University, U. S A. visited the Neolithic sites of Mayurbhanj and he published a paper entitled *The neolithic problem in the pre-history of India* in which a map has been attached showing places of Southern Asia. This map mentions Mayurbhanj of Orissa as a find spot of stone celts.

The discovery of old coins in Mayurbhanj has thrown a flood of light on the history of Orissa. The punch marked coins are the earliest and pre-Maurian in date. The coins next in date are (1) the copper Kushan coins (ii) the gold Roman coins (iii) the gold Gupta coins of Kumaragupta and (iv) the copper Puri-Kushan coins.

In eastern Mayurbhanj, particularly in the valley of the Son, a tributary of the Burabalanga, temples dedicated to Chamunda are found The date is about 9th and 10th century A. D. About a dozen copper images of the Jaina Tirthankaras and Sāsanadevis have also been found together with many images of Parśvanāth, Rishabha and Mahāvira.

The Khakara style of laterite temple at Vishnupur is also an important old relic belonging to Chamunda worshipped in the Vaishnava manner.

The ancient monuments at Khiching have been very popular recently. Besides temples, some residential sites and many other old relics have been unearthed at Biratgarh near Khiching. The discovery of a large number of real Kushan coins and Puri Kushan coins pushes the date of the site to the 3rd and 4th century A. D. but

the temples and their sculptures are much later in date which is about the 9th and 10th centuries A. D. About a dozen copper-plates of the Bhanja Kings of Khiching have been preserved at the Museums at Khiching and Baripada in Mayurbhanj.

Khiching

Khiching, the ancient capital of the Bhanja kings of Mayurbhanj in the 10th Century A D. situated on the left bank of the Vaitarani at a distance of 91 miles from Baripada, bears eloquent testimony of the taste of the builders of the temples. At one time there were many temples at Khiching, but now there are only three which have no porch or Mukhamandapa in their front. This is a very special feature of Architecture of the temples of Khiching when compared with these of Bhubaneswar.

The porch indicates the comfort of the devotee from the Sun and the absence of porch indicates the higher sentiment of the devotee before entering the shrine. At Telkupi in Manbhum in Bihar, and at Barakar in Burdwan in West Bengal, we find such temples without porch which are rectangular in shape, but at Baudh-garh, the capital of southern Bhanja Kings, there are three temples which have no porch, and the ground plan is star shaped instead of being rectangular. There is a slight provision for shelter in the shape of a porch supported by two pillars in the front,

Mr. Percy Brown in his *Indian Architecture* states that "The temples of Orissa provide the most logical beginning for a study of the Indo-Aryan style. The main group is concentrated in the town of Bhubaneswar where there are over thirty examples. "..... From Bhubaneswar, towards the north, an offshoot of the movement is to be found, in a series of ruined shrines in the State of Mayurbhanj". (The Indian Achitecture, P. 118.)

Elsewhere he writes that "One of the most remarkable characteristic of the Orissa temple, is the plain and featureless treatment of the interior, constrasted with the profusely ornamented walls of the exterior, the surfaces of which are charged with a superfluity of plastic patterns and forms." On the temples of Khiching, Telkupi and Barakar in which he traces the northernly development of Orissan style, Mr. Percy Brown again writes that "The Architectural style of Khiching examples is very similar to that of Orissan group, but the

wealth of carving and figures sculpture with which they are decorated, is slightly different in handling, suggesting the existence of a separate and local school of plastic art. Still more to the north, shrines in the Burdwan and Manbhum districts show more individuality in their design the increased distance from the centre of the movement causing them to be less under the influence of the parent style.

The absence and presence of the Porch in early temples are illustrated well in Baudha. The star-shaped temples of Baudhagarh have no porch, but the twin temples of Parasurameswar style at Gandharadhi have got porches. So it is evident that the Orissa style of temple architecture was modified by builders according to their artistic taste

At Khiching there are 14 monolithic pillars supporting the tiled roof of a hall, not meant for worship. The pillars are square at the top and bottom. The bases of the plliars are similar to those of Bharhut style and the capitals are clear derivatives from the bell capital of Asokan pillars. The shaft is eight sided. No where in Bhubaneswar such pillars are found.

The sculptures of Khiching which decorated the temples there, are best examples of the plastic art of the period, and like architecture the sculptures of Khiching possess some specific features. The artists carved images not according to the stereotyped way, but by actual observation from nature. The modelling of the lower parts of images was done with a special attention by the sculptors. The modelling and expression of the face are very elegant. Many critics of art, Indian and foreign, have therefore defined it as an independent branch of the schools of art in Orissa.

Monuments of the Keonjhar District

The note on the Archaeological finds in Mayurbhanj is applicable to Keonjhar also and according to tradition both Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar formed a kingdom of which Khiching was the capital. The District has not been properly surveyed and so with the exception of Danguaposi no other monument is known.

The Rock Painting at Danguaposi and Sitabinji in the Keonjhar District.

The village Danguaposi is about 42 miles from Keonjhargarh and there are huge rocks and jungles in its neighbourhood. There is a

hillock locally called Rāvaṇachāyā in which one big boulder is placed by nature above the other. The upper boulder is projected on one side about 15 feet forming as if a ceiling of a house There is a fresco painting in red ocre representing a royal procession of foot soldiers, men on horse back and a person on the elephant. Besides the red colour other colours are used in showing the lips, belts etc. There is a line of writing at the bottom which can be deciphered with difficulty as it has been exposed to the actions of the weather for several centuries. The scene of the procession has also been damaged by the weather action. The ceiling is about 25 feet or more in height from the ground level and it is very difficult to erect a manchan there due to the rock bed, and so no close view of the painting and writing is possible.

Pandit Binayak Misra and Sri K. C. Panigrahi published a paper on this in the Modern Review in 1938 (pp, 301–325) and they read the inscription as *Ragaraja Sri Disabhaja.* The letters belong to the 4th-5th century A D, To corroborate this inscription in a stone seal found at Khiching with letters *Ragaraja* which can be read as *Rajaraja.* So it sems that Disabhaja used only the epithet Rājarāja in his seal and his capital was at Khiching which is not far off from Danguaposi,

No proper study of the painting and the inscription has yet been made and a careful study of these will throw some light on the dark period of the history of Orissa.

The Bhanja Raj family of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar claim that they sprang from the same family and their ancestors divided the ancient Bhanja kingdom into Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar. The copper plates of the northern Bhanj dynasty are much later in date than this inscription of Danguaposi *

Monuments in the Sundargarh District

This district comprises the former states of Gangpur and Bonai. The Bonai copper plate of Udaya Varāha is an important historical document. Its seal is peacock like that of the present rulers of Bonai. The rulers of Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Boud and Dasapalla

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* Recently a stone inscription has been noticed by Sri S N. Rajguru from Asanapat in Keonjher which refers to a king with Bhanja surname belonging to the 3rd century. A. D. according to palaeography,

have got a peacock in their seals. The history of the Raj families of Gangpur, Bamra and Bonai is shrouded with legendary accounts. So far no important archaeological monument has been known in this area.

Monuments of the Brahmani Valley

The present Dhenkanal District comprises the former states of (1) Dhenkanal, (2) Hindol (3) Talcher, (4) Palahara and Angul subdivision of Orissa.

Prehistoric sites at Harichandpur in Talcher and Kaliakata in Angul were noticed by Valentine Ball in 1876. The recent investigation has proved that the sites are very important for study.

From this area a good many copper plates of the (1) the Bhauma (2) the Stambha or Sulki, and the (3) Nanda dynasties of Orissa have been found and the antiquity of the monuments goes back to 8th and 9th centuries A. D. But this area has not been fully surveyed as will be evident from the following :

There are reports on the discovery of gold Gupta coins and Ganga coins from Angul.

Bhimakand, Sarang & Vajrakot in Talcher

Bhimakand is situated at about 18 miles of Talcher. After crossing a jungle of shrubs from the road one meets with a sand rock adjoining the paddy fields on its west and north. On the northern side of the rock is carved out an image of Vishnu in sleeping posture. The image sleeps on his right side for which two right hands are not carved. The image measures 41 ft. 6 inches from top to toe. The waist measures 6 feet on its exposed side. The measurement from the right shoulder to the left one is 8 feet. The head measures 4 feet and 6 inches from the forehead to the chin. The measurement of the left hand from the elbow to the tip of the finger is 12 ft. and 6 inches. The diameter of the Chakra is 4 ft. The length of the Gada is 5 feet. The measurement of the leg from the knee to foot is 11 ft. Each foot measures 4 ft. and 4 inches. The palm measures 5 ft. and 10 inches.

The proportions of different limbs to the body of the image appear to be very beautiful to the eye. The style of the sculpture appears to be very natural inspite of the hugeness of the image, the

date of which can be assigned to the 8th and 9th century A. D. from its natural softness of execution.

The image lies on the right bank of the Brahmani which flows at a distance of about one mile, but the image of Vishnu carved out of a similar rock measuring about 50 ft. lies at Sarang on the exposed rock in the bed of the river. I saw the image in October, 1946, when it was covered with the sand of the river. The village Sarang is situated on the left bank of the Brahmani, quite opposit to the temple of Paschimesvara on the Talcher side at a distance of about 2 miles from the Talchergarh. At Paschimesvar there is a sitting image of Dhyānī Buddha which is built with several pieces of stones. Such images built with more than one piece of stones are common at Udayagiri not far from one of the branches of the Brahmani in the Cuttack District.

Carving out of an image of 41 ft. 6 inches long with due proportions to limbs is no doubt a bold conception on the part of the sculptor and as there are two such unusually big sculptures in the Brahmani valley, it seems that the area was once inhabited by highly civilised people.

The Puri District possesses all the three big temples of Orissa which are works spreading over a period of two centuries from 1050 A.D , but the Talcher area possesses two big images which were left unknown up till now so to say. The great image of Gomatesvara on the Dodd-betta hill in Mysore State, measures 57 feet in height and is the largest standing image of India. but the images of Vishnu at Sarang and Bhimakand are the largest sleeping images in India, and stand second and third in measurement when compared with the image of Gomatesvar of Mysore. But the image of Gomatesvar is a Jaina one, whereas the images at Sarang and Bhimakand are Hindu ones.

Vajrakot is situated at about 32 miles from Talcher on the right bank of the Brahmani. Tradition has it that Vajrakot was the capital of Jita Rajas. The word Jita is a apabhramasa of Aditya and Kshatriyas of the Aditya family were once ruling in Manbhum area. The Khstriyas of the Pala family were rulers of Pal-Lahara since several centuries past. So long no epigraphical evidence is found it is unsafe to accept these traditions as true.

At Vajrakot, there stood a large number of temples which is proved from the stone blocks of temples scattered all over the village

Fortunately there stands only one temple of Siva called Bhingesvar. The temple is of the Parasuramesvara style, but the Parasurameswar has got a developed Jagamohana in its front whereas the Bhingesvar had a pillared hall in its front quite detached from the temple. The door frame is very prominent with various designs. There is one Dvarapala with a female attendant on each jamb. The images of the Gangā and the Yamuna are carved not on the jambs, but in the front wall out side the jambs. The workmanship of those two sculptures of Gangā and Yamunā is very excellent and reminds one of those of the post-Gupta period. On the lintel there are 8 images of celestial planets or Astagraha of the Hindu Astronomy and it is remarkable that the first is Surya holding two lotuses and other 6 images are of one style. The last one is that of Rāhu shown with its bust only. The temple has three parśvadevatas namely Ganeśa on the south, Kārtikeya on the west and Mahishāsuramardini locally known as Bhingesvari, on the north. The image of Ganeśa possesses some peculiarities which are not met generally. The main peculiarity is the sitting posture. The temple is sparingly decorated.

Near the Upper Primary School there stands two jambs with a lintel. The decoration of the jambs and the workmanship of the Dvārapalas are of the same style as that of Bhingesvar temple. The temple had no porch or pillared hall.

The remains at Vajrakot are very interesting—interesting as being situated in unknown wilds which speaks of the entire revolution that has taken place in the history and also as proofs of a place which was once the seat of opulence and power.

In this connection I like to deal with the archæological remains at Khiching in the Vaitarani valley and at Baudhagarh in the Mahanadi valley of Orissa. The geographical situation of Khiching, Vajrakota and Baudhagarh is in no way connected with each other, but the temples of Indo-Aryan style without porch of these places, establishes a connecting link of the civilisation that once spread in these hilly parts of Orissa. It is a matter of regret that antiquities like the Vishnu images at Saranga and Bhimkand and the Bhingesvar temple at Vajrakot situated in the Brahmani valley were unknown as yet. The Antiquities of the upper valley and the lower valley of the Brahmani indicate the existence of such relics in the middle portion of the valley situated in the area of Dhenkanal which is surrounded by hills like the upper one.

II Temples at Koalo in Dhenkanal

Koalo is situated at about 6 miles east of Talcher town in the Dhenkanal area. Koalo is the corruption of the Kodalaka of the Stambha or Sulki copper plates. There are half a dozen temples here which have no porch, but the decoration of these temples are not very praiseworthy. Beautiful sculptures are found on the body of the biggest of the five temples called Kanakesvara. The place needs further study.

III Temple at Talmul in Angul.

Talmul is situated about 15 miles south of Angul town. More than one copperplate have been found here. There is a temple here dedicated to Durgā Mahisāsuramardini. The temple is not a big one, but it possesses some special features of architecture in Orissa. It had a mukhasālā attached to its front which had a roof supported by pillars. The temple and the mukhasālā have been constructed on a raised platform which adds to the height of the temple. The pillars are similar to those of the Chaulkunji at Khiching. The parśvadevatās of the temple are very life-like and good specimens of plastic art, and so also the deity in the temple.

A large number copper plates of (i) the Bhauma (ii) the Sthamba and (iii) the Nanda dynasties of Orissa have been found in the Dhenkanal, Angul, Hindol and Talcher areas.

IV Monuments in the Mahanadi Valley.

The valley of the Mahanadi comprises the present districts of Sambalpur and Bolangir, Baudh subdivision of the Phulbahi district; Daspalla, and Khandapara areas of the Puri district, Narsinghpur, Boramba, Tigiria, Athgarh and Banki areas of the Cuttack district. This vast area is full of ancient monuments, but very little study of their importance has been made.

(a) Monuments of the Sambalpur District

Valentine Ball reported the discovery of some paleolithic implements at Bursapali near Kudderbuga as early as 1876 (Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1876 pp. 122–23). Some years ago specimens of old writing were discovered at Vikramkhol which have not yet been deciphered. It has been suggested that these writings might

throw light on the missing link between the Indus valley civilization and the Vedic culture. So far no definite decision has been arrived at by anybody.

The diamond trade of Sambalpur is very ancient, but it has totally died out now.

There are no monuments worth the name which can be assigned to a date earlier than the 15th century A.D. at Sambalpur but they have got some special features which have not been studied as yet.

The temple at Narsinhanath in the Borasambar zamindary belongs to the Ganga period. The temple has got an inscription, belonging to the period of Vaijal Deva of the Chouhan family of Patna which was written in 1421 A. D.

(b) Monuments of the Bolangir and the Kalahandi Districts

In these two districts, the former states of Patna, Sonepur and Kalahandi are included. A large number of copper plates of the Somakuli and Bhanja dynastics have been found in the Balangir district. It is situated in an area bounded by the rivers Anga and Tel, the tributaries of the Mahanadi. This district is full of ancient monuments.

Thanks are due to the Archaeological Department of the former Patna State as some Archaeological works were done there before integration.

Cunningham's assistant J. D. Beglar surveyed this area in 1875-76 and his notes are printed in Vol XIII of the Archaeological Survey Reports.

(i) Kosalesvar temple at Baidyanath on the Tel in Sonpur

Baidyanath is situated at about 6 miles north-west of Sonpur town. The main temple is broken and on it there has been erected a modern one. But the Mukhasālā of the originnal temple stands there in a dilapidated condition. The architecture of this mukhasālā is a type itself in Orissa, and the sculptures which decorated it, are the best specimens of the plastic art dating about the 8th century A.D. or earlier. Recently a temple of Kosalesvara type has been found at Charda in the Sonpur subdivision, which is in a good state of preservation.

Another temple at Baidyanatha built with carved stones is standing close by the Kosalesvara which can be compared with any temple of Bhubaneswar of the later period.

(ii) Further up on the Tel is situated Belkhandi which was excavated by Sri K. N. Mahapatra of the Archaeological Department of the Kalahandi State in 1947-48 and it is reported that some important relics have been found there. Beglar describes it as Rajapadar.

(iii) At Ranipur-jharial are found a large number of temples and vast ruins. The brick built temple is a unique specimen of architecture in Orissa. Another important structure is the circular enclosure of the Chausaṭhi or sixty-four yoginis. The other temple dedicated to the 64 Yoginis is at Bhedaghat in Central Province. The date of this temple is much later than that of Kosalesvara, noted above and those of Patnagarh and Saintala noted below.

(iv) There once existed several temples at Patnagarh of which the materials have been used up in building modern ones, but the sculptures, the photographs of some of which have been published by late P. C. Rath in the Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society Vol. II Nos. 2-3, are quite similar to those of the post-Gupta art of the Cuttack hills or elsewhere. The temple at Saintala also belongs to the period of those of Patnagarh or a little later, and late P.C. Rath has published some photos of the soulptures of this temple in on article of the Journal noted above.

(v) Harisankar temple is situated on the southern slope of the Gandhamardan hill on the northern slope of which stands the Narasimhanatha, temple. There are some other temples there and the place is visited by a large number of pilgrims.

(vi) Yuan Chwang has described a place called 'Polomolokili' which is Parimalagiri. The location of this place is somewhere in western Orissa. There is a vast Archaeological site in the Kharial subdivision of the Kalahandi district not yet visited by any Archaeologist. Sri D. P. Tripathi, an O. A. S. officer described it in the proposed Gazetteer of Kharial.

(c) Monuments on the banks of the Mahanadi from Sonpur to Athgarh.

(i) Temples at Gandharadhi.

The twin temples of Nilamadhava Vishnu and Sidhesvar Siva at Gandharadhi on the south bank of the Mahanadi, 8 miles from Baud are similar in architecture to the Parsuramesvar temple of Bhubaneswar. Here two temples dedicated to Vishnu and Siva are constructed in the same compound. At the top of the Siva temple is placed a Sivalinga and at that of the Vishnu temple a Chakra or disc. There are mukhasalas in front of the temples which are in a dilapidated condition. Like the twin temples of Gandharadhi there are twin temples dedicated to Sidhesvara Siva and Nilamadhava Vishnu at Kantilo in Khandapara. The outer walls of these temples have been covered with plaster recently, and so the ancient form of the architecture is lost.

(ii) Temples at Baudhgarh :

At Baudhagarh quite close to the palace there was a Buddhist monument which has been destroyed. Only the image of the Buddha is seated there perhaps on its original position now. Two copper plates belonging to Tribhubana Mahadevi of the Bhauma dynasty were found when the debris were cleared some years ago. The land granted in these copper plates is situated in the Dandabhukti area which has been identified with the Midnapur and Bankura districts of West Bengal. It seems that these plates were carried from Midnapore area to Baudha by the descendants of the donee.

Beglar wrote as follows on the group of temples of Ramnath situated at the western end of the Baudha town.

"The principal shrine is a comparatively modern erection well plastered over, consisting of a sanctum, a Mahamandapa. and a portico; in short it is a complete temple, and possibly is only an ancient one repaired; it is dedicated to Ramesvara, faces east, and is surrounded by no less than nine small shrines, all in decay and all of about the same age. Of course I was not allowed to approach too close to the sacred shrine, but I was sufficiently thankful to have been allowed access even into the court-yard."

"Besides this great shrine there are three smaller isolated temples, which have not been covered with plaster or repaired, and which, therefore, now stand with all the beauty of their elaborate carving; so hard and durable is the stone, that the carvings appear nearly as sharp as the day they were executed; the colour too, a deep purplish red, adds in no small degree to the beauty. Each of these

temples stands by itself on a raised platform, and each consists of a cell and its attached portico only. The plan will show the minute recesses and angularities in plan which produce so charming an effect in the variety of light and shade, and confer an appearance of greater height from the continued clusters of vertical lines than they really possess, but it will be noticed that they are very small In regard to the elevation, it is in the usual style of the elevations of the single celled types common in Bengal, of which the ones at Barakar may be taken as fair types; but I cannot do justice to the elaborate carving which literally covers the temple from crown to base without the aid of photographs of the temples. One faces west and two face east; they have all a group of the Navagrahas over the entrance, and as they are considered subordinate in sanctity to the great temple of Ramesvara, I was allowed to approach and take a plan of one of them. These temples are planned on the principle of intersecting squares laid down by Fergusson as the most common type of the plan of mediaoval temples in India. Really this form of intersecting squares is very rare, as may be seen on comparison of such plans as have yet been obtained; they are certainly extremely beautiful, and though small they are gems of art in their own humble way. I cannot assign to them any great age; the ninth century is the earliest which may safely be assigned to them, and when we remember that most of the temples of Orissa (some of them inscribed and, therefore, not uncertain in date) are of this period and show a remarkable predilection for the Navagraha, I think there will be no reasonable doubt in assigning these to that period also, an age not inconsistent with the elaborate profuse and minute ornamentation bestowed on them, or the general outline and disposition of the plan and facade."*

Banesvarnasi in the Narsinghpur area of the Cuttack District.

Banesvarnasi is now a hillock island in the bed of the Mahanadi. On the eastern side of the hillock there are extensive ruins of brickbuilt and stone temples. Among the sculptures of this place two Buddhist images of Tārā carved in the red sand stone are unique specimens of plastic art in Orissa. Images carved in red

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* Cunningham's report on the Archæological Survey of India, 1882, Vol. XIII, PP. 118--19.

sand stone are not met elsewhere as such kind of stone is not geologically possible in Orissa. The style of the image is quite similar to that of others of the period viz. 9th and 10th centuries A. D. and so the builder had to bring the stone from a place like Mirzapur in United Provinces or Rajputana where such stone is found in abundance or the quarry of the stone is some where in Narsingpur or in its neighbourhood. The site was discovered by K. G. Gupta, the then Commissioner of Orissa in February, 1902;

At present there is one image of Tārā at Banesvarnasi and another has found its way to the Patna Museum.

The site of Banesvarnasi requires investigation for the study of its history, architecture and art and so no definite report on the importance of the site is possible now.

Champesvar is another important place of Archæology in the Narsingpur area where there are good many Brahmanical sculptures which may be assigned to the 9th and 10th centuries A. D. From the village Balijhari a copper plate of Udyota Kesari, a king of the Somakuli dynasty, was found some years ago.

Simhanatha in the Baramba area of the Cuttack District.

There is a romantic islet in the bed of the Mahanadi where there is an old temple dedicated to Siva called Simhanatha. The style of architecture of the temple quite resembles that of the Parasuramesvara of Bhubaneswar. The decorative sculptures of the temple which are life-like and very elegant form good specimens of the plastic art in the upper Mahanadi valley. There is a Mukhamandapa of the temple which is profusely decorated with mythological scenes from the Ramayana, the Bhagavata and the Markandeya Purana. In this temple though the presiding deity is Siva, there are decorative sculptures of the Vaishnavic and Sakta cults, which indicates the influence of the Panchadevata worship which was so popular in Orissa in its famous Pancha-Kshetras.

In the great temple of Jagannātha at Puri we find the deities of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadra who are also prototypes of Vishnu, Siva and Durga, and in the Simhanatha temple we find the representation of these three cults. At Kantilo and Gandharadhi, Siva and Vishnu are worshipped side by side in the

same compound. So it seems that the cult of Jagannatha originated in the upper valley of the Mahanadi and migrated to the sea board district of Puri.

To the south of Sĩmhanatha on the right bank of the Mahanadi are situated Baidyanatha or Baidyeswar and Ramanatha. At the southern foot of the Ramanatha hillock there is a small temple of the type of Vaitalad eula of Bhubaneswar dedicated to Mahishasuramardini. This small temple furnishes evidence that type of temple architecture of Vaitaladeula was also common in Orissa. Mr. Kittoe saw the temple in 1837 and published the drawing of one side of this temple at pages 828–29, plate XL, in *the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1838 and I located the temple with the kind help of the Rajasaheb of Baramba.

Rautrapur and Dhavaleswar in Athgarh area of the Cuttack District

(1) Routrapur

Kittoe visited Grameswar near Routrapur in Athgarh in 1837 and published drawings of some sculptures in plates XXXI & XXXII in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal of 1838, pages 660-62, Kittoe remarks:— "Stand the ruins of a small and once highly elegant temple dedicated to mahadeo by name Grameswar, it is of white sand stone of very fine grain, what remains of the soulpture is truly elegnant, the figures and idols are very graceful." (p 661) No further report on the place is available from any other source although it is quite close to Cuttack.

(ii) Dhavaleswar.

Dhavaleswar is another picturesque islet in the Mahanadi about 5 miles west of Cuttack. The temple here was built according to tradetion by Gajapati Pratāparudra Deva. (1497-1534 A.D.)

TYPES OF TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE ACCORDING TO MANASARA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ORISSAN TEMPLES.

Dr. Prasanna Kumar Acharya in his work entitled *Manasara-Hindu Architecture in India and abroad*, Vol. VI (1946) writes as follows on the classification of Orissan Temples at pp. 260-262.

" The Northern or Indo-Aryan style of architecture covers the whole area occupied by the Aryans,' usually designated- as Hindustan', to the north of the Tāpti and Mahanadi rivers " (P. 260)

× × × ×

" The peculiarities of the *Nagara* style, except in one or two rather unessential points, would correspond to these details of 'Northern or Indo-Aryan style'. The *amala* or *amalaka sila* is not mentioned in the *Manasara* under this appelation, but the *Murdhnishtaka* (Brick at the top) seems to serve the same puposes of the *amula-sila*, The *Kalaśa* or dome, *śikha* and *śikhara*, are the distinguishing features of the style found also in the *Mānasara* in addition to the square shape". (p. 261-62)

Quoting Burgess Dr. Acharya writes as follows :—

"The temples at Bhubaneswar . . . differ very markedly from those in the west in being almost entirely astylar pillars having been introduced in latter additions. They have the early form of *śikhara* nearly perpendicular below, but curving near the summit, and the crowning member has no resemblance to any thing like the small domes on Chālukyan Spires" (p. 262)

" Burgess, following the classification of Fergusson, has included the style found at Puri, Bhubaneswar and Konarka under the Indo-Aryan or Northern style. But he has admitted that it 'may be separated in to distinct order'. What is called *Vesara* in the *Manasara* seems to be identical with this style. The main characteristic feature of the style is according to *Mānasara* its round shape and this is clearly exhibited by temples and images on the Orissan countries". (p. 262)

" The identification of *Nagara* with Northern India needs; however, an explanation. It seems to have been never before used exclusively in that sense ". (p. 262) × × ×

But it is found used more frequently as the names of villages, towns, and rivers in Bengal, Bihar and United provinces of Agra and Oudh, Rajputana, the Panjab and Gujrat." (p. 262)

After dealing with this geography of Northern India from the foot of the Himalayas on the North to the Vindhya range on the south, Dr. Acharya comes to the conclusion that, " This is the very tract which seems to have been covered by the *Nagara* style about the time of *Mānasāra*." (pp. 263)

" The southern and eastern tracts represented by the *Drāvida* and the *Vesara* styles can also be associated respectively with the Tāmil and the Telugu, including the Orissan scripts. As based on scripts and languages, these divisions, *Nāgara Drāvida* and *Vesara*, have existed apart from the architectural styles " (p 263)

Dr. P. K. Acharya assigns the date of '*Manasara*' from 500 A. D. to 700 A. D " (p. 282)

The word *Vesara* applied to the Orissan temples by Dr. Acharya, is borrowed from the following verse of *Mānasāra*, the text of which was published by him in Vol. III of the *Mānasāra* series. I had not the occasion to see the text of *Mānasāra*, but fortunately Dr. Acharya quoted the verse in the foot note at p. 258.

बेदास्रं नागरं प्रोक्तं बस्वस्रं द्राबिडं भवेत्
सुवृत्तं वेसरं प्रोक्तमन्थं स्यात्तु षडस्रकं ।

(Manasara XL II, 124-25)

The names *Nāgara, Dravida, Vesara* of the above verse, were taken to mean the geographical as well as ethnological terms by Dr. Acharya and so he asigned the *Vesara* style of architecture of temples to be that of the Orissan style He interpreted *Nāgara* to mean North-Indian, *Dravida*, south Indian and *Andhra* Telengana. But the interpretation of the vesara should have been as the technical term based on the number of angles or corners found in each structure or temple. As Dr. Acharya failed to grasp the meaning of the term *Vesara* in its proper sense, he has been misled to interpret the term

Vesara which is not an original Sanskrit word. So far the angles or corners are concerned the word *Vesara* is derived from the Sanskrit word *Vyasra*, the *apabhramśa* or *prakrita* form of which is *Vesara*, meaning a structure without angles or corners (*Vi*–without asra-angle or corner). This angleless or cornerless word *Vyasra* is qua'ified by the adjective Suvrta (completely circular) in the verse.

Now let us translate the above Sanskrit verse of *Mānasāra* into English.

I. NAGARA is called of a structure with four corners, Veda four, asra–corners.

II. DRAVIDA is called of a structure with eight corners, Vasu–Eight, asra–corners.

III. VESARA is called of a structure with no angles, (Vi–No, asra–corners) *Vesara* ir derived from the word *Vyasra*.

It is not understood why in *Manasāra* an *Apabhramśa* word was used. It seems that it is due to the metre in which the verse was composed or the word *Vesara* was Sanskritised by that time.

In the Oriya language we find the words such as *Vebhāra* and *Vevsa* which are derived from the Sanskrit words *vyavakhāra* and *Vyavasaya*. Similarly the word *vesara* has been derived from vyasra.

IV. ANDHRA is called of a structure with six corners, (Saṭ–six, asra-corners.)

The *Nagara* type of temples consisting of the four oorners or four sided temples are divided into (i) Square types and (ii) oblong or rectangular types. Both the types of temples possess perpendicular wall or *Bāda* as called by the Orissan architects up to the height of the temple on which the *Sikhara* is constructed. The *Sikhara* of the square pattern of temples are again divided in to *R kha* type and *Pidha* type according to the manner the spire goes upwards up to the height where a circular V*eki* is constructed. On the V*eki* is built another circular and corrugated structure which is called *amalaka śilā*, on the *amalaka śilā* is placed the *Khapuri* or the skull of the head which is also circular in shape. The top most portion is the *Kalaśa* over which rests the symbol of the deity, a trident in the *Siva* temple or disc in the case of the V*ishnu* temple. The *Rekha* type of *śikhara* of the temple is called

the Indo-Aryan type of temple architecture according to the terminology used by Fergusson. The *Pidha* type of *Sikhara* of the temple is different from that of the *Sikhara* of the Indo-Aryan type. The spire of the *Rekha* type of temple goes tapering high up gradually becoming narrower up to the height of the *Veki*, the spire of *Pidha* type of temple instead of going high up in curvilinear way goes up with inverted steps up to the *Veki*.

Square inside and outside with a flat roof, a temple of the Gupta pattern is found on the Sikharachandi hill near Patia, not far from the Mancheswar Railway station. It is a tiny little structure, the outside and inside walls of which are strictly plain.

Square type of *Nāgara* temples with *Rekha* spires are first met with at Bhubaneswar namely the 3 temples of *Satrughnesvara* group and *Svarnajalesvar* temple and a few other temples having no *Mukhaśālā* or *Jagamohana*. At Khiching in the Mayurbhanj District there are three temples of *Nagara* type, *Rekha* temples without *Mukhaśala*. The square type of *Rekha* temples known as *Paraśurāmeśvara* and *Mohinī* at Bhubaneswar, however possess oblong type of *Mukhaśā'a*, the roofs of which are copied from the thatched type of house Such *Mukhaśālas* are found at *Gandharadhi* temples in Bauda-Phullbani district and *Simhanātha* temple in the Cuttack district. The square *Nagara* type of *Rekha* temple such as *Mukteśvara*, *Rājarani*, Lingarāja, Brahmeśvar and others at Bhubaneswar, Jagannātha temple at Puri and Konark temple and many others in Orissa, all possess a *Mukhaśāla* of *Pidha* type of spire of *Nāgara* architecture. It is not known why the oblong type of *Mukhaśāla* introduced at the *Parasuramesvara* and other temples noted above were subsequently abondoned and a square type was adopted at all other temples.

The *Nāgara* type of *Rekha* temples at Paliabindha, 6 miles east of Bhadrakh town in the Balasore district, hossess four doors on its four sides and so it is a unique type itself in Orissa. Professor S. K. Saraswati, in the chapter XX on Art, I-Architecture of the *History and Culture of Indian people* Vol-V (P. 573), gives reference to such four faced temples at Khajoraho, one of them is the temple of *Brahma* and other is the temple of *Mrtang Mahādev*- (Mṛtyunjaya Mahādeva). He has also given the ground plan of these two temples in Fig : 7 and 8 of his book.

(ii) The oblong type (East-West walls are longer than the north and south walls) of *Nagara* temples of Orissa do not possess a *Sikhara* type of spire and all such temples possess a half burrel shaped dome most probably adopted from the shade of bullock carts built with bamoo battons with wickerwork sheet called *Chānchaḍa* in Oriya of palmyra leaves properly spread in a semi-circular shape. The length of these temples is not very high and the temples are also not of big dimension. In Orissa temples of this type are not many. The earliest is the *Vaitala Deula* at Bhubaneswar with an oblong (North-south walls are bigger than the east-west walls) *Mukhaśala*, attached to an oblong *Vimana* having east-west walls longer than north-south walls. There are a few other temples at Bhubaneswar among which Gauri temple at Kedargauri is important. The Mahishāsurmardinī temple at Ramanāth near Baidyeswar is a tiny little temple without any *Mukhaśala*. *The Varahi* temple at Chaursi in the Puri District is another important instance of oblong (east-west walls are longer than the North-south walls) Vimana of the type of *Nagara* architacture with also an oblong (North-south walls are longer than that of east-west walls) *Mukhaśala* fully decorated in the outside. Another instance is the Gaṅgeśvarī temple at Vayalisbati in the village Erbang near Gop on the Konark road from Bhubaneswar. The *Vimana* is built with oblong type of *Nagara* architecture but its *Mukhaśala* is a square type of *Pidha deula*. All these temples are situated near about Bhubaneswar. In the north Orissa at Shergada in the Balasore district and at Kishore pur in the Mayurbhanj district, there are two such oblong type of *Nagara* temples built with laterite stones. It is peculiar that in all these oblong type *Nagara* temples contain the Sakta deities. Prof. Saraswati gives illustrations of two such temples, one at Gwalior–Telika-Mandir and another at Jāgeśvar, Navadurga temple in Almora district at P. 553 of the book noted above. The Chaushat-yogini temple at Khajoraho in M. P. is a rectangular temple and so it is a *Nagar* type of architecture. (vide P. 575) *History & Culture of the Indian People* Vol. V.

The roof of the oblong type of *Natamandira* constructed in front of *mukaśala* of the Liṅgarāja and Anantavasudeva temples at Bhubaneswar and that of the Jaganātha temple at Puri is flat roofed and is quite different and separate from that of *Rekha Pidha* or barrel type of *śikhara* of temples noted above. The above description goes to prove clearly that all temples of

Orissa are of *Nagara* type of architecture and therefore Dr. P. K. Acharya's suggestion that these are of the *Vesara* type is totaly untenable;

Although the inside of the *Nagara* temples is plain, its outer walls are divided into *Triratha* and Pancharatha and sometimes more which goes up from the bottom to the top up to *Veki* The outside walls are full of decorations with floral and animal designs adorned with *Parsvadevatas* and *Dikpalas*.

II. There are two circular temple in Orissa, one at Hirapur which is an earlier one among the group of such temples in India. Hirapur is situated on the left bank of river Bhārgavī and also on left side of the old trunk road from Cuttack to Puri, beyond Balianta where the river Bhārgavī is bifurcated from the Kuśabhadrā river.

It is the hypaethral temple without the roof or circular temple in the ground plan belonging to the 64 yoginis placed in the wall of the inner side and 9 Kātyāyanīe on the outer wall of the structure. Being circular it is really a structure without any corner or angle and hence according to *Manasara* it is a *vesara* or *Vyasra* type of architecture. The date of this temple is near about 9th or 10th century A. D. The other circular 64 Yogini temple is found at Ranipur-Jharial in the Bolangir district and another is situated in the Kalahandi district according to Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey* report Vol. XIII. In the area of the modern Madhya Pradesh there are such circular 64 Yogini temples at Bheraghat and Mitauli *vide* Professor S. K. Saraswati' chepter on Art in the *History and culture of the Indian people* Vol. V (P. 575.) Besides 64 Yogini temple, Prof. Saraswati has also discussed other *Sikhara* temples of circular shape in his paper noted above at P. 573 and 574. Prof Saraswati has located the existence of the circular temples from the Gangetic region in the Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and as far South as Coimbatore. These circular temples are really the *Vesara* or *Vyasra* (without corner or angle) type according to *Manasara*, the significance of which was not understood by Dr. P, K, Acharya and even by Prof. S, K. Saraswati.

Prof. S.K. Saraswati begins his chapter on the architecture as follows :—

"The Indian *Silpaśastras* recognise three main styles of temples known as the *Nagara*, the *Dravida* and the *Vesara*. The descriptions given of them are, however vague and inadequate, and it is not possible at the present stage of our knowledge to equate the description of texts with any of the extent examples of Indian temple architecture. The term *Drāviḍa* indicates that the names are primarily geographical" (P. 530).

According to *Manasara* there is no geographical classification of temples, the idea of which has misled the scholars for classifying temple architecture, so far. The classification of *Manasara* is according to the ground plan divided into the angles or a circle. The technical terms the *Nāgara*, the *Drāviḍa* and the *Andhra* used to describe the temple architecture give the apparent idea of geographical regions, but actually these terms mean the ground plans of the temples.

III. & IV. The Six cornered *Andhra* type of temple architecture and eight cornered *Drāviḍa* type of architecture are not found in Orissa. Prof. S. K. Saraswati after taking great pains, illustrated 57 ground plans and temples at pp. 700-729, of the book entitled *The History & Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. V belonging to all parts of India, but in none of them, an illustration of the ground plan of the *Andhra* or the *Drāviḍa* type of temple architecture is found.

There are three temples at Baudhgarh in the Baudh-Phulbani District which are star-shaped in the ground plan. Prof. Saraswati has dealt with these temples at P. 556 - 57 of the book noted above. He writes that "the angular faces thus formed the exterier walls of the temple give it the shape of an eight pointed-star" (P. 556). In *Mānasāra* no such temple finds mention. So these temples are of a peculiar type of architecture in Orissa, even in India. These temples have no *Mukhaśālās*.

I am indebted to Sri Radha Mohan Mahapatra, M. A. for the valuable help rendered to me in writing this paper.

41

VARIETIES OF STONES USED IN BUILDING TEMPLES AND MAKING IMAGES IN ORISSA

I have made an extensive survey of temples and images of gods and goddesses in Orissa particularly in the Districts of Puri, Cuttack, Balasore, Mayurbhanja, Keonjhar, Dhenkanal, Boud-Phulbani, Bolangir, Kalahandi and Sambalpur in Orissa where there are a large number of ancient relics, both in the form of temples and images built with different kinds of stones which are mostly available in the neighbourhood of the locality of temples. I have partly surveyed the temples of the districts of Sundaragarh, Koraput and Ganjam. Among the districts of Orissa, Puri is the richest so far the number of temples and images is concerned and next to Puri comes the Cuttack district.

The names of stones used in building temples and making images are (i) sand stone, (2) khondolite, (3) Muguni and (4) Laterite. Excluding the Laterite other three kinds of stones are found to be used in recording the commemorative inscriptions. Such a wide use of those stones in temples and images, no doubt, is an interesting subject of study and so I am making an endeavour in throwing some light on the subject as far as I have been able to do.

The earliest relics are found at the Dhauli rock in the Puri District and at Jaugarh in the Ganjam District where there are two Asokan inscriptions. The Dhauli rock is the khondolite whereas Jaugarh rock is granite. At Dhauli, in addition to the rock edicts there is a carving of the front part of an elephant which is the earliest specimen of the plastic art in Orissa.

The next in date are the caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri where caves and sculptures have been carved out of the existing rock of sand stone. This, no doubt,gave an impetus to the architects and artists to exhibit their excellence in building temples and making images at Bhubaneswar in the subsequent periods of history. In addition, the sculptors used the Muguni stones for making images also. In the same age the architects and sculptors were busy in building

temples and making images not only at Bhubaneswar, but also at Jajapur and in the Cuttack hills called Nalatigiri, Udayagiri and Ratnagiri in the Cuttack District with materials of Khandolite and Muguni stones. The source of sand stones of the temples at Bhubaneswar are the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills and the khondolite stone of the temples at Jajapur are the Cuttack hills and the isolated hills in the neighbourhood of Haridaspur Railway station. But the source of the Muguni stones used at Bhubaneswar, Jajapur and Cuttack hills is not yet known. It is certain that the quarry of the Muguni stone used at Bhubaneswar is somewhere in the Khurda and Nayagarh subdivisions of the Puri District and that of the Muguni stones used at Jajapur and Cuttack hills and other places is somewhere in the Sukinda area of the Cuttack District. The Muguni stone is composed of fine grains but not very hard to carve images on it. Its appearance is black, greenish-black or bluish black. The Muguni stone was first termed chlorite by Stirling and since his time all writers have used the word chlorite. But the geologists do not admit that it is of chlorite sscist. A geologist's help is necessary to examine the different samples and give the verdict on these stones. The 64 Yogini temple at Hirapur near Bhubaneswar is circular in shape without any roof on it. The images are built with Muguni stones. The sources of the material are the same as that of the temples of Bhubaneswar.

The construction of the big temple of Lingaraja at Bhubaneswr was finished in the middle of the 11th century A. D. and after about hundred years the Jagannath temple at Puri was built The biggest Sun temple at Konarak was built in the middle of the 13th century A. D.

In the District of Puri largo size stone ashlars are found at old Bhubaneswar town, in Gundicha Mandir at Puri and at Konark. These large size ashlars are very difficult to transport from place to place even with many men. As regards the transportation of these heavy stone blocks from the quarry to the temple sites at Bhubaneswar, Puri and Konark, it seems now-a-days a work beyond human power so to say. Towards the end of the 18th century a Maratha Officer managed with the help of the masons to drag the Aruna pillar of Konark described by Abul Fazal in his Ain-i-Akbari, from Konark to Puri on the sand beach and over the river Kusabhadra. But within 100 years the Navagraha slab of the Konark temple was carried only a few hundred yards from the temple site

and abandoned there, and then the stone block was cut into two pieces by 1/3 and 2/3; the smaller pice containing the Navagraha was even too heavy to be carried a few yards when the attempt was abandoned and left there Sir W.W. Hunter who visited Konark from Puri in 1870, has left a vivid account about the removal of the *Navagraha śila* which is quoted below from his *Orissa* Vol. I, pp. 290-92.

"On the 4th February 1870, I started from Puri about mid-night by palanquin and reached Konark at day-break. The eastern entrance was till lately surmounted, as in other Orissa temples, by a chlorite slab, on which the emblem of the seven days of the week, with the ascending and descending modes are carved". The beauty of this elaborate pice proved to it a more fatal enemy than time itself, and tempted English antiquarians to try to remove it by sea to the Museum at Calcutta. A grant of public money was obtained bnt it sufficed only to drag the massive block a couple of hundred yards where it now lies, quite apart from the temple, and as far as ever from the shore. The builders of the twelfth century had excavated it from the quarries of the Hill States, and carried it by a land journey accross swamps and over unbridged rivers for a distance of eighty miles."

"All ancient statues and idols are carved in chlorite obtained from the hills on the western boundary of the District" Orissa Vol. II Appendix - II, P. 36.

For the sand stone blocks used in the temples of Bhubaneswar, the quarries were located at Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills and in their neighbourhood where there are abundant source of stones, but the quarries of the Muguni stone of the cult images are not known. Not only the images of Bhubaneswar but also the images found at Puri, Konark, various places in the Prachi valley and in the Kakatpur area of the Puri District, are carved in the Muguni stone, the quarries of which must be located somewhere in the hilly tract of the Khurdha and Nayagarh Sub-divisions of the Puri District. While I was in active service at Bhubaneswar, I made an attempt to locate the sites of the quarries, but I was unsuccessful. I located the quarries of the Khondolite stone with which the temples of Jagannatha at Puri and the Sun at Konark were built, to the west of the hillock called Visvanatha Mundia near the Motari

station on the Railway line from the Khurdha Road Junction to Puri on the left bank of the river Daya. The hillocks are composed of Khandolite rocks and there are remains of the quarries there.

Then what was the method of transport of the massive blocks of stones from the quarries to the temples at Puri and Konark ?

Hunter rightly imagined that the builders of the ancient temples carried the stone blocks "by a land journey accross swamps and over unbridged rivers". While rebuilding the large temple at Khiching in the Mayurbhanj District, I had to adopt the method of dragging the stones from the quarry situated about 3 miles from the temple site on the land route over a *nulla*. Like-wise the ancient temple builders knew the method of dragging heavy stone blocks, sometimes over the round rollers of wood, on the ground and inclined approaches on the rivers which were almost dry during the winter and summer seasons. I can not remember the name of the writer of a book who suggested that water route by rivers was more convenient for the transportation of stone blocks to Puri and Konark, but I am unable to accept the suggestion for the reason that various practical difficulties were involved in the transport by boat in the rivers during the rainy season. The rivers of the Puri District namely the Daya, the Bhargavi, the Ratnachira and the Kusabhadra, were never navigable during the winter and summer seasons, when the operations in the quarries were possible. For the transport of massive stone blocks like that of the Nava-graha slab and Elephant of the Konark temple from the quarry to the river ghat, was done on the land route. At the river-ghat a heavy structure like a Jetty had to be built for loading the stone block in the boat and again such a structure was necessary at the riverghat for unloading the stone block on the river bank from where the block had to be carried on land route to the temple site. A carved stone of a temple of Bhubaneswar, is preserved in the Orissa Museum which represents the carrying of an elephant on a boat for transportation. But elephant is a living animal which moves with the direction of the *mahuth* but no stone block would be manipulated like a living animal. But I think that dragging of stone blocks in the land route over the round rollers of logs was easy and less trouble-some. For small

blocks of stone the river route was practicable as the blocks could be easily manipulated by human power. The temple of Harachandi is situated on the sea-beach near the mouth of the river Bhargavi where no big stone blocks are found. It was possible for the builders to load the stone blocks near the village Mctari in the boat in the Daya river and carry the boat to Sardeipur where the Daya branches off from the Bhargavi and then the boat was diverted on the down stream up to the temple site at Harachandi. Similarly small blocks of stone might have been transported to the Jagannatha temple and the Konark temple by the river routes But carrying of such stone blocks on bullock carts on land route is more practicable. The river route may be possible for the khondolite blocks of the Jagannatha temple, Konark temple and Harachandi temple but what about the method of transport of the massive blocks of the muguni stones of the Konarak temple and the Gundicha temple at Puri ? I think that so long the quarries of the muguni stones are not discovered; it will be useless to discuss the method of transport of heavy blocks to the temple sites.

Besides the temples of Jajpur and the Buddhist monuments on the Cuttack hills called Nalatigiri, Udayagiri and Ratnagiri situated in the Jajpur Sub-division, few other a temples are scattered in different parts of the Cuttack district. There were good many early temples at Jajpur but no specimens of those temples are in existence now Only the Matrika images of muguni stone are there to prove Jajpur's antiquity. Besides the muguni images there has been discovered a Buddhist Padmapani imege carved in khondolite stone. The stones of the temples of the subsequent period of Jajpur are of khondolite variety, which are found in the Cuttack hills called Nalatigiri, Udayagiri and Ratnagiri. In these Buddhist monuments, the images are carved in khondolite stone. Only a few pieces of muguni stone relics have been found there. The structure of the monastery was however built with bricks. It is not known why the builders used bricks in building work where there was abundant stock of khondolite stones. The source of the khondolite stones is the Assia hill range and hillocks near Haridaspur area. It seems that the area of the muguni stones is situated in the western part of the Jajpur Sub-division which is not yet explored. The adjoining hilly area of the Dhenkanal district may be the source of the muguni stone.

In the Sadar sub-division of the Cuttack district a few temples have been found. The temple at Paramahamsa is built with khondolite stone. The Chatesvara temple at Kishanpur is a work of the Ganga period. It possesses an inscription on a slab of muguni stone. The Gopinathpur temple of king Kapilendradeva's period is broken, but the commemorative inscription written on the slab is there. The temple at Nuagaon in Mahanga area is an old one. The image of Mahishamardini there is a big image of the muguni stone. There are good many temples and ancient relics at Chowdwar. The temples are built with khondolite stones and images with muguni stones. The Narayana temple standing at the foot of the Jalauka hill however is built with sand stone of the locality and the image is made of muguni stone. The life size images at Satbhaya on the sea beach under the Police Station of Rajnagar of the Kendrapara sub-division are very important but it was not possible for me to visit the site. Up till now no archaeologist has gone there. So I am unable to say any thing about the iconography of the images and the nature of stone in which these are carved. This is a most inaccessible area with antiquities which has not been noticed by even the Revenue officers.

The temples and images of the Athagarh subdivision of the Cuttack District are also important. Only two places of this subdivision situated on the bank of the river Mahanandi are known. A temple of the Parsuramesvar style situated on an island of the Mahanadi under the area of the ex-State of Baramba is built with Khondolite stones. Another important place is the Banesvarnasi which is also an island in the bed of the Mahanadi under the area of the ex-state of Narsingpur. Here was also a site of the Buddhists. Two images carved in red sand stone of the Mirzapore type are found there. One image of Prajnaparamita has been removed to the museum at Patna during Bihar and Orissa administration. The image of Tara is there now in a modern temple. The quary of such red sand stone is not known to me any where in Orissa. At Champesvar village there are good many images of Muguni stones the quarry of which is not known.

In the Dhenkanal district on the Kapilas hill there is a temple which was built with the stones of the locality. An inscribed kalasa belonging to the time of Narasingh Deva I of the Ganga dynasty is carved out of the muguni stone the source of which is not known. At

Bhimnagari there are images made of muguni stone, the quarry of which in the district is not known. The temples at Kualo (ancient Kodalaka of the Sthambha dynasty) are built with the sand stones of the locality. The big images of Vishnu at Sarang and Bhimkand are carved out of the sand stone rocks found on the site. The temple at Vajrakot under the Police station of Kaniha in the Dhenkanal district is an ancient one, which is built, with sand stones found in the neighbourhood.

The Sun temple at Paliabindha village, in the Bhadrak Sub-division of the Balasore district has peculiarity of architecture in having four doors on four sides. I am sorry I did not note the variety of stone with which the temple was built. Narendrapur of this Sub-division is another site where I am told there are life like statues of stone. In the Sadar Sub-division of the Balasore district the temple of Maninagesvara which is an ancient one, has been rebuilt but the images of gods and goddesses are of muguni stone which was freely used there. The temples at Shergarh are of Khakhara type and built with laterite stones. The village Ajodhya of the Nilgiri Sub-division is full of Budhist and Jain images of the muguni stones, the quarry of which at a village near Patpur is famous in the north Orissa and is still under operation for making utensils of house-hold use. The quarry of the muguni stone of Nilgiri was the source of stone for making images in the Balasore and eastern part of Mayurbhanj district. The book entitled the *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj* published in 1911, contains the pictures of a good many images built with muguni stone found in the eastern part of the Mayurbhanj district and the northern and western parts of the Balasore district. In the eastern part of Mayurbhanj at the village Kishorapur, there is a temple of the Khakhara type of Architecture. The temple is built with laterite stones, but the images of Chamunda are built with the muguni stone.

In the western part of Mayurbhanj district is situated Khiching, the ancient capital of the Bhanja kings of northern Orissa. All the temples and images of Khiching are built with the muguni stones. The quarries of the muguni stones of Khiching are situated at the villages of Kesna and Adipur at a distance of about 2 miles south-west of Khiching. When I was engaged in rebuilding the fallen big temple and the dilapidated temples, the old quarry at Kesna

was used for the stones necessary for building work of the temples. The archaeology of the Keonjhar district is little known and only some scattered pieces of images of the muguni stones have been found here and there. The Vaidakhia area of the Anandapur Subdivision is said to be full of excellent ancient images. I only surveyed a place near the road side to Hadgarh at the foot of the hill and the rest of the places were not visited by me. The source of the muguni stones of the Keonjhar area is not known.

I am told that in the upper valley of the Brahmani river comprising the eastern part of ex-state of Bamra of the Sambalpur district and ex-state of Banai in the Sundargarh district there are stone temples, which I have not visited. The temple of Rambha at Barkot on the bank of the Brahmani has been noted by poet Radhanath Ray.

The upper valley of the river Mahanadi comprises the Phulbani-Boud district up to Sonepur where the biggest tributary the rivar Tel meets with it. At Boudhgarh there is a big image of seating Buddha built with sand stones, the source of which is not known. There are three temples of Indo-Aryan style of architecture with star-shaped ground plans built with red sand stones, but it is not known from where those stone blocks were procured for the purpose. About 10miles west of Boudhgarh lies the village Gandharadi where there are two temples called Nilamadhava and Sidhesvara, built with sandstones found in the locality. But the images are carved in Muguni stones, the quarry of which is not known also.

The three western districts of Orissa namely Kalahandi, Bolangir and Sambalpur are situated in the valleys of the Mahanadi and the Tel, where there are good many temples and images which are noted below.

The temples of the Sambalpur town are not very old but they possess certain type of architecture which has not yet been properly studied. The source of the stone blocks of these temples is not known to me. In the Baragarh Sub-division there is an old tempie at Narasinghnath where are found also a few Buddhist images. But I had no occasion to visit the place. It was an important place under the Chauhan kings of the Sambalpur area which is known from an inscription dated 1421 A.D. of Vaijala Deva, a Chuhan king of the Patna.

kingdom. The Bolangir district contains good many temples. The temples at Baidyanath and Charada area are of special interest both in architecture and in sculpture. The mukhasalas of these two temples form a type themselves and sculptures similar to their's are not found any where else in Orissa, except in the brokan temples at Patnagarh. The most well known archaeological area in the Bolangir district is Ranipur-Jharial where there are temples of various styles of architecture, the chief of which is the circular temple of the 64 Yoginis. There is also a big brick-built temple, the upper portion of which is now out of existence. Temples of this type are found in the Raipur district of Madhya pradesha. There are also some big stone structures built with granite stones The quarries of the stones used for temples and images of the Bolangir district are not known yet.

In the Kalahandi district there are many temples, the most important of which though totally dilapidated. are at Belkhandi, where some archaeological works were done before 1947. The images are carved in sand stone of yellowish colour the quarry of which is not known.

Mrs, Devala Mitra, the Superintendent of the Eastern Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India photographed a good many Jaina images at a place not far off from Jeypur town in the Koraput district. I only saw the photographs, so I am unable to say about the nature of stone of the images.

In the district of Ganjam the temples at Ganjam and on the Buddhakhol hill near Buguda are made of sand stone blocks which are locally available.

The above account goes to show that thorough and careful survey of the temples and sculptures of Orissa and also of the quarries from which the stones used for the temples and images were taken is essentially necessary to know how our ancestors were procuring them for building the venerable ancient monuments, which are now the pride of our nation.

APPENDIX - A

Quotation from Rajendralal Mitra's Antiquities of Orissa, Vol. I, Ch. - II

(Indian Studies. Past and Present, Vol. II, No. I pp. 176 – 178.)

" Material — **Laterite :** In a country so abounding in stones of various kinds as Orissa, it is not to be supposed that any other material would be employed in the construction of buildings designed for the habitation of the image of the ever-present God, and intended to last for eternity, and accordingly it appears that they were the only substance used, and not a trace of bricks is anywhere to be met with. Of stones the most common is laterite, next sandstone, and lastly muguni, or chlorite. For oute walls, kitchens, porticos, and all structures of secondary importance the first is the best suited. It occurs almost every-where in Orissa within a few feet under the soil, and in many places crops up to the surface. Around Bhuvaneswar large tracts lie barren, or covered with stunted jungle, from the soil or mould having been washed away from its rocky substratum. " (P. 176)

Sandstone : Sandstone is also abundant everywhere. The low range of hills which runs along the whole length of the province, dividing it into two parts, consists principally of this stone, and it is quarried and worked with ease. It is commonly of a grey colour and coarse grain; but a finer variety of an ocherous tint varying in shade from a light fawn to dark brick-red is met with at Atgharh in the Tributary Mehals, and in a few other places, and is largely used for outer facings of temples, and for sculptures. This variety is of small grain, homogeneous texture and great firmness, admitting of very delicate carving without breaking or chipping. As it had, however, to be brought from a great distance, the builders generally tried to economise its use, and to replace it by the grey kind whenever it was practicable without injury to the appearance of their work.

Chlorite : The *muguni* is a kind of serpentine, or chlorite, It is of a dark slaty colour, and fine composition, susceptible of

a high degree of polish, and when polished, it assumes, like slate, a black colour. In the present day it is largely employed in the manufacture of plates, basins, and other domestic utensils. "The rock yields a beautiful compact and very tough material, though soft and easy to work. It is admirably suited for fine carving, as may be well seen in some of the beautifully sculptured door-ways of the Black Pagoda, which are carved from this variety of rock. Blocks of almost any size can be obtained, the only impediment being the difficulty of transport from the high hills on which it occurs[1]." It is, however, not met with in Cuttack, and the distance from the Nilgiri Hills, in Balasore, where it is quarried, to Bhuvanesvara and Puri, was so great that its use had to be confined to statuary and finer kinds of sculptures, which were not intended to be much exposed to sun and rain. For facing the suffits and jambs of the entrance to temples, for the paving of the cells, as also for thrones of the sacred images, it was also largely employed; in short, it supplied the place of marble which was not accessible to the Uriyas, and was and is to this day, held in high estimation.

Granite : In descriptions of Orissan antiquities, granite is frequently mentioned by European writers, but I have not seen it employed for building purposes either at Puri or at Bhubaneswar. According to Dr. Oldham, than whom few can speak with more authority on questions of Indian Geology, "throughout the country, south of the Mahanadi, Dykes of all kinds are rare, trap is entirely wanting, and granitic veins are seldom seen." [2] It is probable therefore that, as in the infancy of geological science at the end of the last and the beginning of this century all hard grey-looking stones were mistaken for granite, non-professional men in Orissa, as elsewhere, frequently took the one for the other. Between thirty and forty years ago the Asoka pillars were described by more than one writer as made of granite,

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1. Oldham, in the *Memoirs* of the Geological Survey. 1, p. 278.
2. *Ibid*,, 1. p. 264.

Granite ashlars used in building are found at Ranipur-Jharial in the Bolangir District and no where-else.

but it is now as well-known that they are all formed of sandstone. In the same way Bishop Heber called several structures in Agra and Delhi as constructed of granite, which have since turned out to be sandstone or marble. It true granite, however, is wanting, gneiss is common enough, if not abundant, and a granitiferous variety is frequently employed for statuary, particularly on the Alti and the Nalti Hills; some of the statues of the Black Pagoda are also said to be made of this material, but the bulk of them are of sandstone. " (P. 178)

SECTION D

LITERARY HISTORY

42

NEW DATA ON THE DATE OF (I) EKĀVALI AND (II) SĀHITYA DARPANA *

Vidyādhara's *Ekāvalī* and Viśvanātha's *Sāhityadarpaṇa* are two well known works on the Sanskrit Alaṃkāra literature. These works were composed by their authors under the patronage of the Ganga kings of Orissa.

I. The Date of Ekavali

Before 1903 all scholars had no other alternative but to depend on the traditional chronology of the history of Orissa as was published in English by A. Stirling [1] in 1825 and by W.W. Hunter [2] in 1872. In 1903 M.M. Chakravarti [3] settled the Gaṅga chronology from Chodagaṅga to Narasimhadeva IV. He could not get the data to fix the date of Bhānudeva IV which was subsequently fixed by Prof. R. Subba Rao. [4]

Credit goes to M. M. Chakravarti that he first made an attempt to fix up the dates of Ekāvalī and Sāhityadarpaṇa according to his chronology in the *Appendix* II. of his paper noted above vide pp 142-147

In the Introduction of Ekāvalī printed in 1903 both R. G. Bhandarkar and K. P. Trivedi suggested that Vidyādhara, the author

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* The O. H. R. J., Vol. XI, No 3-1962.

1. A. Stirling—*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, 1825,
2. W. W. Hunter. *Orissa* Vol. II, 1872 App. VII Ganga Kings pp. 187-89.
3. M. M. Chakravarti-J. A. S. B, Vol. LXXII, Part I, 1903, pp. 97-139.
4. *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society* Vol. VIII p.70 ff.

of Ekāvalī, was patronised by either Kesari Narasimha (1282–1307 A. D.) or Pratāpa Narasimha (1307–1327 A. D.). The names of the kings and their dates seem to be based on the list of the Gaṅga Kings of Orissa published by Hunter. M. M. Chakravarti referred to this date of the *Ekāvali* and after rejection came to the conclusion that Vidyādhara's time fell during the rule of Narasimha Deva I and not Narasimhadeva II. 5

However Chakravarti's attempt for assigning the date to *Ekāvali* in the Gaṅga chronology based on epigraphic sources is praiseworthy for laying out a foundation for the literary history of Orissa.

After Chakravarti, Dr. S. K. De and Mm. P.V. Kane discussed the date of *Ekāvali* and *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, and they both followed the traditional chronology of Hunter and not that of Chakravarti. Dr. De's first edition of the '*History of Sanskrit Poetics*' was first published in 1923, but it seems that Chakravarti's paper escaped his notice not only then, but also in 1960. Like Dr. De, Mm. P. V. Kane did not discuss the views of M. M. Chakravarti in his work printed separately in a book form in 1951.

Dr. S. K. De has written that the date of Vidyādhara, the author of the *Ekāvalī*, has been fixed with sufficient approximation by K. P. Trivedi and R. G. Bhandarkar The *Ekāvalī* in its turn *is* quoted by Singhbhūpāla whose date is fixed at 1330 A. D. while Mallinātha at the end of the 14th century commented upon it The internal evidence of this text, therefore, assigns it to a period between the first quarter of the 13th century and the first quarter of the 14th century. The approximation is considerably narrowed down by the identification of king Narasimhadeva panegyrized in the illustration verses of the work with either of two Narasimhas whose dates fell between 1282 and 1327 6. Mm. P.V. Kane came to the conclusion that the Ekāvalī must have been composed between 1285-1325 A.D. 7 In the Gaṅga chronology we find that four Narasimhas ruled as follows :—

(1) Narasimha Devā I ruled from 1238–1264 A. D.
(2) Narasimha Deva II „ „ 1278–1305 A. D.

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5. *J. A S B.* 1903 p 146.
6. Dr. S.K. De *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I. 1960, pp. 205–06,
7. Mm. P. V. Kane –*History of Sanskrit Poetics* 1951, p. 282,

(3) Narasimha Deva III ruled from 1327-1352 A. D.

(4) Narasimha Deva IV „ „ 1378-1414 A. D.

So the period allotted by Dr. De and Mm. Kane may be adjusted only during the rule of Narasimha Deva II (1278-1305), but Chakravarti assigned the date of Ekāvalī to Narasimhadeva I (1238-1264 A. D,) So that date suggested by Dr. De and Mm. Kane did not solve the problem of dating Vidyādhara and his work *Ekāvalī.* No internal evidence from the *Ekāvalī* was adduced by Trivedi, Chakravarti, Dr. De and Mm. Kane on its date; Both Dr. De and Mm. Kane referred to Singhbhūpāla's mention of *Ekāvalī* of Vidyādhara with king Narasimha Deva who was his patron In the Trivindrum edition of *Rasārṇava Sudhākara* Singhbhūpāla's date was suggested to be about 1330 A. D. Mm. Kane wrote as follows about the date of Singhbhūpāla.

" The date proposed by A. N. Krishna Aiyanger (1340-1360 A.D,) is more likely to be correct in view of the Srirangam plates of Anapota, Mādhava Nāyaka, dated saka 1343 (1421 A. D.) [8]

This date of Aiyangar has also been referred to by Dr. De vide foot note to p. 239

Singhabbhūpāla's passage under reference is quoted below from *Rasārnava Sudhākara* p. 206

Bho mlechharasavādin Utkalādhipateh Sringārarasavādin Narasimhadevasya chittamanuvartitamānena Vidyadhirena Kavinā vadham abhyantaro Krtosievam Khalu Samarthitum Ekavalyamanena".

The manner of addressing and criticising Vidyādhara's *Ekavalī* in regard to the theory of *Rasa,* suggests that Singhabbhūpāla was a living contemporary of Vidhyādhara and the king Narasimhadeva of Utkala. The date of Singhabbhūpāla from 1330-1360 A. D. suits well to the date of Narasimha Deva III (1327-1352 A.D.). If we assume the date of reference to 1350 A.D., the composition of the Ekāvalī is to be assigned to 1340 A. D.when Narasimhadeva III patronised Vidyadhara.

Credit goes to Sri S. N. Rajaguru to pick up a number of verses from the *Ekāvalī* as the internal evidence regarding the name of

8. *Ibid.*

Kamalā, the queen of the king Narasimha Deva III in his paper entitled "*Date of Vidyādhara, the author of the Ekāvali*".9 From the genealogical table of the Gaṅga King published by M. M. Chakravarti in the Appendix I 10, we find the names of queens of kings. Narsimha Deva, I, II, III and IV, are respectively Sītā Devī, Choḍā Devī Kamalā Devī, and Gaṅgā Devī. Such *praśasti* verses of the Ekāvali, as stated by Sri Rajguru cannot be well interpreted without accepting Kamalā as a proper name. These verses are similar in nature to the verse beginning with "*Durgālaṅghita*" etc. "*Umavallabhah*" of the *Sahityadarpaṇa* in which no substitute will serve the purpose The aim of the author is to sing the glory of the husband of the queen named Kamalā The synonyms of the word Kamalā of the Sanskrit lexicons have also been used in these verses such as noted below.

Kantah kim Kairavinyah Kalayati Kamalollāsane naisa Saktin Nathah kim vasarāvām mudayati knmvde naisa Laksmi vitanvan"

The word *kamalollāsana* has double meaning, one means kamala or the lotus and other Kamalā the name of the queen.

K.P. Trivedi also interpreted independently this verse referring to the queen of king Narasimha Deva and wrote in the *Note* p. 562 that "the moon cannot open the sun lotuses, the king can gladden Lakṣmī his wife".

The external evidence, namely the date of Singhabhūpāla's *Rasārṇava Sudhākara* and the internal evidence, namely Kamalā, the queen of Narasimhadeva III (1327–1352) fits in well to the date of the *Ekāvalī* and thus we can safely arrive at the date of the composition of the *Ekāvalī* somewhere between 1330 and 1350 A. D. when all persons namely Vidyādhara, king Narasimaadeva III. Queen Kamalā and Singhabhūpāla were living and we possess epigraphical evidence of the last three persons which fix the date of Vidyādhara, the author of the *Ekāvalī*.

So, we can safely arrive at the conclusion that the date of the *Ekāvalī* is in the middle of the 14th century A. D.

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9. O. H. R. J. Vol, IV nos 3 & 4 pp. 89–91.
10. J. A. S. B. 1903 p. 141.

Sri K. N. Mahapatra has written a paper entitled "*King-Narasimha eulogised in the Ekāvalī of Vidyādhara*" 11 and he has identified the panegyrized king with Narasimha Deva I (1238-1264). He has not produced any authentic internal evidence and so his views are untenable.

II. The date of Sahityadarpana :

M. M. Chakravarti in his note entitled *Sāhitya darpana, its date and place.* has written thus. " I am not satisfied with the time and the locality in which *Sāhityadarpana* is said to have been composed. Dr. Weber following Pandit Jaganmohan Sarma in the preface to his edition of Chanda-Kauśika said that the Sāhityadarpana was only composed towards the middle of the 15th century in East Bengal on the bank of the Brahmaputra (Hist. Ind. Lit. p. 231 note 244). Prof Macdonell evidently adopts this view (Sans-Lit App p. 436) 12

" How far this conclusion is based on facts, and how far on mere tradition I do not know. But the *Sāhitya darpana* itself does not support it". 13

Chakravarti came to the conclusion that Viśvanātha lived during the rule of Narasimha Deva II (1279 1305) after identifying Bhānudeva of Chandraśekhara's verse with Bhānudeva I, and elsewhere in the same paper he wrote that " Viśvanātha would seem to be at least not later than the beginning of the 14th century A. D." 14

Dr. S. K. De without referring to the date, suggested by Chakravarti, came to the conclusion that Viśvanātha might be assigned " to a period between 1300 and 1350 A. D. or roughly in the first half of the 14th century". 15

Mm. Kane, after elaborate discussion on the date of *Sāhitya-darpana* and Viśvanātha, has written as follows :-

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11. *O. H. R. J.* Vol. VIII p. 118-127 and A descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts of Orissa Vol. II, 1960 pp. LX-LXX.
12. J. A. S. B. 1903 p. 146.
13. Ibid
14. Ibid
15. Dr. S. K. De *History of Sanskrit Poetics* Vol. I 1960 pp. 213-14

" The date above assigned to Viśvanātha viz between 1300–1380 A. D. is thus confirmed by unimpeachable and independent testimony " 16

Acharya Sri Kriṣṇamohan 'Śastri in the publication of *Sahityadarpaṇa* in the *Kasi Sanskritt Series* No 145 by Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office in 1955, has discussed the date of Viśvanātha and *Sahityadarpaṇa*, in the Sanskrit *Prasthāvanā*, but as he entirely depended on the traditional genealogy of Hunter, he could not throw any new light on the subject.

In the *Sahityadarpaṇa* published by Messrs Motilal Banarasi Das in 1955, there is a note in Hindi which states that Viśvanātha belonged to the 14th century of the Vikrama era.

From the references noted above, it is found that no definite date has been assigned to the *Sahityadarpaṇa* and its author Viśvanātha for want of definite and authentic evidence on the subject. For this reason I have tried here to throw light with recently discovered data from epigraphic and literary sources for which all credit goes to Sri S.N Rajaguru for his *Historical note* at pp 78–79 in the paper entitled *The Kenduli copper-plate grant* 17 and the '*Introduction to the Chandrakala Natika*, 18

The evidence derived from both the epigraphical and literary sources on Kṛśṇānanda Śandihivigrahika throws a flood of light on the date of *Sahityadarpaṇa* and its author Viśvanātha. In the copper-plate of the Sankarānanda Maṭh 19 of Puri, issued in 1396 A. D. we find the name of Kṛṣṇānanda *Sandhivigrahika* who is also the author of the *Kavya* entitled *Sahṛdayananda*. Sri Rajaguru has traced that verse II of the *Sahṛdayānanda*, has been inserted in the copper-plate grant of the Sankarānanda Maṭha in the Gaṅga *Praśasti* with a slight variation. From this verse it appears that Kṛṣṇānanda had a hand in introducing some new verses in the *Praśasti*. It seems that his work *Sahṛdayananda* was also completed by 1396 A. D. The verse No. 52 of *Sarga* III of the *Sahṛdayananḍa* beginning with *Sachimukhena* etc.

16. Mm. P. V. Kane *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, 1931 p. 291.
17. *O. H. R. J.* Vol V 1957, No. 1 & 2
18. *Ibid* Vol. VI 1958 pp. IX-X
19. *J. A. S. B* 1895, p. 152

has been cited by Viśvanātha in his *Sahityadarpaṇa*, as verse, 8 of Chapter VIII This citation in the *Sahityadarpaṇa* from *Sahṛdayananda* by Kṛṣṇananda Sandhivigrahika who was living in 1396 A. D. clearly proves that the date of *Sahityadarpaṇa* is later than 1396 A.D.

The *Prasthavana* [20] of the Chandrakalā Nāṭikā states that the drama was staged at Vārāṇasī Kaṭaka, the then capital of Orissa (modern Cuttack) soon after the succession to the throne by King Niśamka Bhānudeva who succeded his father in 1313-14 A. D. * There are several citations in the *Sahityadarpaṇa* from the *Chandrakala Naṭika*. Depending on this evidence Sri S N. Rajaguru has suggested the date of the *Sahityadarpaṇa* as follows :—

" As the *Chandrakala Naṭika* was repeatedly cited in the *Sahityadarpaṇa*, it is quite clear that the work was written by Viśvanātha Kavirāja duriug the later part of Bhānudeva's reign *e. g* between 1420–30 A D." [21] I am of opinion that Viśvanāth wrote his *Sahityadarpaṇa* between 1415 to 1420 A.D. The grounds on which I have come to this date are (i) the last 14 years of the reign of Bhānudeva IV in Orissa was full of disturbances due to the invasion of Husang Shah of Malwa in 1421-22 A.D. and (ii) the court conspiracy which culminated in the usurpation of the throne by Kapileśvaradeva in 1435 A D. *Sandhivigrahika* Viśvanātha, if he was then living, is not expected to have the mental peace for production of a work of such a high order.

Before the discovery of (i) the Ms. of the *Chandrakalā Naṭikā* in which the name of Niśamka Bhanu is mentioned and (ii) the inscription of Niśamka Bhānudeva or Bhānudeva IV in the South Indian Inscriptions and (iii) the *Sahṛdayānanda* by Kṛṣṇānanda, Stien's reading of Samvat 1440 in a Jammu Manuscript of Sāhityadarpaṇa, was the universally accepted date of the *Sāhityadarpana*, Stien's explanatory observation on the Jammu Ms. of Sāhityadarpaṇa made in the introduction p. XLVIII is quoted below.

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20. O. H. R. J. Vol, VI, Pt, iii, App. p 1

* Sri K.N. Mahapatra suggests that Nisanka Bhanu or Bhanudeva IV ruled from 1407-1434. (Vide A descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscript of Orissa Vol II p. LXXXI.)

21. *Ibid, Introduction* p. x

" In the six column which gives the date of writing if recorded in the Ms. figures without further remarks must be taken as referring to Vikram era, where other eras are used in the Mss. these have been specifically named."

Dr. De's note in this connection is quoted below .—

The other more or less terminal date is given by the date of a Ms. of Sāhityadarpana discovered by Stien at Jammu, which was written in Samvat 1440 – (1381 A D.*) This certainly negatives the date (viz the middle of the 15th century) assigned by Weber, Eggling and Harichand Shastri."

In the face of the epigraphical evidence regarding Krīśnānanda, the author of Sahṛdayānanda in 1396 A D. and the references in the *Prasthavanā* of the *Chandrakala Naṭika* to Niśamka Bhānudeva in 1414-15 A. D. the date of Jammu Ms. of Sāhityadarpana as read by Stien cannot be accepted.

How unexpectedly the epigraphical evidence to a passage of *Sāhityadarpaṅa* has been found is noted below :—

Although no copper-plate grant of Bhānudeva III (1352-1378 A D) has been found, we know from the writing of Viśvanātha that his father Chandraśekhara Sāndhivigrahika adorned the court of the king Bhānudeva who has been described in a verse begining with "Durgālaṅghita Vigraha" etc. by Chandraśekhara as Umāvallabha i.e. the husband of the queen Umā. Visvanātha himself has given the meaning of Umavallabha as follows in his Sāhityadarpana, Chapter II.

"Atra prakaranenābhidhayā Umāvallabha-savdasyomānāmnī Mahādevī tadvallabha Bhānudeva nṛpatiruperthe niyantrite vyanjanyaiva Gaurīvallabharuperthe vodhayate" (Vrti II-26).

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* Sri S. N. Rajaguru writes : " The manuscript must have been copied from some old Ms. of Orissa where no other Samvat except the Saka-Samvat was in vogue. Therefore, it is certain that the Kashmir manuscript of the *Sahitya-darpana* was copied in 1440 Saka Samvat or 1518 A D. (Vide O. H. R. J. Vol. III Pt. iii, *Introduction* P. VIII ff.) Ed.

22. Dr. S.K. De—*History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I. 1960, p. 215.

Haraprasad Sastri, referring to this passage, wrote as follows :—

"We have got the names of queens of the kings of Orissa down to Narasimhadeva IV 1385, but there we find no queens of that name. That, however, is not reason to think that she did not exist". 23 H. P. Sastri's expectations has come true by the discovery of an inscription 24 of queen Umādevī belonging to Bhānudeva in the Pārvatī temple situated in the premises of the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar. Sri S. N. Rajaguru states that another inscription of Umādevī dated Saka 1301–1379 A. D. has been found at the Simachalam temple. The testimony of Viśvanātha and the two inscriptions prove that the epithet Umāvallabha referred to Bhānudeva III who ruled from 1352-1378-79 A. D. So this date fixes the date of Chandraśekhara, the father of Viśvanātha who has been described by Viśvanātha as *Mahāpatra Chaturdaśabhasāvāravilāsinībhujaṅga Mahākaviśvara Srī Chandraśekhara Sandhivigrahika*" (Vide Vṛti 26).

It is not known whether Chandraśekhara, the father of Viśvanātha, survived his patron Bhānudeva III and continued to hold the post of the *Sandhivigrahika* under Narasimhadeva IV (1378-1414 A D.) It seems that Chandraśekhara was succeeded by Kṛṣṇānanda sometime before 1396 when Viśvanātha was also in the court of Narasimhadeva IV during which period he composed a kāvya entitled the *Narasimhavijaya* It is fortunate that the discovery of the *Chandrakala Nātika* written in early period of Niśamka Bhānudeva or Bhānudeva IV has helped us in settling the date of the *Sahityadarpava* for all time to come. There is no doubt now that the work was produced in the second decade of the 15th century A.D.

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23. *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mass*, Vol. VII and VIII
24. O. H. R. J, Vol. III No. 2, p. 140
25. *Ibid.* Vol, VI Chandrakalā Introduction, p. VI.

SARASVATIVILASA AND ITS AUTHOR

In the preface of the Sarasvativilasa Dr. R. Shama Sastri has written thus :—

" Sarasvativilāsa proneta Pratāperudrākhyoyam Mahārhjā Kadā Kutra vā rājyam chakāretyetadapi na niranāyi " 1

" It has not been settled as yet when and where Māharajā, known as Prataparudra, the author of Sarasvativilāsa established his kingdom."

The editor further writes that though king Vira Prataparudra Deva, son of Purusottama Deva and grand son of Kapilendra Deva of the solar dynasty, whose capital was at Cuttack near the Mahā-nadi river, appears to have been the author of the book, yet there definitely appears another king Pratāparudra Deva belonging to the Kākatiya dynasty of Ekasilānagara.

From the above it is clear that Dr. Sastri had some doubt as to the authorship of the Sarasvativilasa.

The introductory chapter as well as the colophons of the different chapters of Sarasvativilāsa go to show that its author was Prataparudra Deva, the Gajapati king of Orissa, who ruled from 1497 to 1541 A. D. Rev Thomas Foulkes in his preface on "The Hindu Law of Inheritance according to the Sarasvati vilāsa wrote 2 as follows :—

" The work itself furnishes precise and abundant evidence of its authorship."

That it could not be the work of Prataparudra Ganapati, is sufficiently evident from the circumstances, Prataparudra Deva, the Ganapati king of Warangal, was carried a prisoner to Delhi in A.D. 1322, when his capital was captured by the Mahomedans."

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1. University of Mysore, Oriental Library publication 1927 No.71
2. Sarasvati Vilāsa, Trubner & Co, London, 1881.

Recently discovered epigraphical records also corroborate the statement made in the introductory chapter of Sarasvati Vilāsa as regards the genealogy of the author.

The date assigned by Dr. Foulkes for Gajapati Pratāparudra Deva has now been corrected by the epigraphical records.

28-8-1935

44

THE ORISSAN RECENSION OF KĀṆVĀ SAMHITĀ*

The Kāṇva recension of the *Sukla Yajurveda* as prevalent in Orissa presents an interesting feature in that it is divided into forty-one chapters (and called locally *Ekacālīśa-mantra)* as against forty found in manuscripts of the work available in Maharashtra and other parts of India and in the printed editions of the work. 1 Sāyaṇa's *Bhāṣya* on this Samhitā also mentions it as consisting of forty chapters. 2 The contents and arrangement of chapters 1 to 34 of the text is the same in both the recensions, with minor textual variants. The arrangement of the further chapters however differs.

Chapter 35 of the Maharashtran *Kāṇva-Samhitā* contains four *anuvākas* consisting of 55 *mantras*, whereas in the Orissan text this chapter is split up into three : Chapter 35 in two *anuvākas*

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* A paper read in the Vedic Section of the 21st All India Oriental Conference, Srinagar, 1961.

1. *Cf.* Edns. by S. D. Satavalekar, Aundh, 1940, and A. Weber, Berlin–London, 1852,

2. See *Kasi Sanskrit Series* 35, Banaras, 1915, p.8. This edition of Sāyaṇa's *Bhāṣya* contains only chs. 1–20 and the further portion of the commentary had been considered lost. A manuscript of *Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya* containing this supposedly lost latter half (chs. 21–40) is available in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. It is a palmleaf manuscript in Oriya scripts, dated the 4th (or 18th) April, 1678 A.D.

comprised of 32 *mantras*, chapter 36 in one *anuvāka* with 2 *mantras* and chapter 37 in one *anuvāka* with 22 *mantras*. The last *anuvāka* of the Maharashtran text which forms chapter 37 of the Orissan text contains only 21 *mantras*, the extra *mantra* in the Orissan text being the one beginning with *dadhikrāvṇṇo* which finds a place also in chapter 34 of both the recensions. Chapter 36 of the Maharashtran text corresponds to chapter 38 of the Orissan text. Chapters 37 and 38 of the Maharashtran text, containing three and seven *anuvākas* respectively, together form chapter 39 in ten *anuvākas* of the Orissan text. The last two chapters, 39 and 40 of the Maharashtran text correspond to the last two chapters, 40 and 41, of the Orissan text.

The reason for the arrangement of chapters in the Orissan text is explicit from the statement of the purpose of the *mantras* given at the beginning of the chapters in this recension, a feature not found in the Maharashtran text. Specific purposes are assigned to the mantras as grouped in chapters 35, 36, 37 and 39 of the Orissan recension which explains the difference in the contents of the chapters in this version from the Maharashtran version.

Another feature of the Orissan *Kāṇva-Saṃhitā* is its division into two 'twenties', called respectively *Tala-kudi*, 'lower twenty, and *Upara-kudi*, 'upper twenty', with an extra chapter at the end, as against the division into 'tens' *(Daśakas)* found in the Maharashtran text and followed by Sāyaṇa in his *Bhāṣya*.

In Orissan manuscripts of the *Kāṇva-Saṃhitā*, the number of the *anuvākas* and the total number of the *mantras* contained in each *anuvāka* is given at the beginning of each chapter whereas in the Maharashtran recension these details are given at its close.

Apart from minor verbal variants, the number of *mantras* differs in the two recensions in some of the chapters. In chapter 11 there is an extra *mantra* in the Maharastran text. In the Orissan text there are in all ten extra *mantras* distributed in chapters 8, 22, 23, 25, 39 and 40. Thus the total number of *mantras* in the Orissan text is 2095 as against 2086 in the Maharashtran text. In a manuscript of the *Kāṇva-Saṃhitā* written about 115 years ago, which the present writer had the occasion to examine, the colophon gives the total number of *mantras* as 2100.

A critical edition of the 41-chapter recension of the *Kāṇva-Saṃhitā* based on manuscripts available in Orissa is a desideratum for Vedic studies. There are in Orissa even today Pandits who can recite from memory the entire Saṃhitā. This oral tradition also can be of use in the edition suggested above. It is also worthy of being recorded on tape and preserved for posterity, for this hereditary tradition is waning day by day.

45

A NOTE ON LAKSHA IN RAJASEKHARA'S KAVYAMIMAMSA *

Rājaśekhara was well acquainted with the details of geography of India. In the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, one chapter XVII, called *Desavibhāga* or the divisions of the country, describes the names of countries, mountains, rivers and products He has divided India into five parts, namely, (1) *Pūrvadeśa*, (2) *Dakṣiṇāpatha*, (3) *Paśchāddeśa*, (4) *Uttarāpatha* and (5) *Madhyadeśa* Within the *Pūrvadeśa* which is the part lying east of Benares, he has mentioned the names of 16 countries where the products called *lavali*, *granthiparṇikā*, *aguru*, *drākśā and kastūrikā* are found. Again in the description of *Uttarāpatha* he has mentioned 21 countries in which *drākśā* also finds mention as a product of the countries. The countries under *Pūrvadeśa* are identified with the modern provinces of Bihar, Bengal and Eastern Central Provinces excluding Nepal. In this part of Eastern India. nowhere *drākṣā* or grape is grown wild or cultivated; but in the *Uttarāpatha* comprising modern Punjab, N. W. F. Provinces and Kashmir, *drākṣā* is grown and cultivated. So, there is no doubt that *drākṣa* in Eastern India is a mistake for *lākṣā* or *rākṣā*, the red-dye of which a famous cosmetic of Indian ladies is prepared. Due to the mistake of copyists, Rājaśekhara's text of *lākṣā* was current as *drākṣā* which has been printed in the book published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series, Vol. 1. I am of opinion that Rājaśekhara's original text was *lākṣa* or *alakta* which is a well known cosmetic of the ladies

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* From Siddha-Bhārati or the Rosary of Indology, Dr. Siddheshwar Varma Presentation Volume, 1950.

of India even now-a-days. The history of lac has been elaborately written by Watt in the *Dictionary of the Commercial products of India* (pp. 1053-56). Hobson and Jobson also contains quotations from Western writers under the word Lac, In the Periplus (80 A. D), the lac-dye is mentioned as conveyed from India to Aduli on the African coast of the Red Sea (Watt p. 1054). Watt's following note fully supports Rājaśekhara's statement on the area where lac is grown : 'Lac is met with practically throughout the warm tropical areas of the whole of India, but most abundantly in Central Provinces, Bengal (which then included the Bihar and the Orissa Provinces), Assam and Burma'.

46

A SHORT NOTE ON ŚRĪDHARA SVAMĪ AND BALADEVA VIDYĀBHUṢAṆA

(Two all-India reputed Oriya Vaisṇava scholars)

Credit goes to Dr. J. N. Farquhar and Dr. S. K. De, two eminent scholars of the 20th century, for throwing light on the contributions of Srīdhara Svāmin and Baladeva Vidyābhuṣana, two great Oriya Vaisnava scholars. whose history is obscure, Some credit should also be given to late Nagendranath Vasu and Saundarananda Vidyavinoda for writing on Sridhara Svāmi and Baladeva Vidyabbuśana in Bengali Viśvakosa and Srikshetra respectively. Recently my attention was directed to study the sources of history of these two eminent Oriya Vaisnava scholars and below is given a short sketch of their lives.

1. Sridhara Svamin

In Bengali Visvakosa there is a paragraph about Sridhara Svamin in which his guru's name is given as Paramananda and about his Bhāṣya of Bhāgavata and Bhagavatgītā and a few other works. No other information has been received.

Among the European scholars Dr. J. N. Farquhar in his work entitled " An outline of the Religious Literature of India" (Oxford University Press, 1920) wrote as follows on Sridhara Svamin :

" Probably about A. D. 1400 Sridhara Svami, Mahant of the Sankarite monastery, Govardhana, in Puri wrote a commentary on the *Bhagavata Purana*, the *Bhagavata Bhavartha Dipika*, which is by far the most famous exposition of the work. He was clearly an excellent scholar, and he must have had access to a very trustworthy tradition. He begins his commentary with the distinct statement that the great Purana was not written by Vopadeva. The fact that this theory was already current proves that Sridhara wrote at a time considerably latter than A. D. 1300, when Vopadeva flourished. As the commentary was well known everywhere by the end of the fifteenth century, Sridhara's *floruit* may reasonably be placed about A. D. 1400. His interpretation of the Purana is Advaitist, since he was a follower of Saṁkara; and since the Bhāgavata, itself tends to be monist, his *Dipika* is usually regarded as most authoritative." (P. 297)

After Dr. Farquhar, Dr. S. K. De has written on the work of Sridhara Svami. His paper entitled " *Pre-Chaitanya Vaisnavism in Bengal* " was published in *Festschrift Moriz Winternitz* pp. 195 first in 1933. Dr. De has reproduced this article in his " *Early History of the Vaisnava Faith and Movement in Bengal*" in his first edition of 1942 which was not consulted by me, but I have consulted the second edition of his work published by Firma K. L Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta in 1961. Dr. De has written on Sridhara Svami as follows :

" It appears probable, on the other hand, that Madhavendra Puri and his disciple Iśvāra Puri were Sankarite Sanyasins of the same type as Sridhara Svamin, who in his great commentary on the Srimad Bhāgavata attempted to combine the Advaita teachings of Samkara with the emotionalism of the Bhāgavata. × × Whatever may be the value of this attempt at reconciling Jnāna and Bakti, tradition alleges that Sridhara's interpretation caused a great sensation in his sampradaya at Benaras." (pp. 17–18) Dr. De's reference to Varanasi may be attributed to the tradition recorded by Chandradatta in his Sanskrit *Bhaktamāla* (published by Venkatesvar Press, Bombay, 1926) in which Sridhara Svāmi's superhuman activities have been narrated. Chandradatta says what he writes, has been heard by him. It seems that Chandradatta's record is very late, say about 18th century A. D. or less.

The devotional interpretations of Sridhara were apparently accepted by a class of devotional Sanyāsins, who first laid the foundations of a Vaisnava Bhakti movement in Bengal on the

ultimate basis of the *Srimad Bhagavata*. Chaitanya, himself a Sanyāsin of this type, moulded this movement into an entirely new shape by his own practice and experience of Bhakti, (P. 23).

Dr. S. K. De has remarked on the date of Sridhara Svamin that "as Sridhara refers to Vopadeva, he could not have been earlier than 1300 A.D." in a foot-note at P. 17 of his work.

The well-known Vaisnava work entitled *Chaitanya charitamṛta,* written in Bengali by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in 1615 A. D. also throws light on the influence of the commentary of the Bhāgavata by Sridhara Svamin on Srikṛṣṇa Chaitanya Mahaprabhu. The verse in question is quoted below in Bengali as follows :

"श्रीधर स्वामी प्रसादेते भागवत जानि
जगतगुरु श्रीधर स्वामी गुरु करि मानि"

(Antya Lila Chapter VII)

" I have learnt Bhagavata through the grace of Sridhara Svami and I respect Sridhara Svami as my guru (the preceptor)".

Inspite of this reference by Srikrsna Chaitanya Mahaprabhu in *Chaitanya Charitamṛta* written in 1615 A. D., the history of the life of Sridhara Svami was so forgotten that Dr. Faraquhar only referred to him to be the Mahanta of the Govardhana Matha of Puri, but Dr. S.K De could not find a tradition about Sridhara Svami supporting Dr. Faraquhar's view. Dr. Faraquhar assigns a date for him about 1400 A. D. Dr. De suggests a date after 1300 A D. It may be said that before the visit of Srikrsna Chaitanya to Orissa in 1509-10 A.D. One Jivadeva Acharya of Orissa wrote (i) Bhakti Bhāgavata Mahākāvya and Bhaktivaibhava Nātaka in Sanskrit which go to to show that Sridhara Svami's influence was very intensive in Orissa even after his death.

Now the question arises as to the place to which Sridhara Svami belonged. Tradition in north Orissa is still current about the residence and birth place of Sridhara Svami. Some 60 years ago late Chandramohan Maharana, a resident of Remuna and the Headmaster of Government H. E. School wrote a paper in the *Mukura,* an Oriya Monthly Magazine on the tradition of Sridhara

Svami. In it he stated that Sridhara Svami's residence and birth place was at Maraigan, a village situated about 3 miles north of Kṣīra Chora Gopīnātha Temple of Remuna. Remuna is a town situated about 5 miles west of the Balasore town, the headquarters of the Balasore district of Orissa.

According to the copper plate of Narasinhadeva II (1278-1308) Remuna is mentioned as a temporary residence (Kataka) of the Gaṅga king Narasinha Deva II. Manomohan Chakravarti in his *Geography of Orissa in the 16th century* has recorded that Remunā *Daṇḍapāta* had more than 28 *Bisis* under it. So it was the head-quarters of a district in the modern sense. This account he got from this *Desākhañja* portion of the *Mādalāpāñji* (J. A. S. B. 1916). The great tank lying near the Gopīnātha temple goes to prove that perhaps the said king dug this out there to provide water to the pilgrims going to the Jagannātha temple who used to take shelter there on their way. There is another big tank called Kuta Pokhari near Remuna which was perhaps the site of the temporary capital. The antiquities of Remuna have not been properly studied as yet, but the extent of the area goes to show that at one time it was a flourishing place. One of such noted pilgrims was Madhavendra Puri who visited Remuna on his way from Vrindaban to Puri and also halted at Gopīnatha temple on his return journey to Vrindaban from Puri according to Chaitanya-charitamṛta. We find mention in this work as to how the name Gopīnātha was well-known as Kṣīrachorā-Gopīnātha since the time of Madhavendra Puri, the guru of Srikrishna Chaitanya Mahaprabhu. Near the village Maraigan, there are many villages belonging to the Atharva-vedi Brahmanas of the Paipalāda Sakhā which is this source of Gopala-Tapini and Srikrsna Tapini, the basis of the Vaisnavism. The text of Paipalāda Sakha was not known till 1958 and late Professor Durgamohan Bhattacharya who has edited the Text, collected manuscripts from these villages. So it seems that Sridhara Svami was influenced not only by the Gopīnātha temple at Remuna, but also by the Atharva-vedins of the neighbouring villages of his residence at Maraigan. At Maraigan the descendants of Sridhara Svami have been residing till now and it is proved that they are the descendants of Sridhara Svami.

In 1963, while staying at Baripada I made correspondence with a member of the family of Sridhara Svami named Sri Sashi-

bhusan Satapathy and last year Sri Sashibhusan Satapathi came to see me at Baripada, but due to my absence I was not lucky enough to see him. This living tradition of Sridhara Svami goes to prove that Sridhara Svami's birth-place is at Maraigan not far from Remuna in the Balasore district of Orissa. The history of Remuna and that of Gopīnātha temple there, has been so forgotten that along with it the history of Sridhara Svami and Baladeva Vidyabhusana has also been forgotten. Like Sridhara Svami who influenced Srikrsna Chaitanya Mahaprabhu to initiate a new Vaisnava movement, Baladeva Vidyabhusana has been successful in giving philosophical interpretation to the Vaisnavism of Sri Krishna Chaitanya which developed at Navadvipa, Sriksetra and Vrindaban.

II. Baladeva Vidyabhusaṇa

In Bengali Visvakosa, Volume 12, page 169 ft is there a long account of Baladeva Vidyabhusana about which details will be dealt with below. Visvakosa records that Baladeva Vidyabhusana was a famous Brahmana Pandita belonging to Bengal. (pp, 169) This statement is not correct which will be shown below. He was an Oriya Brahmana.

About Baladeva Vidyabhusana Dr. Farquhar has written very little which is quoted below :—

" At the beginning of the 18th century Baladeva wrote for the sect a *bhasya* on the *Vedanta Sutra* calling it the *Govinda Bhasya* and giving its philosophic point of view the distinctive name *Achintya-Bhedabheda*, thus expressing that the relation between God and the soul is in the last analysis inconceivable." (pp. 311)

Dr. S. K. De has made several references to Baladeva Vidyabhusana in his work and at Page 15 he has written that "Baladeva, a native of Orissa belonged to the 18th century."

Late Sundarananda Vidyavidoda in his Bengali book entitled "Sriksetra", 3rd edition published in Bengali san 1358 or 1950 A.D. has dealt with elaborately on the life of Baladeva Vidyabhusana of which important features are noted below :—

" Baladeva Vidyabhusana was born in the 18th century A. D. in a village near Remuna of the Balasore district. No time about his birth is known definitely. He wrote in Saka 1658 (1764 A. D.)

a *tika* on Rupa Gosvami's *Stavamala*. In the foot note he writes that in the *Tika* of *Utkalika Vallari* of Stavamala the date of Tika was mentioned."

" Baladeva Vidyabhusana studied grammar, poetics etc. from a famous place on the other side of Chilka lake. Then he studied Nyāya and Veda and went to Mysore to study Vedanta. At this time he was initiated by the Tatvavadins and argued with many Pandits and came to stay at the Tatvavadi Matha at Puri. After sometime he was initiated by Radha Damodar, a *prasisya* of Rasikananda Deva Gosvami and studied *Sat Sandarva*. He obtained the title of Vidyavinoda at the Galta conference at Jaipur where he composed *Govindabhasya*. Others say that he learnt Bhagavata from Visvanatha Chakravarty. × × × Afterwards Baladeva became a *Sanyasi* and was known as *Ekanti Govinda Das*.

I was interested about Baladeva Vidyabhusana for a long time, but I was not successful to get any authentic information from various persons of Orissa and Bengal and also from the members of the Mahanta family of Gopīballabhapura lying just outside the border of Mayurbhanj in the Midnapore district of Bengal. The Mahanta family of Gopīballabhapura are the descendants of Prabhu Rasikananda Deva Gosvami, the first disciple of Prabhu Shyamananda Deva Gosvami, thus all the disciples of the Mahanta family of Gopīballabhapura are known as the *Shyamananda-Sampradaya* to which Baladeva Vidyabhusana belonged. A friend of mine named Sri Kulamani Mahanty, a devout vaisnava of Baripada went to Vrindaban on pilgrimage in 1962 and I requested him to collect the traditions about Baladeva Vidyabhusana from Vrindaban and he kindly gave me a note which seemed to me to be authentic. From this account I came to know about the Galta Conference where Baladeva propounded his theory of *Achintyabhedābheda* on Brahma-sūtra. He also gave me a list of works of Baladeva Then in September, 1965 I got four books printed by Bhaktivinoda Brahma of Berhampur of Ganjam district of Orissa in which a short account of Baladeva Vidyabhusana was printed, but the dates given there are found to be inaccurate. Then in October, 1965 I requested my friend Sri Lalita Prasad Dutta, son of Bhaktivinoda Thākur about the account of Baladeva, and Sri Lalita Prasad, a devout Vaishnava now was very kind to send me the account of life Baladeva published in 1885 in the *Sajjana-Toṣiṇī* magazine edited by Bhaktivinoda

Thakur. This account of Baladeva was written in Bengali by late Visvambharananda Deva Gosvami, a very learned man of Gopīballabhapura. The account published in books from Berhampur in Ganjam states that Baladeva was a *Khandāyata* by caste before he was initiated into *sanyāsism* and no evidence was given as regards its authenticity. In other respects the account of Oriya books is similar to that of Visvambharananda Deva Gosvami written some 80 years ago and published in *Sajjana-Taśivī*. Visvambharananda was a cousin of the then Mahanta of Gopīballabhapura and Baladeva belonged to the Shyamananda Sampradaya of Srikrishna Chaitanya sect, it seems that this account is very trustworthy.

From these accounts it is known that Baladeva's residence and birth-place was a village near Remuna and after initiation into Sanyasism he studied Sanskrit at Puri and also from a Pandit at Parikud in the Chilka lake. Then he went to Vrindaban where he came in contact with Visvanatha Chakravarty and other learned Vaisnavam Sanyasis. While staying somewhere in Braja it so happened that the four Sampradaya Vaisnavas of Southern India came to Galta near Jaipur, the capital of the then Jaipur Kingdom of Rajaputana, and objected to the worship of Rādha and Kṛsṇa. Sawai Jaisingh, the founder of the Jaipur Capital city in 1728, could not reply to the satisfaction of the Southern Vaisnavas and as a result he was compelled to remove the image of Rādha from Govindaji temple and sent word to Vrindaban Sanyasis to come and reply and satisfy the Southern Vaisnavas, at the Galta Temple Upon this Baladeva Vidyabhusana was deputed by the Vaisnavas of Srikrsna-Chaitanya Sampradaya of Vrindabana to meet with the opponents at Galta. Baladeva heard all arguments of the opponents and remained quiet and begged permission to allow him one month's time to produce necessary literature to convince them. Within a period of one month, while staying at the Govindaji's temple, Baladeva Vidyabhusana wrote out three *Bhasyas* called *Govinda-bhaṣya* of Brahmasutra, Bhagavatgita and Dasopanishad establishing Achintyabhedabheda theory of Vedanta which was accepted by all opponent Sampradāyas. After this the image of Radhā was defied and the worship of Rādhakṛsṇa was established with all the Vaisnava Sampradayas of India.

In none of these accounts we get the date of Galta Conference which is traditionally recorded, So we are not sure of the

exact date. In this connection the history of tho Jaipur State dispells all doubt.

Jaisingh of Jaipur succeeded at Amber in 1699 A. D. He got the title of Sawai (One and one-fourth) from the Moghul Darbar and was known as Sawai Jaisingh II of Jaipur. He transferred the capital to Jaipur city in 1728 A. D. The hillock called Galta is situated within a short distance of Jaipur city which was chosen as the temple site of Govindji. Sawai Jaisingh ruled upto 1743 A. D. So the date of Galta Conference may be safely assigned to a period of 10 years from 1730-1740 A. D. when Baladeva Vidyabhusana was in the prime of youth, say about 30 years old. He composed the Tika of *Utkallika-Vallari* in 1765 A.D. Visvambharananda Deva Goswami wrote that in 1885 there were men who saw Baladeva. If we accept the age of the persons as about 100, Baladeva was living a long life about 90 years old. Baladeva wrote Tika and Bhaṣya of works which number 24. The list of works is given below.

1. Govinda Bhāṣya Tika of Brahmasutra.
2. -do- -do- of Dasopanishad,
3. -do- -do- of Bhāgavatgita.
4. -do- -do- of Visnusahasranama.
5. Tika of Gopāla Tāpini.
6. Tika of Bhāgavata (Vaisnavanandini of 10th Skandha)
7. Siddhānta Ratna
8. Siddhānta Darpana
9. Kāvya Kaustubha
10. Sāhitya Kaumudi
11. Prameya Muktāvali
12. Tikā of Tatva Sandharva.
13. Tikā of Utkalikavallari (Stavamala)
14. Tikā of Nātaka Chandrika
15. Tikā of Bhaktirasāmṛta Sindhu
16. Tikā of Lalita Mādhava
17. Tikā of Vidagdha Mādhava
18. Tikā of Stavāvali

APPENDIX

From the History of Dhenkanal writen in Oriya by late Ramachandra Bhaktivinoda and published in 1929 it is known that there is a Matha called 'Brahmachari Matha' near the Sikharesvara temple on the Kapilas hill in the district of Dhenkanal. According to tradition, Pratapa Bhanu Deva, the Gaṅga Emperor of Orissa placed Sri Rama Kṛshnanānda Svami of the Bhogavardhana Piṭha (Govardhana Maṭha) of Puri in charge of the Sikharesvara temple and established this Brahmachari Matha for him. This information is obtained from the '*Gurukramamnaya*' 'गुरुक्रमाम्नाय' traditional account of the preceptors maintained in this matha. Sridhara Svami, the disciple of Sri Rama Kṛṣnananda, who stayed in this matha on the Kapilasa hill was able to write the famous Commentary of the Bhagavata Purana through the grace of Sikharesvara, and Nṛsiṃha, the God of his devotion. From his time disciples of the Govardhana Matha have been holding the post of Svamis of this Brahmachari Matha, in succession. The relevent verses from this work are quoted below.

"पीठेऽस्य शिष्योऽत्रतु भोगबर्द्धने
महेश्वरानन्द सरस्वती वसन्
नीलाद्रिनाथा पचिर्ति यथापुरा
निरीक्षतेस्माऽश्रम कृत्यतत्परः । ७५

श्रीरामकृष्णानन्दोऽभूत् शिष्यस्तस्य महायतिः
स्वरविज्ञाननैपुण्यात्पुण्यं तेने महद्यशः । ७६

देवेत्यददौतस्मै स्वामीब्रह्मर्याय नेतृतां
प्रतापभानुनृपतिः कपिलास शिवालये । ८०

ततृशिष्योभूत् श्रीधर स्वामीपादो
जप्त्वा नित्यं मन्त्रराजं (नारसिंहं) सभक्त्या
विद्याचातुर्दृश्य मभ्यास वश्यं
स्वस्य क्षिप्रं विप्रमोषं ततान । ८१
श्रीमद्भागवतं संचातिविशदं व्याख्याय सुख्यातिमान्
विश्वस्योपकृतिं चकार नितरां तत्त्वार्थ मादीपयन ।
प्राधान्यं गिरिशो नृसिंह करुणा यत्तं वभाषेऽस्यतु
"व्यासोत्त्वेत्ति नब्राऽथ वेत्ति सकलं श्रीश्रीधरश्चेत्यपि" । ८२

47

NOTE ON THE DATE OF A MANUSCRIPT OF JIVADEVA'S BHAKTI VAIBHAVA

Dr. D. C. Sircar made a communication discussing the date of a Manuscript of Jivadeva's *Bhaktivaibhava* in the Asiatic Society of which the following is the synopsis.

"This manuscript has been noticed in H. P. Shastri's Catalogue, Vol. VII, pp. 274-78 (No. 5347). The post-colophon stanza in it is of exceptional interest to the student of East Indian history because it throws welcome light on the *gata-rajya* reckoning of Govindapāla and Laksmaṇasena. The verse states that the copying of the manuscript was completed on Sunday, Bhādra-sudi II, in the 29th Anika (24th regnal year of Mukundadeva (A. D 1559-68), the last independent king of Orissa. The details of the date show that it corresponds to the 18th August A. D. 1583, though the king died 15 years earlier, and that the year has to be counted from Mukundadeva's succession and not from his death. [1]

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1. Notice of the Monthly General Meeting of the Asiatic Society held ont he 5th November. 1962, Dr. Sircar has further elaborately discussed the subject in the paper entitled 'A Manuscript of Jivadeva's *Bhaktivaibhava, Indian Studies, Past and Present*, Vol. IV, pp. 105-110,

The date of the manuscript of *Bhaktivaibhava* in the sixteenth century A. D. and the reckoning of the Anka year in Orissa in the *gata-rajya* of Mukundadeva Harichandana seem to be very unusual, and I was curious in investigating further on the subject. I was lucky in discovering another palmleaf manuscript of Jivadeva's *Bhakti-vaibhava* in the library of the Utkal University, in which the post-colophon verse of the manuscript of the Asiatic Society occurs in word per word with this difference that it reads *Khyata-Kirterasita-haridine Bhadra-mase-hni Saure* whereas the Asiatic Society manuscript has *Khyata-Kirteh-rajata-haridine Bhadra-mase-hni Saure,* there being a difference of a fortnight only. The last two letters of the manuscript of the Utkal University are missing due to the breakage of the leaf. They are found to be *Guptini* in the manuscript of the Asiatic Society. [2]

The post-colophon verses of the two manuscripts show that the copyist first wrote the manuscript of the Utkal University library, for which he composed the post-colophon verse suitable for the date, and when he completed another manuscript within a fortnight, he used the same verse with a slight change, *Asita* stands for the dark fortnight and *Rajata* for the bright fortnight of *Bhadrapada.*

I do not agree with Dr. Sircar as regards the interpretation of the weekday mentioned in the verse. Dr. Sircar has translated *ahni-Saure* as Sunday, but I think it stands for Saturday. The copyist has *Saure*; but, if a visarga (h) is added after it, the meaning becomes clearer as *Saureh ahni* (in the day of Sauri or Sani, i.e. Saturday). If the word *Saur* is taken as the locative of *Saura,* the meaning is still Saturday: because both the words *Sauri* and *Saura* are synonyms of *Sani.* When the word *Saura* is an adjective, it means 'relating to the sun' and the translation is the solar day' and not 'Sunday'. In the commentary on the *Amarakoṣa* published by the Nirnayasagara Press, Bombay, 1907, Verse 26 of Kanda, I p. 20, Saura has been interpreted as *Sani* and not *Ravi* or Aditya. So Dr. Sircar's interpretation is untenable.

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2. I am indebted to Pandit Banambar Acharya for informing me about the existence of the manuscript of the *Bhaktivaibhava* in the Utkal University library. Pandit Acharya showed me the manuscript which has been edited for publication.

According to this calculation of Dr. Sircar, Bhādra-Sudi II, Sunday, in Mukundadeva's 29th Anka corresponds to the 18th August, A. D. 1583, and, naturally, Bhādra-vadi 11 should occur on Sunday in August, A. D. 1583; but it actually occurs on the 3rd August, 1583, on Sunday This goes against his calculation.

Now let us examine the points regarding the Aṅka reckoning of king Mukunda Harichandana which according to Dr. Sircar continued up to the 29th Aṅka year or 24th actual year of reign, i. e., A. D. 1583, 15 years after his death. If this *gata-rajya* reckoning of Mukundadeva was popular and current in Orissa, we are sure to find its corroboration from other contemporary records of the period. After the Muslim conquest in A. D. 1568, Ramachandra deva, the founder of the Khurdha dynasty, assumed independence in Orissa and used his own Aṅka years. From A. D. 1583 to 1604 we find the use of his Aṅka years 24, 34, 38 and 47 which correspond respectively to A. D. 1587, 1595, 1598 and 1604. These years are found in the following stone inscriptions : (i) Baripada Museum bilingual inscription, [3] (ii) Sirjang inscriptions [4] and (iii) Kasiari inscription. [5] The find spots of these inscriptions are in the Mayurbhanj, Balasore and Midnapore Districts of North Orissa and Western Bengal. The 24th Anka of Ramachandradeva is recorded along with the well known Indian eras, namely Saka 1509, Vikrama 1645, and Sāl 994, the 34th Aṅka year along with Yugābda 4696, and Saka 1517, 38th Aṅka year with Yugābda 4699 and Saka 1520, and 47th Aṅka year with Saka 1526. These dates support the reckoning of the Aṅka years of Ramachandradeva of Orissa from A. D. 1568. Thus the *gata-rājya* reckoning of Mukundadeva Harichandana from 1559 is not proved by any contemporary epigraphical records. So the 29th Aṅka year of Mukundadeva mentioned in the manuscript of *Bhaktivaibhava* can never correspond to the 18th August A.D. 1583.

Now the question arises as regards the identification of Mukundadeva in whose 28th Aṅka year these two manuscripts of *Bhaktivaibhava* were copied. As Mukundadeva Harichandana of the Chalukya dynasty did not rule up to his 29th Aṅka year, he is to be

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3. *Orissa Historical Research Journal,* Vol. VI, 1958 p. 228
4. *Ibid,*
5. *Ibid.*

excluded for our purpose. The next Mukundadeva after Mukundadeva Harichandana in the history of Orissa is the first Mukundadeva of the Bhoi dynasty of Khurdha, who ruled from A. D. 1659 to 1689. 6 Although Orissa came under the Suzerainty of the Mughals since A D. 1592, the Rajas of Khurdha were very often attacked by the Mughal Governors of Orissa. The position of Mukundadeva is best described in A.D. 1669 by the author of *Maraqat-i-Hassan* during the governorship of Khan-i-Duran, which is quoted below :—

" When the Khan reached Katak, Rajah Mukundadeva of Khurdha,the leading Zamindar of the country whose orders were obeyed by all other Zamindars, whom all other Zamindars of this country worshid like a god. and disobedience of whose order they regard as a great sin, waited on him with due humility accompanied by other Zamindars andkhandaits of central Orissa."

This Mukundadeva of the Khurdha dynasty enjoyed a rule up to 38 Aṅka years according to the calculation of Sri Kedarnath Mahapatra who has specialised in the history of the Bhoi dynasty of Orissa from A. D. 1558 onwards, Sri Mahapatra has mentioned in his paper written in Oriya noted above the said king's Anka years of 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 19, 21, 23, 27, 33 and 38 from various documents and so it is natural that Mukundadeva's 29th Aṅka year which was then current in Orissa, was noted by the copyist in these two manuscripts of the *Bhaktivaibhava*.

Thus Mukundadeva mentioned in the manuscripts of the *Bhaktivaibhava* is to be identified with Mukundadeva of the Bhoi dynasty who ruled from A. D. 1659 to 1689 and the dates of these two manuscripts correspond respectively, to Saturday, the 19th August A. D. 1682 and Saturday, the 2nd, September A.D. 1682. This proves that Dr. D.C. Sircar's theory of the Gata-rājya reckoning in Orissa as well as his' calculation of the date of the manuscript of the *Bhaktivaibhava* are quite wrong and as such untenable.

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6. *Navajivana* (Oriya monthly) 1959 pp. 194-198.
7. J. N. Sircar, *Studies in Mughal India* p. 208. reprinted from the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* Vol. IV, 1962 pp. 157-159.

48

ON THE WORSHIP OF THE IMAGES OF RADHA - KṚṢṆA

I

In our time the worship of the images of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa is very wide and popular all over India. The worship of the images of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa was made popular by the *Nimbārka Sampradāya, Chitanya Sampradāya* and *Vallabhāchārya Sampradāya.* Among these *Sampradāyas* there is an inter-relation, the discussion of which is beyond the scope of this paper. In the Appendix I, are given short accounts of the *Sampradāyas* of Nimbārka and Vallabhāchārya.

R. D. Banerji writes as follows on this subject :—

" Not only do we find a very great scarcity of combined images of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā in the Eastern school, but no image of Kṛṣṇa by himself earlier than the fifteenth century has been discovered any where in Bengal and Bihar. The popularity of Rādhā Kriṣṇa cult in the north-eastern provinces of India appears to date from the advent of the great reformer Chaitanya". 1

We do not find the sculpture of adult Kṛṣṇa earlier than the 13th century A. D. although there are descriptions of the image of adult Kṛṣṇa in the Sanskrit literature.

II

According to the *Purāṇas*, Kṛṣṇa is an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu and according to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Kṛṣṇa is Bhagavān himself. Early sculptures of four-armed images of Viṣṇu are found in India in many places and particularly in Orissa in the Prāchi Valley of the Puri District, where there are a large number of four-armed images of Viṣṇu from the beginning of the 9th-10th century A. D.

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1. *Eastern Indian school of medieval sculpture,* Chapter VI, Page 127 *Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series* Vol. XLVII, 1933

The sculptural evidence for two armed Kṛṣṇa besides four-armed Viṣṇu is also found in Orissa in the name of Gopīnātha The transitional Viṣu-Kṛṣṇa image also is found in Orissa. In the Orissa State Museum there is a sculpture of the image of four-armed Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa, the upper two arms of which hold the *Ayudhas Chakra* and *Samkha* and the lower two arms hold the *Vamśi* or the flute and the pose of standing of the image is *tribhaṅga* or trifiection instead of popular straight legs of the images of Viṣṇu. There are two other images of Viṣṇu Kṛṣṇa at Puri, one at the Jagannātha-vallabha Maṭha and the other at the Saḍabhuja Gaurāṅga Maṭha. Dr. J. N. Banerji in his Bengali work entitled *Pañchopāsanā* writes at P, 110 that there is a temple of the image of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa at Udipi which was dedicated by Mādhvāchārya. The date of Mādvā-chārya is attributed to 1199-1278 A. D. I do not know if the image of Udipi is the same as that of Orissa. But it appears to be certain that this transitional image of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa gave rise to the conception of two armed Vamśī-dhāri image of Kṛṣṇa generally known as the image of Gopīnātha in Orissa. I have found the images of Gopīnātha in the north Orissa from Remuṇā, ·4 miles west of Balasore, to Puri in the south of Orissa. All the famous Brāhmaṇa *śāsanas* of the Puri District contain a temple of Gopīnātha on the western end. From the study of images of Gopīnātha found at Remuṇā, Balasore (in the premises of the Fakir Mohan College), at Dharmasala of the Cuttack District (now preserved in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar), at Balianta, at Sarkana, at Hirapur, at Dāṇḍa-Mukundapur, at Satyabadi and on the southern bank of the Mārkandesvar temple, Puri, it goes to indicate the date of these sculptures is the 13th century A, D. or its near about. The Dharma-sala image of Gopīnātha bears an inscriptionastating the name of the sculptor who was a resident of *Abhinava Varavasī Kataka* (modern Cuttack). *Abhinava Varavasī Kataka* was established in the 1st quarter of the· 13th century A D. Among the images of Gopīnātha, the image at Remuṇā is popularly known as *Kṣirachorā* Gopīnātha and that of Cuttack (now enshrined at Satyabadi) is known Sākṣī-Gopāla according to Kṛśṇadāsa Kavirāja's well known work *Chaitanya Charitāmṛta* written in 1615 A. D. I am told that there is an image of Gopīnātha near at Agarpara in the Bhadrak Sub-division of the Balasore District and it seems to me that a thorough survey will bring to light a large number of images of Gopīnātha in various other parts of the coastal Districts of Orissa.



No.16 Block of the Krishna Vishnu image of the Orissa State Museum

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In Rupa Gosvāmi's collection called *Padāvali*, is found the following Sanskrit verse which is the Dhyāna of the image of Gopīnātha described above.

"फुल्लेन्दीवरकान्ति मिन्दुवदनं वर्डावतसप्रियं
श्रीवत्साङ्कं मुदारकौस्तुभधरं पीताम्वर सुन्दरं ॥
गीपीनां नयनोत्पलार्चिततनुं गोगोपीसंघावृतं
गोविन्दं कलवेणुवादनपरं दिव्याङ्गरूपं भजे ॥"

The popularity of the Bhāgavata cult in Orissa influenced Srīdhar Svāmin to make a *Tīkā* of it. Sridhara Svāmī's birth place is at Maraigān situated about 4 miles north of the temple of Kṣīra-chorā Gopīnātha at Remunā. The village Maraigān is surrounded by the residences of the Brāhmanas of the Atharva Vediya Paipalāda Sākhā, Atharva Veda contains a large number of Tāpinī Upaniṣadas dealing with the Vaiṣṇavite Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā and Vṛindāvana etc. The influence of the Tāpinī literature which was perhaps composed in Orissa, was very great on the society, which gave rise to the development of the Bhāgavata Vaiṣṇavism, the direct result of which was the conception of the image of Gopīnātha or the adult Kṛṣṇa known as Govinda. From the popularity of the Gopīnātha cult the great Sanskrit poem *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva developed in Orissa according to tradition and the Prākṛta poems of Chaṇḍīdāsa in Bengal and Vidyāpati of Mithila in Bihar. From the 12th to the 16th century A. D. there are Sanskrit and Prākṛta literature on Rādhā, but no image of Rādhā is found any where in Orissa and Bengal or in the eastern India befor the 17th century A D. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja mentions in his work entitled *Chaitanya charitamṛta* written in early decade of the 17th century that Chaitanya used to hear *Gītagovinda*, the poems of Chaṇḍīdāsa and Vidyāpati, and Vilvamangala's Kṛṣṇa Karṇāmṛta and the Jagannātha Vallabha Nātaka by Rāya Rāmānanda.

R. D. Banerji in his *History of Orissa* Vol. I, Pages 300-301 writes as follows on the use of the Gītagovinda in the Jagannātha temple at Puri.

"The last record of Kapilendra at Puri is the second in point of date, having been incised in the 19th *Aṅka*—Sunday 12th April, 1450. It records an order for the performance of dances at the time of

Bhoga from the end of the evening *Dhupa* up to the time of *Barasingara* (bed time). It refers to a number of dancers from Telengana and that besides dancing, four Vaiṣṇava singers will sing Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*".

He again writes as follows on an inscription of the Jagannātha temple recorded during the reign of Pratāparudra Deva at page 334 of the *History of Orissa*, Vol.—1.

" Pratāparudra is known from a number of inscriptions discovered at Puri and other places. The earliest of them are to be found on the left hand side of the Jaya Vijaya gate of the *Jagamohana* of the temple of Jagannātha. In the 4th *Aṅka*, Wednesday the 17th July 1499, orders were issued for the performance of dancing at the time of *Bhoga* of Jagannātha and Balarāma from the end of the evening *dhūpa* to the time of *Barasingara* or bed time. The dancing girls of Balarāma and of Kapilesvara, the old batch and the Telanga batch, all of them were to learn the singing of the *Gitagovinda* only. Besides dancing, four other Vaiṣṇava singers were also to sing from the same work of Jayadeva. It is stated at the end of the record that the superintendent who allows any other song except those in the *Gitagovinda* will cause a *violation* of the orders of the God Jagannātha". The *Madalāpanji* records the story of *Abhinava Gitagovinda* composed by a king of Orissa which was discarded by Lord Jagannātha with the exception of one chapter. This goes to establish the popularity of the *Gitagovinda* in Orissa. The popularity and sanctity of the *Gitagovinda* in the Jagannātha temple were there long before the advent of Chaitanya to Puri. But no where in Orissa is found the image of Rādhā during the rule of the kings of the solar dynasty although the images of Gopinātha were worshipped at various places in Orissa and particularly in the capital town at Kataka (Cuttack).

The story of *Baḍa vipra* and *Chhota vipra* as given in Kṛiṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Chaitanya Charitāmṛta* about the journey of Gopinātha from Vṛindāvana to Vidyānagara from where it was brought to Cuttack by king Purusottama Deva, forming the basis of the *Kanchi-Kāveri Kavya* of Orissa seems to be a tradition of the image of Gopinātha at a time when there was no existence of Vṛindāvana in its present site. Vṛindāvana was reclaimed by Sanātana and Rūpa Gosvāmis who were directed to revive it by Chaitanya. The image of Gopinātha of Cuttack was transferred from Cuttack to Khurdha and then to Rathipur near Khurdha Road Railway station and from there

to Kentalabai near Bhusandapur Railway station on the shore of the Chilka lake and from there this image of Gopinātha was transferred to the present village of Satyavadi some time in the first quarter of the 19th century by Rājā Rāmachandra Deva III of Puri. The technique of carving of the image of Gopinātha now enshrined at Satyavadi is entirely of the Orissan style like that of the images of other places of Orissa. Had it been removed from Vṛindāvana in the Uttar Pradesa, the technique of the image would have been of the North Indian style or if from Vidyānagar, it would have been of the South Indian style. The image of Gopinātha when installed at Satyavadi had no female consort attached to it. Soon after a love story of Gopinātha with a village girl named Lakṣmī was developed and the deity by dream demanded a female consort and accordingly with the help of the Rāja of Ranpur the image of Lakṣmi or Rādhā was constructed and installed on the left side of Gopinātha in the temple and now the female figure is worshipped as the deity of Rādhā. It is very difficult or next to impossibility to trace the origin of the traditions of Gopinātha called *Sakṣi Gopala* or *Kṣirachora Gopinatha* as theyare shrouded in mystery beyond conception of scientific research.

III

According to the *Chaitanya Charitamṛta* Mādhavendrapuri, preceptor of Iswarapuri, who is also the preceptor of Sri Chaitanya, first installed an image of Gopāla at Giri-Govardhana. Mādhavendra-puri also visited the temple of Gopinātha at Remunā on his way from Vṛindāvana to Puri. The deity Gopīnātha stole a pot of *Kṣīra* and in a dream asked the *Pujāri* to hand it over to Mādhavendrapuri. For this event the deity was named Kṣīrachorā Gopīnātha.

After him Chaitanya visited Vṛindavana and returned to Srikshetra. On the way back from Vṛindāvana he instructed Rūpa Gosvāmin and Sanātana Gosvāmin to restore the ancient site of Vrindāvana and also write literature on *Bhagavata Dharma.* When Sanātana Gosvāmin and Rupā Gosvāmin arrived at Vrindāvana, they had no place to live in there. They slept under the shade of trees at night and used to eat whatever eatables they could find there and in such precarious position they developed Vrindāvana.

The *Chaitanya Charitamrita* describes their activities at Vrindāvana as follows :—

"अनिकेतक दोँहे रहे यत वृक्षगण ।
एकेक वृक्षर तले एकेक रात्रि शयन ॥
विप्र गृहे स्थुलभिक्षा काहाँ मधुकरी ।
शुष्करुटि चाना चिवाय भोग परिहरि ॥
करोया मात्र हाते काँथा छिंडा बहिर्वास ।
कृष्णकथा कृष्णनाम नर्त्तक उल्लास ॥
अष्टप्रहर कृष्ण भजन चारिदन्ड शयने ।
नाम संकीर्त्तनप्रेमे रहे सेहिदिने ॥"

Madhya Lila, Chap VII

In the Chapter V of *Antya Lila* of the *Chaitanya Charitamṛta* the following is written :—

"दुइभाई मिले वृन्दावने वास कैल ।
प्रभुर ये आज्ञा दोँहे सब निर्बाहिल ॥
नाना शास्त्र आनि लुप्ततीर्थ उद्धारिला ।
वृन्दाबने कृष्णसेवा प्रकाश करिला ॥

× × ×

मदनगोपाल गोविन्देर सेवा प्रकाशन "

From the above account it appears that the worship of the images of Kṛṣṇa called *Madana Gopala* and *Govinda* was established at Vrindāvana by Sanātana Gosvāmin and Rūpa Gosvāmin who also wrote on the *lila* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. But they did not conceive the image of Rādhā to be associated with Kṛṣṇa in the form of the plastic art. It appears that the image of *Gopāla* established by Mādhavendrapurī at Giri Govardhana was that of a Child Kṛṣṇa and not that of an adult Kṛṣṇa, but the images of Madana Gopāla and Govinda were of adult Kṛṣṇa.

Now the question arises as to how Sanātana Gosvāmin and Rūpa Gosvāmin could conceive the images of Madana Gopāla and Govinda which are the different names of Gopinātha or Kṛṣṇa. From the *Chaitanya Charitamṛita* we find that Sri Chaitanya visited the temple of Gopinātha at Remuṇā and Sākṣī Gopāla at Cuttack on his way to Puri. It seems that he also visited the temples of Gopīnātha at Balianta, Hirāpura and Daṇḍa Mukundapura, on his way to Puri. It

states that Chaitanya spent some hours at Toṭā Gopīnātha of Puri where there is a sitting image of Gopinātha. What was seen by Chaitanya was also visited by Sanātana Gysvāmin and Rūpa Gosvāmin, who came to Puri from Vṛindāvana. So it is quite resonable to think that Sanātana Gosvāmin and Rūpa Gosvāmin had to build the images of Madana Gopāla and Govinda according to that of Gopīnātha of Orissa.

Now the question is when and by whom was the worship of the images of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa introduced at Vṛindāvana and other places?

The first idea of the worship of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is found to be recorded in Kavi Karṇapura's *Chaitanya - Chandrodaya Nataka* written in 1579 A. D. In the Act VII of the drama Chaitanya asked Rāya Rāmānanda— "क्रिमुपास्यमत्र" (what is to be worshipped here) and in reply Rāya Rāmānanda said— "महसी श्रीकृष्णराधामिधे" (it is the worship of Śri Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā). Although the drama was written long after the death of Chaitanya, according to Kavi Karṇapura the idea of worshipping Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa goes back to the life time of Chaitanya. But the idea was in a fluid state for the reason that in the same Act Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭachārya speaks to king Pratāparudra as follows about Rāya Rāmānanda.

"महाराज, स खलु सहज वैष्णव भवति । पूर्वमयमस्माकमुपहासपात्र मासीत ।
संप्रति भगवदनुग्रहे जाते तन्महिमज्ञता नो जाता ॥"

(Maharaja, he is a follôwer of the Sahaja cult of Vaisṇavism Previously he was a person of ridicule by us. Now being favoured by Bhagavāna, we are apprized of his power).

The relation of Rādhā with Kṛṣṇa as described in Jayadeva's *Gitagovinda* and Rāva Rāmānanda's *Jagannatha Vallabha-Nataka*, was not approved by the society. It seems for this reason that the marriage of Rādhā with Kṛṣṇa has been performed in the *Brahma-Vaivarta Purava* before the marriage with Ayana, the brother of Yaśodā It is peculiar that the name Ayana occurs in the Bengali and other literatures of India, but his name is Chandrasenā in the Oriya literature.

After the coming of Sanātana Gosvāmin and Rūpa Gosvāmin four other Gosvāmis from Bengal named Jiva Gosvāmin, Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa and Raghunātha Dāsa joined with them at Vṛindāvana, All these are known as Saḍa-Gosvāmis or six Gosvamis

who along with a host of other workers devoted their lives to develop Vṛindāvana as a *Tīrtha* and also wrote various works on Vaiṣṇavism. The date of compilation of the *Chaitanya Charitāmṛita* is 1615 A. D. and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, its author, has not mentioned in it about the worship of the image of Rādhā either with Madana Gopāla or Govinda at Vṛindāvana. Thus it appears that the image of Rādhā was introduced at Vṛindāvana after 1615 A. D

Dukhī Maṇḍala of the village Dharanda near Kharagpur was a pious Vaisnava from his childhood. Then he became a disciple of Hridaya Chaitanya of Ambikā and visited all the *Tīrthas* of India including the four Dhāmas and settled at Vṛindāvana at last and learnt Vaisṇava literature under the direction of Jīva Gosvāmin, Kṛṣṇadāsa used to sweep the *Radha-Kuñja.* One night he got a *Nepura* of the left leg of Rādhā, who was busy in *Līlā* with Kṛṣṇa. The *Nepura* mark was there in his forehead and chest as soon as he put it there. Thus Kṛṣṇadāsa was known as a favourite of Srimatī Rādhā and was named Syāmānanda. Syāmānanda was assigned the preaching work named Syāmananda. Syāmānanda was assigned the preaching work in Utkala and so had to come to Utkala where he found Rasikānanda as his fittest devotee.

Rasikamaṅgala, a work on the life and activities of Rasikānanda Deva Gosvamin of Gopīvallabhapura and Prabhu Syāmānanda the preceptor of Rasikānanda, was written by Rasikānanda's disciple. Gopījana Vallabha Dāsa between the years 1653 and 1655 A.D. after the death of Rasikānanda in 1652 A.D. It is an authentic work on the Gauḍiya Vaiṣṇava movement in Orissa after *Chaitanya Charitāmṛta.* Syāmānanda met Rasikānanda at Ghatsila in Dhalbhum and made him his first disciple. Both the *Guru* and *Sishya* came to Rohini, a village in the present Midnapore District. Rasikānanda decided to leave his paternal house and both *Guru* and *Shisya* with their family came to a place on the right bank of the river Suvarṇarekhā and established themselves there. The patron deity of Rasikānanda was Gopīvallabha and according to the name of the deity the village was named Gopīvallabhapura where the *Maṭha* of Rasikānanda was established and it is still to be found there.

At that time the deity Gopīvallabha had no female consort in the temple. The maṭha at Gopīvallabhapura was established before the 20th year of Rasikānanda who was born in 1590 A. D. Two

brothers named Bhīma and Srīkara, who were friends of the father of Rasikānanda, were very rich and influential in the locality. They advised Rasikānanda to give up the life adopted by him, but at last they were converted to Vaiṣṇavīsm preached by Rasikānanda when he was 20 years old e. g., in the year 1610 A. D. Then it struck to Rasikānanda to have a female consort of Gopīvallabha, the patron deity of Rasikānanda who built an image of the *Thakuranī* called Rādhā there and brought the image of Gopīvallabha from Gopīvallabhapur and celebrated the marriage with great pomp at the expenses paid by Bhīma and Srīkara. This is the earliest reference regarding the Union of two deities of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa ceremonially performed according to the social custom.

After returning to Gopīvallabhapura with the images of Rādhā-Gopīvallabha, Rasikānanda made Mahārāja Vaidyanātha Bhañja of Mayurbhanj his disciple at Baripada, the then capital of Mayurbhanj and soon after the image of Kṛṣṇa named Govinda of Gopīvallabhapura was married with an image of Rādhā as the daughter of Mahārājā of Mayurbhanj at the village Khadiasul situated half way between Gopīvallabhapur and Baripada. Mahārājā of Mayurbhanj made a grant of the village as the dowery of the image of Rādhā Thus the *Guru* and *Sishya* were of equal faith by a social relation made by the marriage of the deities. The gifted village still belongs to the Mahanta family of Gopīvallabhapur as a Lakhraj village.

Vaiṣṇava traditions are very valuable to the followers of Vaiṣṇavism who rigidly maintain and persue them. After *Chaitanya Charitāmṛta* traditions on the activities of Gauḍiya Chaitanyism were compiled by Narahari Chakravarti during the earlier decades of the 18th century A. D. in his work entitled *Bhaktiratnākara*. The work goes to narrate the story as to how the images of Rādhā brought from Utkala (Orissa) were installed by the side of Madanagopāla, Govinda and Gopīnātha at Vrindāvana.

The following verses are recorded in the Chapter VI of *Bhaktiratnākara* :

"श्री गोविन्द ये समये प्रकट होइला ।
से समय श्रीमती राधिका नाहिँ छिला ॥
छिलेन श्री मदनमोहन प्रभु ऐछे ।
संक्षेपे कहिये श्रीयुगल हैल जैछे ॥

The English rendering of the above quoted lines is given below :—

"There was no image of Rādhā when the image of Govinda was installed at Vṛindāvana. There was no image of Rādhā attached to the image of Madanamohana. Below is given a short description as to how the dual images were installed there."

According to tradition recorded in the *Bhaktiratnākara* it is known that in the village named Rādhānagara of Utkala there lived a Dakṣinātya Brāhmana named Bṛishabhānu at whose house Rādhikā lived like a dear daughter. After sometime the Brāhmana died and the Rājā, after hearing the story came to Rādhānagara and saw the beautiful image of Rādhā. Rādhā appeared in a dream before the Rājā and told him to transfer her image to the *Chakraveḍha* (Premises) of the Jagannātha temple. When the time came for her departure to Vṛindavana the image of Rādhā again appeared in a dream and told the Rājā, named Puruṣottama Deva to send her image to Vṛindāvana. The Rājā accordingly arranged to send the image of Rādhā to Vṛindāvana which was known to all the people of Gauḍa and Utkala She was placed at the left side of the image of Govinda there. The whole story is given in the *Sadhana Dīpika*. Similarly the image of Rādhā sent from Orissa was installed at the left side of Madana-Gopāla at Vṛindāvana." In the Chapter XIII of *Bhaktiratnākara* there is an account as to how an image of Rādhā was sent by *Jahnavā* Devī, wife of Nityānanda to be installed at the side of the image of Gopīnātha enshrined at Vṛindāvana.

From a study of the list of villages in Orissa published in the *Administrative Atlas*, a part of the Census of India 1961, I found two villages called Rādhānagara in Orissa, one of it is situated in the Cuttack District under the Police Station of Kissan Nagar (Kṛṣna nagara and the second is situated in the Balasore District under the Police Station of Remunā, quite close to the temple of Kṣīrachorā Gopīnātha. It seems that both the villages may be the place of origin of the image of Rādhā in Orissa.

Puruṣottama Jena, the King of Orissa mentioned in the *Bhaktiratnākara* is to be identified with Puruṣottama Deva of the Bhoi dynasty of Khurdha wao ruled from 1607 to 1623 A D. Rasikā nanda, the founder of the worship of the twin images of Rādhā-Kṛṣna after 1610 A. D. had no idea about the images of Rādhā enshrined at Rādhānagara and subsequently transferred to the premises

of the Jagannātha temple. I am tempted to suggest that the images of Rādhā were sent to Vṛindāvana from Orissa from the place of their origin sometime between 1615–1620 A.D.

Thus we see that the images of Gopīnātha or Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā were first conceived in Orissa and subsequently installed at Vṛindāvana where the worship of the *Yugala* images of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa was introduced during the first quarter of the 17th century A.D. Gradually the worship of the images of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa spread to different parts of India.

Although *Haribhaktivilasa*, the most important Vaiṣṇava work on rituals, was compiled at Vṛindāvana by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa or according to some by Sanātana Gosvāmī, in which there is a chapter on the description of image-making, but it is strange that this work does not mention about the images of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa although the same Gosvāmīs were worshipping the images of Madanagopāla, Govinda and Gopīnātha at Vṛindāvana.

As regards the possibility of the identification of the bas-relief of two sculptures found in the *Stupa* at Paharpur as Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, a discussion has been made in the Appendix–II of this paper.

IV

The Philosophy of the worship of Rādhā Kṛṣṇa.

The greatest achievement of Chaitanism is the re-establishment of the *Tirtha* of Vṛindāvana, the site of which had been deserted due to long neglect. In addition to the reclamation of Vṛindāvana the six Gosvāmīs devoted their whole lives in writing Vaiṣṇava literature and philosophy. Chaitanya selected Sanātana and Rūpa Gosvāmīs for the exploration and development of Vṛindāvana during his last visit to Vṛindāvana. He first came to Orissa in 1510 and made tours for six years During his last tour he met Rūpa and Sanātana on his way back from Vṛindāvana to Puri. The event is to be dated sometime in 1516 A. D. after which the exploration and development work at Vṛindāvana was under-taken by Sanātana Gosvāmin and Rūpa Gosvāmin, who were subsequently assisted by four others named Jīva Gosvāmin. Raghunātha Dāsa, Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa and Gopāla Bhaṭṭa. Dr. S.K, De in his work entitled "*Early History of Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal*" (Calcutta

1916) writes at P. 1660-64) as follows regarding the date of Sanātana, Rūpa and Jīva Gosvāmis.

"With regard to the exact dates of Rūpa, Sanātana and Jīva, no authentic information is available" × × ×. The *Bhakti-ratnakara* records that both Sanātana and Rūpa died in the same year at the interval of a few months. If this is true, Rūpa must have been alive in 1554 A.D. Beyond this nothing at present can be said with regard to the dates of these two Gosvāmis. (P. 164)

Dr. S K. De's conclusion is quoted below :—

"To them was due the building up of modern Vṛindāvana as the chief intellectual and religious centre of the sect, where its philosophy, its theology, its ritualism and its Rasa Sāstra were created. They reclaimed the sacred sites, identified them and gave to each a distinctive name. They made their wealthy disciples and admires build the great temples, groves and bathing places, and thus laid the foundations of its modern glory and sanctity, (P. 118). Dr. De states in the foot note that Akbar paid a visit to Vṛindāvana in 1573 and recognised spiritual activities. Thus political situation in the country was favourable for the spread of the movement.

Dr. De further discusses that the second part of Jīva Gosvāmī's '*Gopāla Champū*' was composed in 1592 A. D. when he was advanced in old age (P. 164). It seems that Jīva Gosvāmīn lived for some more years

In order to popularise the Vaiṣṇava literature and philosophy expounded by the six Gosvāmīs in Gauḍa, Rādhā and Utkala Jīva Gosvāmīn deputed three preachers named Narottama Thākura, Srīnivāsa Acharya and Syāmānanda to eastern India. The manuscripts were sent in a bullock cart which were stolen at Viṣṇupura in the Bankura District and subsequently restored by Vīra Hambīra, the Rājā of Viṣṇupura. It seems that all this happened before the year 1600-1605 A. D. upto which Jīva Gosvāmī was also alive.

Syāmānanda was alloted the duty of preaching in Orissa and he was lucky to get as his disciple Rasikānanda Deva Gosvāmīn who established *Syāmānanda Parivāra* of the Gauḍiya sect of Vaiṣṇavism. It has been narrated above as to how he introduced first the worship of the images of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa. In the *Syāmānanda Parivāra* there were some devout Vaiṣṇavas, chief among whom, was Baladeva Vidyābhuṣaṇa of Govinda Bhāshya fame.

The Gauḍiya Vaiṣṇava of Vṛindāvana were undisturbed for a century and a half. During the reign of Auraṅgzeb who began to destroy the temples of Vṛindāvana, the Gauḍiya Vaiṣṇavas removed the images of Madanagopāla, Govinda and Gopīnātha with the images of Rādhā to a place of safety at Galta situated in the princely kingdom of Amber in Rajputana. During the period of rule of Sawai Jayasingh (1699–1743 A.D.) the capital of the kingdom was transferred from Amber to a place which was named Jaipur in 1728 A.D. About the time from 1735–40 A.D. according to tradition the southern Vaiṣṇavas raised a question on the Vedānta interpretation about the worship of the image of Rādhā in the company of Kṛṣṇa. Sawai Jaya Singha who was a great learned man and also a follower of the *Syamānanda parivāra*, the head of which were the Mahantas of Gopīvallabhapura and their deputies at Jaipur were unable to satisfy the southern Vaiṣṇavas by giving a suitable reply. As a result the image of Rādhā was separated from Madanagopāla and other gods. Thus Sawai Jaya Singha who was an ardent worshipper of the images of Rādhā-Kṛśṇa was very much shocked and sent for scholars at Vṛindāvana to come to Jaipur and give *nivandha* in favour of worship of the images of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa. Viśvanātha Chakravarti was then the head of the Gauḍiya Vaiṣṇava sect at Vṛindāvana and he was too old to go to Jaipur and take part in the deliberation. So he sent Baladeva Vidyābhuṣana, who was a competent scholar on the Gauḍiya Vaiṣṇava philosophy as propounded by Sanātana Gosvāmin and others.

Baladeva Vidyābhuṣana was born according to tradition in a village near Remuṇā where there is the temple of Kṣīrachorā Gopināthа. He was a versatile scholar and studied carefully the Vaiṣnava literature. He went to Jaipur and heard the arguments put forward by the southern Vaiṣṇavas against the worship of the images of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa who wanted philosophical interpretation based on *Prastāna-trayi* like other Vaiṣṇava sects of India. Baladeva took time and within the stipulated period produced the *Govinda Bhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtra Bhagvatgita* and *Daśopaniṣoḍ* in which he dealt with the theory of *Achintya bhedābheda* incomprehensible difference and non difference on the images of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa which was accepted by the southern Vaiṣṇavas and consequently the philosophy in the worship of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa was recognised by all India Vaiṣṇavas. Thus we see that the beginning of the worship of the single image of Gopīnātha and also the dual images of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa later on and finally the propounding

of the philosophy of the worship of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, were distinct contributions of the scholars of Orissa to Vaisnavism.

The followers of Mādhva Philosophy adopt Nārāyaṇa as the supreme deity and they conceived three Saktis, namely Sri, Bhū and Līlā. Similarly Baladeva Vidyābhuṣaṇa conceived Kṛṣṇa as God Himself (Kṛiṣṇastu-Bhagavān svayam and his *three Saktis or* energies were namely *Samvit*, Sandhinī and *Hlādini* and Rādhā was interpreted to be the Hlādinī śakti Thus the deification of Rādhā was established on the basis of Vedānta philosophy according to the theory of *Achintyabhedābheda* which was originally suggested by Sanātana Gosvāmīn in his works and later on established by Baladeva Vidyā-bhūṣaṇa as stated above, After deification of Rādhā, the cult of Rādhā Kṛṣṇa spread like wild fire in the country and like *Janmastami* of Kṛṣṇa, *Radhaṣṭami* of Rādhā was introduced in the *Smriti* literature after the middle of the 18th century A. D.

APPENDIX - I

(1) Note on Nimbārka or Nimbāditya

No definite date is known about the advent of Nimbārka. The following is an abstract of what has been discussed by the late Dr. J. N. Banerji in his Bengali work entitled *Panchopasana*.

" Nimbārka or Nimbāditya was the founder of the Sanaka *Sampradaya*. It has been assumed by the scholars that he was born after the demise of Ramānuja in a Brahmin family at the village Nimba or Nimbapur in the Southern India. The religious life of Nimbārka was spent at Vṛindāvana near Mathura and for this reason he preached Vaiṣṇaviṣm in which the worship of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa was stressed upon. He propounded a short *Tikā of Vedāntasūtra* called *Vedāntaparijāta saurabha* and his whole arguments were limited to 10 verses called *Daśaśloki* which discussed the *Dvaita-dvaita-vāda*. The main deities of the followers of Nimbārka or *Sanaka-sampradāya* are *Gopijana-vallabha-Gopāla Kṛṣṇa* and his *Hlādinī* energy Srīmatī Rādhikā".

From the above account it is clear that Nimbārka first introduced the conception of the worship of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in the 12th century A. D. But no images of Rādhā and that of Kṛṣṇa worshipped

by him or his followers have been found. Another point is that about Rādhā conceived as the Hladinī śakti of Kṛṣṇa in the 12th century A.D. we have not got any reference in the literature of the period.

As regards the name of Rādhā, Nimbārka perhaps got his idea from the Sanskrit works like *Dhvanyāloka* or *Subhāṣita-ratnākara*. It is not exactly known if Jayadeva developed his idea of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa from the secular literature noted above or from the preaching of Nimbārka of whom he is regarded as a follower by many scholars. The date of *Saḍukti-Karnāmṛita* is 1206 A. D. but there we have not got any direct reference to Jayadeva's *Gita Govinda* or to Nīmbārka. On the whole we do not get any contemporary reference to Nimbārka's conception of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa worship.

(2) Note on Vallabhāchārya :

Vallabhāchārya and Chaitanya were contemporary. Vallabhāchārya was born in 1479 A. D. and died in 1531 A. D. whereas Chaitanya was born in 1485 A. D. and died in 1533 A. D. From the chapter VII of *Antyalīlā* of Chaitanya Charitāmṛta we find that Vallabha Bhaṭṭa met and discussed with Chaitanya at Puri regarding the *Tīka* of *Bhāgavata* made by him. The *Tīkā* was decried by Chaitanya, who only supported the *Tīkā* made by Srīdhara Svāmin.

The tradition of appearance in a dream of *Deva-daman* or Srināthaji at the Govardhana hill in Vṛindāvana before Vallabhāchārya seems to be similar to that of Bāla Gopāla there before Mādhavendrapuri. Both Mādhavendrapuri and Vallabhāchārya built temples for their deities there. Vallabhāchārya stressed on the worship of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa at *Vṛindāvana*. The image of *Nāthaji* was removed to Nathadvāra in Udayapur, Rājaputna during the reign of Aurangzeb but we do not know the fate of the image of Gopāla worshipped by Mādhavendrapuri. According to *Rasikamaṅgala*, when Rasikānanda Deva Gosvāmīn visited Vṛindāvana he found the image and temple of Gopāla at the Govardhana hill. But according to *Bhaktiratnākara*, when Jāhnavā Devī visited Govardhana she did not see the temple of Gopāla. It seems that Narahari Chakravarti who wrote *Bhaktiratnākara* in the 18th century, did not see the temple and so he omitted it in the account of Jahnavā Devi.

APPENDIX - II

A note on the identification of the socalled images of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa at Paharpur :

In the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1926-27 Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikṣit, the then Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, described a *bas-relief* representing an amorous couple as *Radha Kṛṣṇa.* The date of the Paharpur Stupa is attributed to the 7th century A. D. So these images were considered to be the earliest representation of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa. As the main attributes, the peacock plume and flute of Kṛṣṇa are not found in the sculpture of Kṛṣṇa at Paharpur, Rao Bahadur Dikṣit's identification was not based on known facts,

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji wrote a paper entitled *"Purana legends and Prakṛta literature in New Indo-Aryan"* which was published in the *Bulletins of the school of Oriental and African Studies Vol. VII* (*1935-37*) pages 457-466. In this paper Dr. Chatterji writes that " But it appears that there is a plastic and dance in Bengal dating from the sixth century A. D. as the existence of Radhā as the Gopis *par excellence.*" Dr. Chatterji came to the conclusion that " Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in their oldest plastic representation is found at Paharpur stupa (p. 462). Dr Pusalkar in his work entitled " *Studies in Epics and Puranas*" published by the *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan*, Bombay supports Dr. Chatterji's conclusion.

Dr. Sukumar Sen in his book entitled. " *A history of the Brajabuli literature* " 1935 has written as follows on this subject :—

" The earliest representation of the Kṛṣṇa legends in art in Bengal is to be found in the Paharpur bas-relief (*vide* notes on the Paharpur reliefs by K. N. Diksit, Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report (1926-27). The reliefs probably date in the six century A. D. In one relief Kṛṣṇa in his familiar pose is accompanied by a female apparently a beloved Gopī. Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji first pointed out the female figure to be that of Radhā" (P. 480).

Sri S. K. Saraswati in his work entitled " *Early sculptures of Bengal*" 1937, doubted the identification of the *bas-relief* and put a mark of interrogation and there he tried to identify the female figure as Rukmiṇī or Satyabhāmā. Sri Saraswati accepted the identification of the male figure as Kṛṣṇa, but it is not the image of Kṛṣṇa at all, and

so the suggestion of identification of the other figure with either Rukmiṇī or Satyabhāmā does not arise at all.

In the chapter on Religion in the " History of Bengal," edited by Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, and published by the University of Dacca, in 1943, Dr. P. C. Bagchi writes as follows on the subject :—

"Another special feature of Bengal Vaiṣṇavīsm is the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult. It was well established in the time of Jayadeva (end of 12th century), but it is not known how early it was started. It is highly improbable as we have already seen, that the amourous scenes at Paharpur contain a representation of Rādhā". He further notes on Rādhā that " Mr. S. K. Saraswati (sculpture 44) gives good ground for not accepting the identification of the group at Paharpur with Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa He suggests identification either with Kṛṣṇa-Rukmiṇī or with Kṛṣṇa-Satyabhāmā on the basis of certain passages in *Viṣṇu-Dharmottara* or *Bṛihat Samhita*".

Though the theme of Rādhā-Kṛśṇa was popular in literature and legends of India since the early centuries of the Christian Era, no sculpture of the images of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa is definitely known to have existed before the 17th century A. D.

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Divākara	Subhaṣita Ratnākara
Sridhara Dāsa	Sadukti Karṇāmṛita
Jayadeva	Gītagovinda
Chaṇḍīdāsa	Padāvali
Vidyāpāti	Padāvali
Rāya Rāmānanda	Jagannāthvallabha-nātakam
Rūpa Gosvāmin	Padāvali
Kṛiṣṇadāsa Kavirāja	Chaitanya Charitāmṛita

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SECTION E

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

49

ANCIENT ROUTES IN ORISSA *

(Read at the meeting of Indian History Congress, Calcutta, 1955.)

From the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, it is learnt that in eastern India there were two dynasties named Utkala and Kaliṅga according to names of which these two countries were called Utkala and Kaliṅga. Pradyumna had three sons, named Haritāsva or Vinitāsva, Gaya and Utkala and each created a kingdom in their own names As Gaya and Utkala are linked together, it is presumed that there were routes of communication among the people. The said Purāṇa also states that the king Vali had six sons named Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Suhma, Puṇḍra and Oḍra who were allowed to rule the countries called after their names. We do not know the boundaries of these three kingdoms called Kaliṅga, Utkala and Oḍra from the Purāṇas, but it is certain that a greater part of these kingdoms is comprised in modern Orissa.

The legendary account of Gayāsura from the Purāṇas furnishes information that the corpse of the demon Gaya stretched from Gaya to Pithapura near Rajamahendri; his head lay at Gaya, his naval part at Jajpur in Orissa and his feet at Pithapura. From this legend it is found that the people of this area belonged to one culture. The offering of Piṇḍa to forefathers at Gaya, Jajpur and Pithapur is still current among the Hindus of India, and it is natural to think that for the pilgrims to Gaya-Jajpur-Pithapur, there was a pilgrim route in early days. Among these three places Jajpur in Orissa is also a central place which connects Pithapur in the south and Gaya in the north. Besides Jajpur, Srikhetra or Puri of Orissa is another famous place of pilgrimage in India. Nowadays a large

* From O.H.R J, Vol. IV, Nos. 3 & 4.

number of pilgrims pay a visit to these places annually. The antiquity of places of pilgrimage in Kaliṅga (modern Orissa) is as old as Baudhāyana Srautasutra and Manu Samhitā where 'Tirtha-yātrā' finds mention. These places of pilgrimage used to attract a large number of pilgrims from different parts of India from the north, west and south of Orissa and it is certain that there were ancient trade or pilgrim routes in those days. Now-a-days these ancient routes are abandoned due to the establishment of railway lines and high ways throughout India, but the study of ancient routes will be profitable for us in locating places of archæological interest.

The following historical events in Orissa furnish us sufficient materials for the study of ancient routes in Orissa.

I. Routes to and from the North of Orissa.

In the Buddhist account it is found that two merchants named 'Tapasu' and 'Bhallika' of Ūtkala who, on their way to Madhyadeśsa, first gave honey to the Buddha at Buddhagaya. These merchants had 500 cart-loads of merchandise with them. To carry 500 carts from Utkala to Magadha was only possible through a developed highway.

Then the Hatigumphā inscription of Khāravela mentions the conquest of Kaliṅga by the Nanda king of Magadha. It is not known on which route the soldiers of the Nanda king marched to Kaliṅga from Magadha.

The Mauryan Emperor Asoka the great came with a large army and conquered Kaliṅga in the middle of the 3rd century B. C. The strength of the Mauryan army can be imagined from the number of the dead, the wounded and the prisoners. According to Asokan inscriptions the number of the dead was innumerable, the wounded were 1,00,000 and the prisoners were 1,50,000. The Asokan army was no doubt more than 5,00,000 and one can imagine the huge preparation for the movement of such an army in those days. It is certain that the Mauryan army travelled all the way from Patna to Tosali on a highway where there were possibility of supply of water and food stuff.

Then in the 2nd or 1st century B. C. Khāravela of Kaliṅga not only marched as far as Rājagṛha in the north, but he advanced in the west to the kingdom of the Sātavāhanas and in the south to the

kingdom of Pāṇḍyas. The army of Khāravela consisted of 4 categories of Chaturaṅga. It is needless to mention that for the movement of Rathas a good highway is essential.

The above three events happened two thousand years ago. If we assume that Tosali of the Asokan inscriptions and Kaliṅganagara of the Khāravela inscription were situated somewhere near Bhubaneswar, we must also assume that in those days, the Mahanadi was crossed at a place near the present Cuttack town. There are two possibilities of easy communication towards north, one on the Virupa branch of the Mahanadi and then on the Kimbhira branch of Birupā up to the Brahmani, or on the places just east to the foot of the hills up to Dharmasala. The road from the southern bank of the Brahmani to Jajpur, lay after crossing the rivers Kharswan and the Budha, a branch of the Vaitarani. From Jajpur the road stretched northwards up to Midnapore via Dhamnagar, Bhadrak, Soro, Remuna, Ramachandrapur, Garhpada, Basta, Amarda, Raibania, Gaganeswar, Kesiari and Kharagpur. From Midnapore it stretched to Garh Mandaran from where it was bifurcated, one towards Burdwan and the other towards Saptagram and Trivenighat on the *Ganges*. The road just below the foot of the hills up to Dharmasala stretched in the north westerly direction up to Anandapur in Keonjhar on the Vaitarani and then following the Vaitarani valley it reached Khiching in western Mayurbhanj. From Khiching the road went in north-easterly direction up to Bahalda in Mayurbhanj via Bamanghati (modern Rairangpur tawn). From Bahalda it went in a northerly direction via Saraikela to the Manbhum district where it touched the Subarnarekha valley. From this place the road to Gaya or Patna is quite possible. Out of these two possible routes which one was in actual use, is to be considered. A trade route can be determined by the find-spot of coins and other antiquarian remains. On the eastern route beyond Remuna no archaeological evidence earlier to 1000 A. D. have been reported. But on the western route from Dharmasala to Bahalda, there are reports on the find of coins. From Kayama hill near Dharmasala Kushan copper coins have been found. From Sitabinjhi in Keonjhar situated in the Vaitarani valley Puri-Kushan coins have been unearthed. At Khiching and Bhanjakia Kushan and Puri-Kushan type of copper coins have been found At Rairangpur, Roman coins of Gordian type have been found. At Tentala, Kushan coins and at Dundu near Bahalda silver punch marked coins have been unearthed. There are reports of discovery of such coins in Singhbhum and

Manbhum districts. All throughout this route there is abundant water supply by the rivers and rivulets. Erom the above account it seems that there were trade or pilgrim routes from the Subarnarekha valley in Manbhum Singhbhum and northern Mayurbhanj districts to the Vaitarani valley in the western Mayurbhanj, eastern Keonjhar up to Anandapur so far as the hill area is concerned. The rest of the route towards south of Anandapur is quite possible up to Puri. So it is suggested that this route was followed by the Nanda king, Asoka and Khāravela. I have just made a bird's eye view, but to establish it fully further careful survey in Orissa and Bihar is necessary.

From the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta we come to know that Samudragupta sent an expedition to southern India through Kośala, Mahākāntāra, Kaliṅga etc. It has been accepted that the expedition of Samudragupta started from Pataliputra or Patna. If so, then we must find out a route from Patna in Bihar to Bilaspur and Raipur in Madhya-Pradesa. The possible route is through the districts of Palamau via Sirguja to Bilaspur. The other route is from the Ranchi district via old Gangpur and Raigarh to Bilaspur. Both the routes are very difficult for the movement of a large army. Samudragupta's Allahabad inscription indicates that his activities were more centred round Allahabad or Kausambi. If we assume that Samudragupta sent the expedition from Kausambi, then the route to Kośals is quite easy. From Kośala to Kaliṅga there were too many Balangir and the trade routes lying in the Kalahandi, the Baud-Phulbani districts of Orissa. In Baud-Phulbani district there is the Kaliṅgā ghat which connects Baud with Berhampur in Ganjam. Baud can be easily reached via Anga valley in the Balangir district from the Phuljhar area of the Mahanadi valley of the Kośala kingdom. Again from Kośala one can come to the Ganjam district via western part of the Balangir and the eastern part of the Kalahandi districts through the Mohanagiri-ghat Actually there was a salt route in this area. This area even now can be called the Mahākāntāra. The exact relation of the Gupta empire with the Utkala kingdom during the expedition of Samudragupta is not clear. Recently copper-plates of the Vigraha dynasty have been discovered and these documents show that the southern Puri and northern Ganjam area of Orissa were under the Gupta rule.

The political geography of the time of Samudragupta as is found in the Allahabad praśasti, is corroborated by the description of Raghu's campaign in the regions of Utkala and Kaliṅga on the eastern

sea. The country of Utkala of Kalidāsa's Raghuvamśa is mentioned after Suhma and Vaṅga. The king of Utkala guided his army towards Kaliṅga. Although Utkala finds mention in Raghuvamśa, its political relation with Raghu remains as dubious as that of the Allahabad praśasti of Samudragupta. From the description of Raghuvamśa we are not benefited by any clear idea about the route of Raghu's campaign in Utkala.

During the second quarter of the 7th century A.D. Yuan-Chuang visited the capital of Utkala and Puspagiri monastery from Karnasuvarna first and then went to Koṅgada and Kaliṅga. From Kaliṅga he went to Mahākośala. He came to Karnasuvarna from Tāmralipta or modern Tamluk. The capital of Uchā or Utkala was in these days near modern Jajpur. The Puspagiri monastery and the sea port called Chelitalo were situated towards south and south-east of Jajpur. But the Chinese pilgrim instead of coming straight from Tamluk or Tamralipta to Jajpur had to go to Karnasuvarna which was situated in a north-westerly direction from Tāmralipta. From the Chinese pilgrim's route, it seems that in the early 7th century A. D. there was no good road from Tāmralipta to Jajpur. The Hijili area of the Midnapore district was a group of islands some 300 years ago. It is found that there are a large number of parganas with *Chara* endings, a *Chara* is really an island. The present name of Basta has been derived from the ancient name Vamśadāchaura which finds mention in the Asankhali copper-plate of Narasimha Deva II issued in 1303 A.D. The presence of *Charas* indicate no continuous land mass and hence no road Karnasuvarna has been indentified with Rangamati in the Murshidabad District. That Karnasuvarna was a real geographical place is proved from the two copper-plate inscriptions of Jayanāga and Bhaskaravarmā. Cunnigham suggested the place somewhere near Barabazar in the Manbhum district on the Suvarnarekhā. The antiquities of the Manbhum district are too many. Besides Cunningham's Assistant Beglar reports the traditions of Saśāṅka of Karnasuvarna in Manbhm. Hewitt in his 'The Ruling Races of Pre-historic Times' page 327 notes that the Rajas of Chota Nagpore had the hereditary title of king of Karnasuvarna. The recently discoved Midnapore copper plates give the names of feudatories of Saśāṅka who were the rulers in north Orissa. One Sailodbhava ruler of Koṅgada (modern Ganjam) mentions Sāśāṅka in the Gupta year 300. The identification of Karnasuvarna with a place in the Manbhum district

helps us in tracing the route of the Chinese pilgrim from Karṇa-suvarṇa to Ucha on the trade and pilgrims highway from Magadha to Utkala.

In the life of the Chinese pilgrim it is stated that Harṣa-vardhana made a march through Orissa up to Ganjam from Uttara Pradesa.

In 1023-25 Rājendra Chola of Tanjore sent an army to the Ganges. Marching in southern India his army arrived at Sakra-koṭaor, modern Chitrakota in the Bastar district of Madhya Pradesa. The army passed through the Masuni country and arrived at Yayātinagara on the Mahanadi near Sonpur of the Balangir district. Then it passed through the Oḍra country which was difficult for access and then rearched the country of Daṇḍabhukti situated in the western Midnapore and Bankura area of modern west Bengal. To reach Daṇḍabhukti from Sonpur one would to have follow the course of the Mahandi up to Cuttack and then following the trade route through eastern Keonjhar and western Mayurbhanja will reach the Dhalbhum area of estern Singhbhum from where Daṇḍabhukti is quite approachable, or one would have to go through the eastern part of the district of Sambalpur, Bonai Sub-division of the Sundargarh district and Keonjhar district and then would arrive at the trade route somewhere near Khiching in Mayurbhanj. I was able to identify Adinagara or Yadinagara of the Tamil inscrip-tions of Rajendra Chola with Yayātinagara only on the study of possible route of the expedition.

It seems that towards the middle of the 11th century A.D. a route was possible to Orissa from the right bank of the Ganges in Hugli through Garh Mandaran, Midnapore, Raibania Amarda. Basta and Remuna. On this route in the second part of the 11th century A. D. Jayasimha, the ruler of Daṇḍabhukti, an ally of Rāmapāla, helped Karṇakeśarī of Utkala who was defeated by the Gaṅga king Rājarāja. This account is mentioned in the Rāmacharita of Sandhyākara Nandin. Soon after the conquest of Utkala in about 1111 A. D., Choḍagaṅga spread his powers upto the Gaṅges and established a frontier station at Garh Mandaran.

From the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, it is learnt that in 1245-1247 there was a war between the Muslim Sultan of Bengal and the Gaṅga

king Narasimha Deva I. During this war the army of Jajnagar (Orissa) followed this route from Cuttack to Garh Mandaran and thence to Lakshanavati or Gaur. In the Asankhali copper-plate of Narasimha Deva II of 1303 A. D. a 'Rājapatha' on the village of Vamśadā finds mention. In 1351 Shamsuddin Illias Shah of Bengal attacked Jajnagar by following this route.

In 1360 Sultan Feroz Shah of Delhi came with a large army from Jaunpur via Bihar and Chotanagpur to Jajnagar-Orissa. At that time the capital of Orissa or Jajnagar was at Vārānasī Kataka. The following quotation from R. D. Banerji's History of Orissa, Vol.I, p. 282 will show that he had a wrong idea about the route of Sultan Feroz Shah's expedition to Orissa.

"Firoz Tughlaq advanced from Bihar towards Gaḍhakaṅtakā. Jajnagar lay at the extrémity of this province, which is the same as the British District of Jubbulpur, Having crossed the Mahānadī he reached the town of Banārsi. The Haihaya King of Jājnagar fled into Telengana."

At page 258 he writes : "Jajnagar is Jujjalanagar in Chhattisgaḍha", Elliot and Raverty both identified 'Kara' of Tarikh-i-Firozshahi with Kara of Jubbulpur. But the text of Sirat-i-Firozshahi is 'Sikara'. I identified this 'Sikara' with 'Shikhara' of the Sikharbhum in Manbhum where there is a ruling family at Panchakot (Panchet) with the surname of Sikhara. Sikharabhumī finds mention in Sandhyākaranandin's 'Rāmacharita" One can easily come from Bihar sherif of the Patna district through the Hazaribagh district and reach Sikharbhum of the Manbhum district. At the time of Ferozshah's invasion the king of Sikharabhumī had 36 feudatories under him. After defeating the Sikhara king Sultan Firozshah came towards Jajnagar. Two places namely Timanagar and Kinanagar find mention in the text of Sirat-i-Firozshahi Kinanagar may be identified with Khichinganagar, the capital of the Bhanja kings. Kinanagar was on the route of the army of Firozshah. Thence Sultan came to Kalakalāghāt of the Cuttack district situated near the eastern border of the Denkanal district. Then the Sultan arrived at Benaras (Vārānasī Kataka) the capital of the king Pirbhan Deo. Pirbhan Deo in Persian stands really for Vira Bhānu Deva in Sanskrit or Oriya.

The above account gives a direct route from Bihar sherif to Cuttack. It seems that Firozshah followed the ancient trade route noted above. Historian Badaoni has written that the Sarqi Sultan of Jaunpur in 1393-94 invaded Jajnagar As a hoard of coins of Sarqi Sultans of Jaunapur has been found from the Brahmani valley, it seems that there was another route from the Ranchi district through the valley of the Brahmani.

Chaitanya came to Jagannātha from Navadvipa first by the river route upto Deobhog on the Ganges and from there by land route upto Dantan in the southern extremity of the modern Midnapore district.

The Van Den Broke's map was prepared in 1660 A. D. In this map places like Jagannātha, Cuttack, Bhadrak, Balasore, Remuna, Narsinghpur, Pipli, Jaleswar and Dantan are shown on a high way. In 1766 Motte went to Sambalpur from Jaleswar and he has left a description of the places from Jaleswar to Cuttack on the way which was then known as the Badsahi road, and the road from Cuttack to Sambalpur has been fully described by him also.

II. Route to and from the West of Orissa

According to the traditions of the Mādalāpāñji, Indradyumna came to Puri from the country of Mālava. The special Kaliṅga edicts of Asoka at Dhauli state that the Kumara used to visit Tosali from— Ujjayinī occasionally, and he had to travel through Madhya Bharat, and Madhaya Pradesa to Orissa. The Hatigumphā inscription states that Khāravela went to Vidarbha area and it seems that he followed the route on the valleys of the Mahanadi and the Aṅga upto the border of the Raipur district of Madhya Pradesa. The discovery of punch marked and other coins from Sonpur indicates that it was situated on a high way. The Somakuli Keśarī kings came to Orissa from Mahākośala through the Aṅga and the Mahanadi valleys.

In 1421-22 Hosang shah of Mandu came to Cuttack cunningly disguised as a horse merchant and halted on the other side of the river Mahanadi. From Mandu in Mālava to Cuttack in Orissa is a long distance and Hosang had to follow the route in the Narbada valley towards the east and then reached the Raipur or Bilaspur district of Madhya Pradesa from where the route to Orissa in the Mahanadi valley is quite easy. In 1741 Bhaskar Pandit was escorted to Cuttack from Phuljhar in the Raipur district

On the west apart from the route to Cuttack through the valley of the Mahanadi below Band, there was a route to Ganjam through the Kalingaghāt, and also from near Kanker in Bastar district there was a route to Vizagapatam district through the Ampani and Parbatipur ghat or the Salur ghat. Another route from Phuljhar passed through the Kalahandi district upto the border of the Ganjam district through the Mohanagiri-ghat. All these routes were famous for trade in salt and other commodities to Madhya Pradesa and beyond.

III. Route to and from the South of Orissa

There are Asokan inscriptions at Dhauli in the Puri and Jaugada in the Ganjam districts. It is certan that in the Mauryan days there was easy communication between these places. The land route is possible through Nayagarh and there was also a route on the land which separated the Chilka from the sea and also a route near the existing Trunk road to Madras. The discovery of Kushan coins at Gurbai on the strip of land between the Chilka and the sea suggests a trade route in that area. In the 7th century Saśāṅka, Harṣavardhan and Yuan Chuang went to Koṅgada (mordern Ganjam) through one of these routes. The area of Koṅgada was occupied by the Bhaumas. Choḍagaṅga came to Cuttack area of Orissa through one of these routes in 1111 A D. It is not definitely known through which route Ulugh Khan entered Jajnagar in 1323 A D. The mention of Manikpatna in the tradition of Puruṣottama Deva's expendition to Kāñchī suggests that he went on the strip of land which separates the Chilka lake from the sea. In 1624 Shah Jahan entered Orissa through the pass of Khalikot from the south and went upto Uttar Pradesa and returned on the same route.

IV. Sea Route

From the works of Ptolemy and Pliny we learn that there were a number of ports on the sea coast of Orissa, but none of them has yet been indentified. The port mentioned by Yuan Chuang has not yet been located The people of Kaliṅga carried sea borne trade with the East Indies, They had trade also with ports of far off Persian gulf and the Red sea Vāsudeva Somayāji, the author of Gaṅgavaṁsānucharita has described that he came to Puri from Burwa, a port in Ganjam by a boat and returned on the

land route to Khalikot after crossing the Chilka lake in a boat in the year 1762 A.D.

This is just a sketch of the history of routes spreading for a period of over 2500 years and I venture to suggest that the study in detail of each route will bring to light new historical materials.

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A NOTE ON THE "BHUM" COUNTRIES IN EASTERN INDIA. *

Mayurbhanj is popularly known as Bhanjabhumi or Bhanjabhum (the country of Bhanja Princes). In the Rasikamangala, a book written in the middle of the 17th century, Mayurbhanj is described as Bhanjabhum. Similarly Dhalbhum, Singbhum, Sikharbhum Manbhum, Tungbhum, Mallbhum etc. are known after the family surname of Dhala, Simha, Sikhara, Mana, Tunga and Malla families.

Evidence is not wanting that the countries were so called after the names of tribes or families or even brothers belonging to a family long after the tribe or the family had ceased to exist, as for instance, Aikshakus, Panchalas, Kasis, Kalingas, Utkala etc. In eastern India it is said in the Purana that the queen Sudesna bore six sons who were named Anga, Vanga, Kalinga Pundra, Oḍra and Suhma to her husband the king Bali and the countries over which they ruled were called after them. "Anga Vanga Kalingādyah Suhma-Paundra Udra Sanjika; Janjire Dirghatamaso Valeh Kṣatra mahiksitah; Chakru svanamna Viṣayān Sadimām Prāchyakamschate." Here we find 6 brothers mentioned in a Bengali Book. The Oriya translation made by Jagannātha Dāsa in the 16th century A. D. also mentions 6 brothers. A Bombay publication includes Andhra in place of Oḍra. Pargiter omits Oḍra vide *Ancient Indian Historical Traditions* pp. 158 & 272. Sudyumna had three sons named Utkala, Gaya and Vinitāsva who had territories of their own, thus Utkala had

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* Vide Indian Culture 1946.

the Utkala country, Vinitāsva had the western country and Gaya had the city of Gaya. These 8 ancient divisions of eastern India had geographical contiguity and so it is natural that in this area the ancient tradition of naming countries after the family surname of the rulers survived or revived in these kingdoms with bhum suffix.

The country names ending in 'Bhum' suffix are bounded on the north by Birbhum, on the east by Mallabhum (in the district of Bankura), Baghbhum (in the district of Midnapore) in Bengal, and on the south by Bhanjabhum or Mayurbhanj and by Singbhum and Nagbhum (Chotia Nagpur or Ranchi) on the west. The surname Bhanja has been found from the epigraphic records as early as 5th century A. D. from a rock inscription of Sītabinji near Keonjhar. The Brahmi inscription in 13 lines of about the fourth century A.D. incised under a beautiful Natarāja figure and found from Asanapat in the Keonjhar district speaks of one Satru Bhanja, who was a very powerful ruler.

Acharanga Sutra is an old Jaina treatise composed in the 4th century B. C. which mentions countries called 'Vajjabhumi' and 'Subhabhumi'. The corruptions of 'Vajjabhumi' and 'Subhabhumi' have been suggested as Vijayabhumi, Vajrabhumi or Bhanjabhumi and Simhabhumi or Suhmabhumi respectively. Whatever may be the modern form of the corruption of these places, it is certain that there existed countries in this area with Bhumi suffix in the 4th century B. C. if not earlier Mr. Nanda Lal Dey suggests that the countries with 'Bhumi' suffix were derived from Mahāvira and he writes :— "Manbhum is evidently a corruption of Mānyabhumi which means the 'Venerable country' and evidently derived its name from Mahavira who was called the 'Venerable Ascetic Mahavira. 1 Singbhum is a corruption of Simhabhumi, which means the country of the Lion. It also derived its name from Mahavira who was compared to a lion and whose symbol was the lion". 2 Blochman's note in this connection is quoted below : "It is remarkable that among names of the Jungly and hilly frontier

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1. (A) J & P. A S B. Vol. IV, p. 285-86,
   (B) J.B. & O.R.S. Vol. XIII, p. 90.
   (C) I H.Q. Vol. IV, p. 44,
2. I.H.Q. Vol. IV, p. 45.

districts, we find so many endings in *Bhum*. Thus we have Birbhum, Sainbhum, along with the left bank of the Ajai, in Birbhum district; Sikharbhum or Shergarh, the Mahall to which Ranigaj belongs; Gopibhum, along with right bank of the Ajai Bamanbhum or Brahmanbhum, in northern Medinipur District; Manbhum, Barabhum, Dhalbhum, Singbhum in Chutia Nagpur; Tunbhum in southern Purulia, Malbhum, the frontier of Burdwan and Medinipur Districts; Bhanjiabhum, with the town of Medinipur etc. Similarly the frontier district between Rangpur and the Brahmaputra, comprising Mahals Bhitarbund and Bahirband, is called in the Suja's rentroll 'Bangalbhum'. The Ain also mentions a Mahall Bhowalbhum under Sirkar Mandaran." 3

The compiler of the Bankura District Gazettser estimates the age of the division of countries with 'Bhum' suffix as follows :—

"The names of some of these tracts are of considerable antiquities being found in the *Brahmanda* section of the *Bhavisyat Purana* which was probably compiled in the 15th or 16th century". 4 The epigraphic evidence of some of these tracts with Bhum suffix and surnames of some ruling dynasties goes back to a much earlier period than the 15th century as stated by the compiler of the Gazetteer.

In his article on "Geography of India, with extract from a paper by the late Prof. H. H. Wilson" Dr. J. Burgess writes the following :—

"1824 Prof. H. H. Wilson found some fragments of a geographical work, which formed the subject of a paper he contributed to the Oriental Magazine for that year. As this paper has not been republished in his collected works, and the Oriental Magazine is now practically inaccessible to most, I venture to submit his version of the fragments with as much of his prefatory remarks and foot notes as is of interest :—

"The work, he says from which they are taken, is professed by a section of the *Bhavishyat Purana*, it is not however, found in the entire copies of that *Purana*, and is, no doubt, a distinct

3. Blochman Geography & History of Bengal – vide J.A.S.B. 1873, p. 224.
4. The District Gazetteer of Bankura, p. 22.

composition. Much of the work is either of some antiquity or is made up of ancient materials, but there is very large proportions that is clearly quite modern."

The manuscript of *Bhavishyat Purana* from which Wilson derived the material or his paper, is now preserved in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta and Mm. H. P. Sastri's "Descriptive Catalogue" Vol. IV contains quotation from the manuscript at pages 59-62. Wilson's reading of *Nari Khanda* seems to be a mistake for *Jhari khanda* which was popularly known as *Jharkanda* during the Moghal and subsequent periods of Indian history.

" Division of Pundra Desa, from the Brahmanda section of the Bhavishyat Purana :— That part of Bharata or India known by the name of Pundra, consists of seven principal divisions : Gour, Varendra, Nivritti near the country of Sumbha, the forest tract called Narikhanda, Varahabhumi, Vardhamana and Vindhyaparswa or the country along the foot of the Vindya mountains. These we shall severally describe. × × ×

"Narikhanda (Jharikhanda) is a district abounding in thickets. It lies west of Bhagirathi; north of the Dwarikeswari river. It extends along the Panchakuta hills on its west and approaches Kikata (Magadha) on the north. × × × The district is celebrated for the shrine of Vaidyanatha. × × × In the division of Virabhumi, the no less eminent form of the same divinity, named Bakreswara, is present in the world. × × There is no want of water, and numerous small streams run through the forest; the principal of these is the Ajaya. × × ×."

"In that part of Viradesa is the city of Nagara (the capital of Birbhum till the 13th century); also Sipulya and other towns. × + +. On the southern confines towards Odra country is Kindavishna; Suvarnamukshya is in the forest. × × ×.

"Varahabhumi is the next division of Pundra. The centre portion is the forest; along the skirt of it Dhavalabhumi. In one direction it is contiguous to Tungabhumi, and another to the Sekhara mountain; and it comprises Varabhumi, Samantabhumi, and Manabhumi. This country is overspread with impenetrable forests of Sal and other trees. On the borders of Varabhumi runs the Darikesi river. × × ×

The principal towns are Pushpapattan, Kusumapattan, Chatranagar, Raghunathpur, Dhawalapur, Sivullapal and Barahanagar. The chief villages are Chakravestana, Kichandra, Suvarnatapana Nandala, Kesara, Raypura, two Sarangas, Virabandhana, Swavarnarikk etc".5

Account of the Bhum Countries.

1. Aditbhum or Adityabhumi :

The early British records mention a country in the jungle Mahals of Midnapore known as Aditbhum which is no doubt a corruption of Adityabhumi.

In Mayurbhanj there are a few Kshatriya families possessing the surname Jit or Jits which seems to be an apabhramsa of Aditya. " The present reigning family of Patkum claims descent from Vikramaditya" 6 Vikramaditya the traditional founder of the Patkum family, seems to be a person no other than Vikrama of the Aditya family.

The title of Aditya of the Papkum Raj family seems to have been continued from the Gupta dynasty of Magadha. Sasanka the king of Karnasuvarna, who had the second name Narendraditya has been accepted as a descendant of the Gupta dynasty or a branch of the Gupta dynasty of Magadha. Dr. Radhagobinda Basak writes as follows on this point :—

" The late Mr. R. D. Banerji also referred to the opinior of some numismatists who held that the inscription on the alleged Sasanka coins reads Narendraditya and he inferred, with some degree of probablity, that Sasanka, like the former imperial Guptan rulers, enjoyed a second name with an aditya title." 7

The genealogical table of the Patkum Raj family contain 68 names from Vikramaditya, the founder of the family. From 28th

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5. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XX, 1891, pp. 418-421.
6. The District Gazetteer of Manbhum, p. 270.
7. History of North Eastern India, 1934, p. 138 & I. H. Q. Vol. VIII, p. 5.

generation up till now the names of successive Rajas have been repeated one after another with the titles of Vikramaditya Udayaditya and Satrughanaditya. Such repetition of titles or names is found in the genealogy of the Somavamsi kings of Dakshina Kośala and Utkala whose titles Mahāsivagupta and Mahābhavagupta were alternately assumed by the rulers. The names of successive rulers of the Puri Rajas are Ramachandradeva, Virakishoradeva, Divyasimhadeva and Mukundadeva. The Raj families of Bamra, Bonai and Palahara possess titles of Sudhaladeva and Tribhubanadeva, Indradeva and Chandradeva, Ganeswarapala and Munipala respectively. In the genealogical table of the Gupta dynasty this peculiarity is also met with such as the second names of Chandragupta II, Kumaragupta, Skandagupta, Narasimhagupta and Chandragupta III were Vikramaditya, Mahendraditya, Vikramaditya, Valaditya and Dvadasaditya respectively. Thus the second name of Narendraditya of Sasanka is very significant and suggests his connection with the Aditya family of Adityabhumi. If this identification is accepted it will lead to the correct identification of Karnasuvarna which is still a controversial question. As I propose to discuss on the identification of Karnasuvarna in a separate paper, I have not purposely raised any argument here. According to tradition Devapura (modern Diapura Dalmi) was the ancient capital of the Patkum Rajas. This Devapura may be identified with Devagrama belonging to Vikramaraja mentioned in *Ramacharita* and Vikramaraja may be identified with one of the Vikramaditya of the Patkum Raj family.

The commentary of Ramacharita explains the word Vikrama of verse 5 of chapter 2 as follows. "Devagramaprativaddāvasudhachakravāla-vālavalabhita-rangavala-vahala-galahasta prasastahastavikrama Vikramaraja" I have shown in a separate paper that there is no reading of 'Balavalabhi' in the text of *Ramacharita.*

The above text describes the power of Vikramaraja of Devagrama kingdom which was surrounded by hills on all sides as if serving the purpose of the elephant force (Vala-vala) protecting the border and terrifying the enemies containing of four categories and thus its ruler was in an advantageous position and so was capable of driving out the enemies by seizing their neck. This interpretation is in conformity with the purpose of the author of Ramacharita. The hills are described by poets as Dik-Varana and Sandhyakaranandi here uses chakravala-vala-vala.

This Devagrama kingdom of Ramacharita seems to be the same Devagrama kingdom of the Garuda stambha inscription (Badal stone inscription) in the verse 16 of which Surapala's queen Vavvadevi has been described as the daughter of the king of Devagrama. From this it seems that there was matrimonial relation between the two families which helped Ramapala to form his Samanta Chakra.

The epithet Atavika (surrounded by forests) of the Samanta chakra clearly indicates the modern western Bengal and Southern Bihar area and therefore it will be safe to identify Devagrama in the Manbhum District.

2. Baghbhum or Vyaghrabhumi :

The Baghbum pergannah is situated in the south of the Midnapore district. It is not certain whether a remote ancestor of this Vyaghra family had any connection with Vyaghrarāja mentioned in the inscription of Samudragupta, but Mr. J. C. Bose suggests this identification. [8]

3. Barabhum or Varahabhumi :

It is now a pergannah in the Manbhum District. The traditional origin of the Barabhum family connects them closely with the Aditya family of the adjoining Patkum estate and its mythical founder Vikramaditya. Colonel Dalton had recorded the following legendary account of the family in his *Ethnology of Bengal.*

" Nath Varaha and Kesh Varaha, two brothers quarreled with their father, the Raja of Virat and settled in the court of Vikramaditya, Kesh the younger was sawn in to two pieces and with his blood, Vikrama gave a tika to the elder and a pair of umbrella and told him that all the country he would ride round in a day and night should be his. Nath mounted his steed and accomplished a circuit of eight yojanas within the time specified and a precious stiff line of country he took in riding round what is now Barabhum, but it must be all true as the print of horses hoofs are still visible

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8. History of Midnapore in Bengali by J, C. Bose, p. 110-111. (new edition)

on the southern slope of the hills.[9] The copper plate [10] of Udaya-Varāha furnishes us with an epigraphic evidence of the Varāha family.

Varahabhumi finds mention in the Bhavisyat Purana. The village Barrabazar (or Varahabazar, Varha being the pakrita form of Varaha) contains the residence and family temples of the Zamindar of the Pergannah Barabhum.

4. Bhanjabhum or Bhanjabhumi :

It is identified with Mayurbhanj State in Orissa and with the Pergannah of the same name in Midnapore. The antiquity of the name of Bhanjabhumi or Mayurbhanj is shrouded in abscurity. In Rasikamangala, a book written in the middle of the 17th century, Mayurbhanj has been described as Bhanjabhumi, but in the Mansingha's settlement paper of 1592 A. D translated by Stirling in 1922, we find the mention of Morbhanj or Mayurbhanja, one killa or fort of which was 'Bhanjbhum' under the direct control of the Raja. Among the dependent chiefs 'Singhbhum' and 'Barrabhum' find mention. Singbhum is perhaps the same as Singbhum. Bhanjabhumi is still used in poetical language in Oriya. In Madālapānji late Rai Bahadur M. M. Chakravarti found '*Bhanjabhumi Baripada Danda pata*'.[11] These names are not however found in the copper plate inscriptions granted by the Bhanja kings from their capital at Khijjinga Kotta (modern Khiching in Mayurbhanj). The copper plates of the Bhanja families of Bauda and Gumsar in southern Orissa mention that there are several Bhanja kings. '*Bhanjanaradhipatayo vahavo Vabhuvu*'. At present all the Bhanja families of Orissa aver that they migrated from Mayurbhanj and so Mayurbhanj is to be taken as the original land of the Bhanjas, that is, Bhanjabhumi of the ancient days. The epigraphic evidence about the history of the Bhanja family goes back to the 4th or 5th century A. D. The rock inscription of Keonjhar published in *Modern Review* in 1937 mentions the name of one Ragaraja Sri Disha Bhanja Deva. A stone seal from Khiching belonging to this period bears the inscription Ragaraja and so it can be safely said that the Bhanja dynasty was

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9. Dalton's Ethnology of Bengal (1872) pp. 175-76.
10. J. B. & O. R. S., Vol. VI, p. 236-45.
11. J. A. S. B. Vol. XII, 1916, p. 48.

established at Khiching in the early centuries of the Christian era. The seal of the epigraphic records of the Bhanjas represents a bull and that of the Varaha of the Mayura family, a peacock. Tradition of Mayurbhanj narrates that Mayuradvaja-rājā or the king whose flag bears the insignia of the peacock was conquered by the Bhanjas but according to the prayer of the dying king, the Bhanjas adopted the seal of the pea-cock as their own It seems that the name of Mayurbhanj is due to the amalgamation of the kingdoms of the *Mayuras* with that of the *Bhanjas* which perhaps took place some time before the supremacy of the Gangas in Orissa. There is a small Sanskrit lexicon called *Mugdhabodha Abhidhana*, the author of which was a ruler of Mayurbhanj. As the name of the author is not given it is not possible to know definitely about the date, but it is certian that he wrote the book before the development of the Oriya language which may safely be fixed in the 13th or 14th century A. D.

5. Bhawalbhum :

It finds mention in the Ain-i-Akbari under Sarkar Mandaran. No report in detail is available about this country. This is perhaps the same as Balbhum of Stirling's Orissa mentioned under Bishnupur. It may be Varabhumi of the Bhavisyat Purana.

6. Birbhum :

It is the district of the same name in western Bengal. "Birbhhm means simply the territory of the Bir Rajas. Bir being the title borne by its early Hindu rulers, just as Mān Singh, and Dhal were the titles of the chiefs of Manbhum, Singhbhum and Dhalbhum." 12 "An interesting account of this part of the district is given in the Brahmanda section of the Bhavisyat Purana, a work probably composed in the 15th or 16th century" 13 which has been quoted above. "From this account the country is known as Vira-desa or Virabhumi, the modern Birbhum." 14 No Epigraphic record of the rulers of this Vira family has yet been found. But in Bengal there are few Kshatriya families with the surname of Vira or Bir. Blochmann took the word *Bir* to be of Mundari origin and

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12. The District Gazetteer of Birbhum, p. 1-2.
13. *Ibid.* pp. 10-11.
14. *Ibid.* p. 11.

wrote "the word Bir in Mundari signifies a jungle, whence Birbhum" (West Bengal) vide Ain-i-Akbari Vol. I. (2nd edition) p 554.

7. Brahmanbhum or Brahmanbhumi :

It is a pergannah in the north of Midnapore District and it is so called as it "was held by an old family of Brahmans".*15* This is recorded in the District Gazetteer of Bankura at page 164 that the Rajas of Chantna "were originally Brahmans and lived at Vahulya-nagar" one of whom was killed by Samantas." It is not exactly known whether the surname of Brahmana ruler of Brahmanabhumi is the family title or caste name; whatever may be the case, it seems to be an exception in the sense in which other bhum ending countries are so called after the family surname.

8 Dhalbhum :

The territory known as Dhalbhum of old days is now comprised in the Singbhum district of Bihar and Midnapore and Bankura Districts in Bengal. The Rajas of Dhalbhum possess the title of Dhala and such title is also found in the family of Zamindars of Dampara in the Cuttack District. R.D. Banerji mentions in his History of Bengal p. 346 that there was one Pratapa Dhawala who was powerful near Rotas fort. Traditions as recorded in the history of Midnapore by Mr J. C. Bose is not coroborrated by any epigraphic evidence, The Rajas of Dhalbhum used to enjoy names of Jagannātha Ramchandra and Baikuntha successively like many ruling familes of Orissa (See History of Midnapore P. 572) Dhavalabhum finds mention in *Bhavishyat Purana,*

9. Gopibhum or Gopabhum :

It finds mention in the Blochman's *Geography and History of Bengal* p. 242 and in *History of Midnapore* by Mr. J. C. Bose p. 112. According to Dharmamangala Karnasena, a contemporary of Dharmapala of the Pala dynasty was the ruler of Senbhum and Gopabhum which were situated on the left and right banks of the Ajaya river respectively.

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15. The District Gazetteer of Midnapore, p. 119,

10. Mallabhum or Mallabhumi :

" The country over which the Rajas of Bishnupur ruled is called Mallabhum, a term now used for the tract of country comprised in the Thanas of Bankura (excluding the Chatna outpost) Onda, Bishenpur, Kotalpur and Indas originally, however, the term was applied to a extensive tract of country. To the north it is believed to have stretched as far as the modern Danim-i-Koh in the Santal Pergannas; to the south it comprised part of Midnapore, and to the east part of Burdwan, and inscriptions found at Panchet in the Manbhum district show that on the west it included part of Chota Nagpur. The Malla kings of Mallabhumi established an era of their own which dates from 695 A. D " [16] This era begins from the Sunian day which is the official new year in Orissa. It is a lunar year and begins on the Bhadrapada Sukla Dvadasi when the festival of hoisting the umbrella of Indra is observed, According to Varaha Mihira the festival was performed by the Chediraj for the good of his kingdom. All the ruling dynasties of the 'bhum' ending countries now even perform this festival annually. The epigraphic records of the Malla dynasty do not go beyond the 16th century A. D. According to Man Simha's arrangement quoted by Stirling "Under the Zamindar of Beshanpur, are twelve Zamindaries and twenty-nine Killahs. Among 'dependent chiefs' the Zamindars of 'Manbhum' 'Singhbhum' 'Bamanbhum' 'Nalbhum or Balbhim' and 'Baghbhum or Nagbhum' find mention. [17] Balbhum of this perhaps is the same as Bhawalbhum of the Ain. If 'Singbhum under Mayurbhanj is the same as Singbhum, then the Sinhbhum under Bishnupur is to be taken as a mistake either for Sikharbhum or Shurbhum. The Raja of Shurbhum was a Samanta raja of Bishnupur. [18] There is a Mallabhum in Jhargram Sub-division of Midnapore.

11. Manbhum or Manabhumi :

Manbhum is a district in the Chota Nagpur Division of Bihar and seems to have derived its name from the Mana family which ruled over it. I need mention here that Bhanja, the surname of the rulers of a particular family is the appelation of that family. Similarly Māna, the surname of the rulers of another family might have been

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16. The District Gazetteer of Bankura, p. 21.
17. Stirling's Orissa, Bengal Secretariat reprint, p. 47.
18. History of Bishnupur Raj by A.P. Mallik, 1921, p. 85.

the appelation of another family. Only two inscriptions, belonging to rulers whose names end in the Māna suffix, have so far been discovered in the Hazaribag district which is not far from Manbhum".[19] The Pattiakilla copper plate grant of Sivaraja belonging to the Gupta era 283 (602 A. D.) mentions the rule of the Mana family (Mānavamśārājya kāle). A copper plate of the Sailodbhava family dated according to the Gupta era 300 discloses the overlordship of Maharajadhiraja Sri Sasanka. The proximity of date of two different inscriptions from Orissa in the first quarter of the 7th century, establishes the probability of connection of Sasanka with the family; but the omission of the surname of Mana in the name of Sasanka goes against the suggestion of its identity.

Like Barrabazar in the Barabhum there is a village called Manbazar which "is the seat of the Zamindars locally known as Raja of Manbhum.[20]

12. Nagbhum or Nagabhumi :

It may be identified with Nagpur or Chotanagpur the Maharaja of which belongs to the Naga family. The tutelary deity of this family is called 'Chintamani' which is sacred to the Jainas. The Raj family of the Kalahandi State and a few other Raj families in the Chhatisgarh States Agency beolng to the Naga family. There are a number of mediaeval inscriptions of this dynasty in Central Provinces, but recently the history of the early Naga families is attracting the attention of the scholars and further investigation will throw new light on the antiquity of the Nāga family.

The following *notes* given by Dr. Benimadhab Barua in his *Old Brahmi Inscriptions* page 22 goes to show that the Nagas of Chotanagpur were mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela 'The Vasukis animals".

13. Samantabhum or Samantabhumi :

The District Gazetteer of Bankura mentions that the portion of the Chatna outpost is still called as Samantabhum which finds

19. Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa, p. 11

20. The District Gazetteer of Manbhum, p. 275.

mention in the Brahmanda section of the Bhavisyata Purana. Chhatna may be identified with Chatranagara of the said Purana. There is a Samantabhum, pergannah in the Jhargram sub-division of Midnapore.

14. Senbhum or Senabhumi :

According to Blochmann 'Sainbhum' is situated along the left bank of the Ajaya river in the District of Birbhum. The name of the country is perhaps due to the famous Sena family of Laksmanavati of Bengal whose history is well known.

15. Surbhum or Surabhumi :

The Raja of Surabhum was a Samanta or feudatory of the Malla Rajas of Mallabhum. [21] In the Ain-i-Akbari, Dawar Shorbhum finds mention under the Sarkar of Jaleswar. This 'Shorbhum' I think, is the same as Surbhum under Bishnupur or Mallabhum and its proper identification was not done before. We find in Sandhyakara Nandi's *Ramacharita* that Laksmi Sura [22] was the ruler of Apara Mandara who was the lord of all the forest feudatories (Aparamandāra Madhusūdana Samastātavikasamanta-Chakra-chūdāmani). The name of Rana Sura of Daksina Radha is found in the Tirumalui Inscription of Rajendra Choladeva. So Apara Mandara of Ramacharita may be taken as the capital of Daksina Radha in the 11th century A. D. It seems that Laksmisura was a successor of Rana Sura, Apara Mandara was identified with Sarkar Mandaran of the Ain-i-Akbari by Mr N. N Vasu. [23] It was identified with Bhitagarh in Jahanabad in the north-western corner of the Hooly District by Blochmann. [24]

On the Sura dynasty H. P. Sastri and R. D. Banerji wrote as follows :—

Rana Sura of southern Radha seems to belong to the Sura dynasty of Bengal who are said to have brought the five

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21. History of Bishnupur Raj in Bengali p. 85.
22. Memoirs of Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol. III, No. I, pp. 14 & 36.
23. Banger Jatiya It has (Rajanya Khanda) pp. 140 & 198.
24. J, A. S. B. (1873) p. 223,

Brahmans from Kanauj. They were dispossessed of the great part of their dominions by the Palas is also asserted by the Benga genealogists. 25

" In Bengal there is a tradition that a dynasty of kings with the affix Sura ruled in Bengal before the Palas. We have no reliable evidence for this. But the kings of this family at least with the word Sura affixed at their names, have been mentioned in epigraphs. They are :— Rana Sura of the Tirumalai inscription : Lakşmisura, a king of a division of Bengal named Apara-Mandara a contemporary of Rama-pala, who was the head of the Samanta chakra of forest lands (Samastatavika-Sāmanta-Chakra-Chudāmani). A man named Damasura, is mentioned in a newly discovered inscription of the time of Gopāla III, found at Monda in the Rajsah district in Bengal. 26

It is needless to add that in the several traditions of the genealogical accounts of Bengal (Kulapanjikas of the match makers) several names of kings of the Sura Dynasty are found.

M. M. Chakravarti wrote the following on the identification of "Dawar Shorbhum Urf Barah or Parah" of the Ain-i-Akbari.

" Parah, the tract of saliferous land otherwise known as Shorpara, on the sea coasts from the Subarnarekha to the Rasulpur river (Beams), not identified by Blochmann. Beams' identification is not satisfactory, because the saliferous tract was included in Mahal Maliyatha (No 25). The name Barah is evidently the same as Baraha (—bhum), and Shorbhum is another form of Savara-bhum the land of Sabara tribe. Barahabhum now lies in Manbhum district, drained by the upper reaches of the Kasai river, From the rather considerable revenue assessed, Rs, 33,539 this mahal seems to have been included the whole of the hilly jungle tract on the west of Midnapur district from the Subarnarekha northwards to the Kasai."27

J. C. Basu suggests further on the above of Mr. Chakra-varti that this mahal lies in the countries bounded by the Subarna-

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25. Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, No. 1; p. 10.
26. *Ibid.* Vol V, No. 3, p. 72.
27. *Ibid.* Vol. XII, p. 51.

rekha and Kasai with the Police Stations of Gopiballabhapur, Jhargram and Binpur in the western part of the Midnapore District [28]

Chakravarti missed the point by identifying 'Shorbhum' with the Savarbhum of which there is no existence. 'Barah' of the Ain is the same as Bara on the right bank of the Damodar river on the north of the Bankura district. Jhargram is still known as Mallabhum and Rasikmangala testifies that this area was known as Mallabhum in the 17th century A. D.

So Surbbum or Surabhumi was situated to the north of Mallabhum or Bishnupur in the modern District of Bankura.

Garh Mandaran is quite close to this area. The copper plate of Narasimha Deva II (J.A.S.B. 1896) pt. I., p. 241 furnishes evidence that Anantavarma Choda Ganga defeated the king of Mandara So it seems that Apara Mandara of Ramacharita is the same as Mandara of the above copper plate.

16. Sikharbhum or Shikharbhumi :

" A portion of the Gangajalahati Thana (in Bankura) × × × forms part of Sikharbhum or it is known as Sikharbhumi. " [29] Bhavisyat Purana mentions the Sekhara mountain, in other words, it refers to this Sikharbhumi. The founder of the Panchet or Panchkota was "the king of Chaurasi or Sekharbhum or Sikharbhumi". [30] "The dominant race in the State of (Gangpur) is the Bhuya; the Bhuyas of Gangpur retain no tradition of having ever been governed by the Raja of their own tribe. They allege that for some time a chief of the Keśari or lion dynasty of Orissa bore rule in Gangpur; but this line died out, and the people stole a child of the Sekhar family from Sikharbhum or Panchot and elected him as their chief." [31] In Ramacharita Rudra Sikhara of Tailakampa is mentioned among the allies of Ramapala. [32]

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28. History of Midnapore in Bengali, p. 14, (revised edition).
29. The District Gazetteer of Bankura, p. 23.
30. -do- -do- of Manbhum, p. 273, p. 280.
31. Orissa Feudatory States Gazetteer, p. 177.
32. Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol V, No. 3, p. 90.

Tailakampa is the modern Telkupi in Maubhum district which was one of the capitals of the Sikhara kings. Sikharabhumi finds mention in Sirat-i-Firozsahi. 33

17. Singbhum or Simhabhumi :

It is a district in Chota Nagpur division of Bihar. The history of the ruling family of Singbhum is shrouded in legendary account of modern fancy. The seal of this family represents a pair of swan which is found to be similar to that of the Rathora 34 family. It may be that the ancient name Mathraa has been substituted as Rathora in modern times.

18. Tungbhum or Tungabhumi :

Tungbhum is situated in the Bankura District of Bengal and the "tradition relates that it was so called after Nakar Tunga, a descendant of Tunga Dynasty who came from the bank of the river Gandaki on pilgrimage to Jagannātha where, by favour of the God Jagannātha, he was made king of Puri His grandson Gangadhara Tunga was informed by Jagannātha that after him there would be no king of his line in Puri and that, therefore his son should change his name and go to some other country, where he should be king. Accordingly Ganga-dhar Tunga, son of Nakur Tunga, taking his wife, his treasure and some soldiers left Puri in 1270 Saka (1348 A. D.) and after ten years of wandering settled in 1358 at Tekrapara village near Shamsundarpur × × ×. To this day pargannas Shamsundarpur and Phalkusma are generally called Tungbhum or Tungabhumi; i. e., the land of Tungas. Members of the Zamindar's family are styled Tunga or Tungābaninatha, and are also called Bara Tunga and Chhota Tunga respectively. They are Kshatriyas by caste and are connected with the families of Bishnupur, Raipur, Supur 35 etc."

Another account of the Tunga family similar to that of Tungbhum is found in the historical account of the ruling family of Tigiria State which is quoted below :—

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33. J. & P. B. A. S. B., Vol. VIII, 1942, p. 66.
34. E. I. Vol. IV, pp. 254-55.
35. The District Gazetteer of Bankura, p. 179-80.

"According to tradition the founder of this State, Nityananda Tunga, and his younger brother are said to have come originally on a pilgrimage to Puri, where they remained in the hope of receiving some favour from the God. The elder brother was one day advised in a dream to hold the kingdom of Trigruhya to the west on the bank of the river Chitrotpala in Puri by expelling its chief who was an infidel, Nityananda Tunga accordingly went there, and founded the State in the year 1246 A,D." 36

Tungabhumi finds mention in the Bhavisyata Purana quoted above.

Up till now only three copper plates of the Tunga family have been found in Orissa and these show that they were rulers of Yamagartta Mandala, One Jayasimha of the unknown family and another ruler of the Sulki dynasty are found to be rulers of the same Yamagartta mandala. The modern locality of this Mandala has not been definitely identified although it has been suggested by Pandit B, Misra that it extended on the bank of the river Brahmani in its course in hilly parts of Orissa. The tradition of the Tunga family accorhing to the copper plates states that the family came from the north to Orissa from a place called Rotasgarh and the mention of the Gandaki river in the tradition of the Tunga family of Tungbhum corroborate the account of the copper plates to some extent.

Stirling in his "An account of Orissa Proper or Cuttack" writes the following :

"There are eight classes or families who claim to represent the military and regal tribe, known by the affixes Mal, Bhanj, Rai, Dhal, Towang (Tung) and Khandayat. 38 "This account written in 1822 finds corroboration from the following Sanskrit verse which I came to know from the Zamindar of Haldia in the Khurda Sub-division of the Puri District in 1927,

" Bhanjabhumi--Dhalbhumi--Vartina--Stungasikhara--Mahinivasina – Dhira – Vira – vara – Malla-namagah Astabhumi harasehaiva

36. Orissa Feudatory States Gazetteer, 1910, p. 335.

37. Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa, p. 40-41,

38. An Account of Orissa proper or Cuttack. Bengal Secretariat edition, 1904, p. 22.

Parthivah." Among the eight land owners the eight kings of Bhanja-bhumi, Dhalbhumi, Tungabhumi, Sikharabhumi and Mallabhumi are well known. Though the mention of Birbhum is not certain, yet the present Zamindar family of Madhupur in Cuttack possesses the title of Dhira. The Varabhumi of the Vara family is mention in the Bhavishyat Purana and it is the same as Balbhumi mentioned by Stirling under Bishnupur and Bhawalbhum of the Ain.

All the place names ending in Bhum suffix are found in a contiguous geographical area on the frontiers of the provinces of Bengal, Bihar Orissa and most of which originated from the surnames of the families which established supremacy in that area Some of these families possess also the epigraphical records which have been referred to above.

These peculiar ending of Bhum in place names are no doubt very interesting and the investigation of the history of these places will throw light on the dark history of a vast area where once stood the famous sea port Tamralipti and the inland city of Karnasuvarna indicating the culture and civilisation of the people. This area is found now to be mainly inhabited by aborigines of Kolarian family but the archæological evidences established the influence of the more civilised section of the people. The local traditions everywhere narrate that prior to the advent of aborigines the country was populated by the Sarkas who are credited with building temples at Para, Chara, Boram and many other places in early days and it is far more interesting that the aborigines maintained the tradition. "The word Sarak is doubtless derived from Sravaka the Sanskrit word for a hearer. Amongst the Jains the term is used to indicate laymen or persons who are engaged in the secular pursuits, as distinguished from Yatis, the monks or ascetics and it still is used as a name of a group which is rapidly becoming a regular caste of the usual type (Saraegi). The Buddhists use the same word to designate the second class of monks, who mainly occupied the monasteries." 39 Like the history of the ruins of ancient monuments scattered here and there in this part of the country, the history of these ancient Kshatriya families who were rulers there, is yet in darkness. The labours of some European officers who were guided more or less according to their

39. The District Gazetteer of Manbhum, p. 84.

pet theory, have put a screen over it instead of illuminating the same. Col. Dalton relying on the predominance of modern aboriginal population of the locality, has advanced a theory that the ancient Kshatriya families of this part of eastern India are of aboriginal descent, but the archæological as well as epigraphical evidences which are full all over the country, shed a new light on the decoration of the structure covered with thick plaster of foreign matters. The discovery of large number of stone and copper age relics in this area furnish evidence that a phase of the Indian pre-historic culture dawned here. The geological investigation has revealed the rich deposit of mineral wealth in this area and it is expected that proper archæological investigation will bear open a rich field of cultural wealth of Eastern India.

SECTION - F

PAPERS ON JAJNAGAR.

51

JAJNAGAR AND ITS IDENTIFICATION FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES. *

As the Hindu kingdom of Jajnagar resisted the Muslim onslaught century after century before its final subjugation by Raja Man Singh, the Governor of Akbar towards the close of the 16th century A. D., the history of Jajnagar was a favourite subject of all the mediaeval Muslim historians for a period of four hundred years from the beginning of the 13th century A.D and the identification of Jajnagar has also been a fit subject of the learned controversy for a period of about two centuries since 1770 (when Alexander Dow published his *The History of Hindoostan* in which many eminent modern historians have joined. As the majority of modern historians are in favour of maintaining the existence of two Jajnagar s identified with Orissa and Tripura in Bengal from one and only one Jajnagar of the Muslim historians on the testimony of one historical event out of two in Barni's work, let us first see as to how the original sources help us in the identification.

The following historians have dealt with Muslim expeditions to Jajnagar :—

1. Minhajuddin's *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* 1 is the first work which deals with the history of Jajnagar for a period of nearly 40 years from 1205 A.D. The work narrates the history of the Sultans of Delhi upto 1259 A. D.

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* Vide Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Anamalai University, 1945.

1. Tabaqat-i-Nasiri translated by Raverty in Bibliotheca Indica Series, 1873-81.

2. Zia-i-Barni's *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi* [2] narrates the history of Sultan Firozshah Tughlaq for six years only but contains the history of the Sultans of Delhi "beginning from Sultan Giyasuddin Balban, who appears in the Tabaqat-i-Nasir under the name of Ulugh Khan." [3] Barni is the only source for the history of 90 years from 1260 to 1350 A. D. But during the period of 85 years, it is regretted that no effort has made to publish an authentic text of Barni's Tarikh-i-Firozshahi with the English translation of the work.

3 Ain-ul-Malk Maru's letters [4] describing Firozshah's expedition to Jajnagar.

4. An unknown author's *Sirat-i-Firozshahi* [5] describing in detail the expedition of Firoz Shah to Jajnagar.

5. Shams-i-Siraj Afif's *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi* [6] dealing with the history of the Sultan Firozshah upto 1388 A. D. In this work Udisa is recorded as a second name of Jajnagar.

6. Sirajuddin Umar [7] mentions Jajnagar as one of the 23 provinces of the empire of the Tughlaq dynasty.

7. Yahiya's *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* [8] narrates the history upto the year 1434 A. D.

The following historians collected materials relating to the history of Jajnagar for their works from the above authorities for the period from the beginning of the 13th century to the middle of the 15th century A. D.

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2. Text in Bibliotheca Indica Series (1560-62) and its English translation. Elliot and Dowson's History of India Vol. III, pp. 93–268 (1871).
3. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 94.
4. J. & B. 1923, pp 278-90.
5. J.R.A.S.B. 1942 letters, 57-98.
6. Bibliotheca Indica, 1891. Elliot & Dowson Vol. III pp. 269-73.
7. Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta Vol. II, Pt. I & II 1907, p. 9.
8. Gaekward's Oriental Series, Vol LXIII, 1932.

8. Nizamuddin Ahmed's *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* 9 dealing with the history of India upto the 1593 A.D. in three volumes

9. Badaoni's *Muntakhib-at-Tawarikh* 10 dealing with the history of India upto 1595 A.D.

10. *Tarikh-i-Ferishtah* dealing with the history of India upto 1610 A. D.

11. Ghulam Hussan Salim's *Riyazus-Salatin* 12 is the last Persian work dealing with the history of Bengal and was written in 1785 A. D.

The works no. 1 to 7 contain history of Jajnagar for a period of one hundred and fifty years from 1211 to 1361 A. D. Minhaj, the first historian, was in Lakhnauti of Bengal for over two years after 1242 A.D., and so his account of Jajnagar for the period from 1205 to 1242 was compiled either from records or from other persons. But his account for the period from 1243 to 1246 is based on his personal knowledge and hence it is very authentic. " Barni takes up the history of India just where the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri leaves it; nearly a century having elapsed without any historian having recorded the event of that interval." 13 Barni writes in the preface : " Whatever I have written is right and true and worthy of all confidence." 14 " What he has written upon the life and action of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban he himself heard from his father and grand father and from men who hold important offices under that sovereign. 15 Zia Barni's statement on the sources of the history of Sultan Balban and his march against Mughisuddin Tughril of Lakhnauti is applicable to the history of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlak's march to Lakhnauti and his son Ulugh khan's march to Warrangal.

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9. English translation by Mr. B. in Bibliotheca Indica Series 1911-1939.
10. English translation by Messrs. Ranking, Lees & Hing 1864–1925 in the Bibliotheca Indica Series,
11. Translation by Mr. Briggs.
12. English Translation by Abdus Salim 1902–04 in Bibliotheca Indica Series.
13. Elliot's vol. III, p. 93.
14. *Ibid*, p. 94.
15. *Ibid*. p. 97,

Barni narrates Sultan Firozshah's conquest of Lakhnauti in 1353 but he does not say a word on Haji Illiyas' expedition to Jajnagar in 1351 A. D. The different accounts of Firozshah's expedition to Jajnagar bear personal testimony of the authors.

Yahiya seems to have derived materials from his predecessors excepting perhaps Minhaj and he has written in the Introductions that " The facts have been gathered from various histories and recorded upto the coronation of the powerful × × Firozshah, the deceased emperor, and after that event whatever was witnessed (by the author) has been written. [16]

As the controversy over the identification of Jajnagar is based on the text of Zia Barni's references to Jajnagar in his Tarikh-i-Firozshahi, let us see how Barni's text helps us in ascertaining the geographical position of Jajnagar.

Zia Barni is the earliest authority on the following historical points :—

(1) Sultan Balban's march to Lakhnauti and then to Sunargaon lying on the way to Jajnagar against Mughisuddin Tughril of Lakhnauti in 1280-81 A. D. [17]

(2) In 1321 Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlak sent his eldest son Ulugh Khan with an army against Warangal and Tilang. [18] "The name Arangal was changed to Sultanpur and all the country of Tilang was conquered. " [19] " The Prince then marched towards Jajnagar and there took 40 elephants." [20]

(3) " At this time × × the Sultan resolved to march against Lakhnauti, and he sent courtiers to summon Ulugh Khan from Bengal. He made him his vice-regent, and placed all the affairs of the kingdom under his management during his own absence. He then marched to Lakhnauti × × Then the Sultan reached Tirhut, the ruler of Lakhnauti, Sultan Nasiruddin came forth with

16. Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi.

17. Elliot Vol. III, pp, 115-119.

18. *Ibid*, p. 231.

19. *Ibid.* p. 233,

20. *Ibid.* p. 234.

great respect to pay homage to the Sultan. — — — Bahadur Shah, the ruler of Sunargaon made resistence but a cord was thrown upon his neck." 21

Ulugh Khan's return to Delhi from Warangal has not been described by Barni, but he was present at Delhi before the return of Sultan Ghiyasuddin from Lakhnauti and both father and son met at Tughlakabad where the Sultan died.

The position of Warrangal in Telingana and Lakhnauti and Sonargaon in Bengal gives the limit of the extension of Jajnagar according to Barni's account. Barni's information on Jajnagar is certainly based on Minhaj's Tabaqat-i-Nasiri which describes that Jajnagar was on the south-western frontier of Lakhnauti; his information on Jajnagar in connection with Tughril's expedition to Jajnagar in 1279 A. D. and his capture on the border of Jajnagar in 1780-81 and Ulugh Khan's expedition to Jajnagar from Warangal in 1323 A. D. is based on traditions or records current in Delhi and so Barni was fully aware of the exact geographical position of Jajnagar which was bounded by the Bhagirathi branch of the Ganges on the north and the Godavari on the south. But the printed text of Barni's book shows that Sunargaon lay on the way to Jajnagar and this leads us to conclude that the limit of Jajnegar was extended from the Bhagirathi to the border of Assam. But such a conclusion becomes impossible due to the existence of Sundarbans at the head of the Bay of Bengal. Thus Zia Barni can not be made responsible for narrating such an absurd situation of Jajnagar beyond the east of the Bhagirathi and in the area of Tripura where even tradition is silent about its ancient name of Jajnagar. But J. Wise 22 recorded that according to tradition the old name of Tipperah was Jahajnagar or the city of ships. We are therefore forced to conclude either there is some defect in Barni's text which is available to us or his text has been wrongly deciphered and written by the copyists. It appears that both are possible.

The details of Barni's account of Sultan Balban's invasion of Lakhnauti and the pursuit of the rebellious Tughril on the frontier of Jajnagar and the offer of alliance by Danuj Rai of Sunargaon soon after

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21. *Ibid*, p. 234.
22. J. A. S. B. 1874. p. 83.

Sultan's arrival there are corroborated by the account of Nizamuddin 23 and Ferishtah. But Badaoni narrates the story as follows :—

"Sultan Ghiyasuddin brought up an army against Tughril but he went towards Jajnagar and Tarkilla (Narkila) and Malik Ikhtiaruddin Beg Birlas was ordered to pursue him, the Rai of Sunargaon named Dhanuj offering his services to the Sultan engaged to bring Tughril and Malik Ikhtiaruddin proceeding by forced marches found Tughril, who had fled into a jungle, walking about off his guard, and having put him to death he sent his head to the court." 24

Yahiya's account of this event is quoted below in which it will be found that there i no mention of Sunargaon or Jajnagar.

Learning that the king was personally taking the field, Tughril retired to Narkila on a boat. The Sultan sent out Malik Ikhtiaruddin Nek Tara with a strong force to seize Tughril." 25

Then follows the description of the interview of Sultan Balban with Dhanuj Rai who promised by every possible means to bring Tughril before the Sultan.

" The Sultan, then set out with successive marches, and on his reaching Lakhnauti, *Tughril out of dread, retired to the forest* and was followed by the imperialists. Malik Nek Tara fell upon Tughril and imprisoned him alive. Later he flayed Tughril and sent his body to the Sultan." 26

In the extracts quoted below it is found that Tughril made preparation for retreat to a safe place at the time of attack and selected Narkila where he went in a boat. Tughril's preparation at Narkila was a cause of apprehension for Rai Danuj of Sunargaon and so he lost no time in seeking protection from Sultan Balban and wrote a letter " informing the Sultan of his intending visit for the purpose of paying him respect, and requesting him that he would stand up on his arrival. The fact was that Muslim king ought not to show proper

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23. Tabaqat-i-Akbari Vol. I. pp.

24. Muntakhabat-i-Tawarikh. Vol I. p. 186.

25. Tarikh-i-Mubaraksahi, p. 39.

26. *Ibid*. p 40.

respect to an infidel made Sultan pensive 27 The details of interview as narrated by Yahiya was arranged in such a way that the honour and prestige of both were fully maintained. The slackening of the rule of reception by the Sultan in the case of Danuj Rai indicates the anxiety of the Sultan for Tughril whom he wanted to crush by all possible means as the Sultan was defeated twice by his own slave. Balban would not have agreed to the proposal of Rai of Sunargaon if the interview would have been granted at Sunargaon which would have been very easily occupied by him. The narrative of the details of the interview of the Rai of Sunargaon with Sultan Balban is not found in the works of Barni, Nizamuddin, Badaoni and Ferishta. It is not understood why in Yahiya's work Sunargaon and the name of place where the interview took place are omitted, but as he puts the narrative of Balban's march to Lakhnauti after the interview, it seems that interview took place at Delhi.

The expression *on the boat* used by Yahiya suggests that Tughril went to Narkila by the river route and so the situation of Narkila was either on the banks of the Bhagirathi or the Padma of the Ganges. Yahiya only mentions Narkila, but Badaoni mentions Jajnagar, Narkila and Sunargaon. Jajnagar, is not found in any old map, but Sunargaon and Narkila are found in the Blaev's map (1660 A. D.) Van Den Brouke's map (1660 A.D) and Rennel's map (1779 A. D.) in east Bengal near Dacca but no such places are found in the west Bengal. Blochmann writes that " along the lower Ganges the old maps have — — Noorkuly or Noricool, as Van den Brouke gives it, (Norikol due south of Dhaka, and a little south of the right bank of the Kirtinasa)" 28

As Narkila of Yahiya and Badaoni can be visited by boat from Lakhnauti, its identification with Norikul situated not far from Dacca and Sunargaon is quite possible. The Eastern Bengal was not occupied by Muslims before 12:0 A. D. and so a place called Hajinagar (e. g. a nagar built by a Haji or one who has made a pilgrimage to Mecca) is altogether impossible. Hajinagar or Jajnagar may be a mistake for Jahajnagar, the old name of Tripura.

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27. *Ibid.* pp. 39-40.

28. Geography & History of Bengal, J. A. S. B. 1173, P. 232.

How a copyist's mistake baffles the identification of place names has been best illustrated by the following note of W.Haig.

The difference between Nagaur and Bagor in Persian script is but slight, consisting in the change of position of one dot, and nothing would be more natural than for a copyist, ignorant, like most of his class of geography, encountering the comparatively unfamiliar name of Bagor to jump to the conclusion that there must have been some mistake, and to substitute the name of the well-known town Nagaur, it is incumbent on all editing works in Persian script to follow geographical details on a map, if absurdities are to be avoided. 29

Haig's remark is fully applicable for the Persian script of Jajnagar, Hajingar and Jahajnagar and as the scribe was not familiar with Jahajnagar he substituted either Hajinagar or Jajnagar in its place in the text of Barni's Tarikh-i-Firozshahi. By the acceptance of text as Jahajnagar the question of the identification of Jahajnagar on the frontier of Sunargaon with Tippera does not arise at all.

In the account of Balban's march against Tughril, Hajinagar has been printed at pages 82, 83, 86, 87 and Jajnagar only once at page 89 in the printed text of Barni's Tarikh-i-Firozshahi. Dowson notes that "the printed text has Hajinagar, an obvious blunder. The manuscripts correctly give Jajnagar," 30 The text Hajinagar should be read Jajnagar as suggested by Dowson because Tughril actually invaded Orissa in 1270 A. D. According to previous information and arrangement with the Rai of Sunargaon Balban perhaps marched straight from Lakhnauti to Sunargaon in the eastern Bengal. If so Barni's text of Hajinagar at pages 85,87,88 and 89 should be Jahajnagar which was the ancient name of Tripura (Tippera) and so the identification of Jahajnagar with Tripura will be quite reasonable with the change of text noted above. But if Balban had to return from Sunargaon to Lakhnauti for the failure of Tughril's pursuit in the Eastern Bengal, Barni's text at pages 86 and 88 should be read as Jajnagar and that at page 87 as Jahajnagar. If Sunargaon is accepted as a copyist's mistake for Saptagram or Satgaon as

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29. J. R. A, S. 1921, p. 586.

30. Elliot Vol, III, p. 112, F. N. 2.

suggested by Blochmann, [31] Barni's text at all places stands for Jajnagar. As no authentic information has yet been discovered regarding Danuj Rai and his kingdom, Blochmann's suggestion seems to be very valuable.

The material differences in the text of Barni and Yahiya suggest that a portion of Barni's text is missing otherwise the details of interview of the Rai of Sunargaon as narrated by Yahiya are irrelevant and meaningless. As Balban was a veteran soldier he fully realised the importance of friendship with the Rai of Sunargaon, a neighbouring kingdom of Lakhnauti the ruler of which was the most hated enemy of the Sultan. The promise of the Rai of Sunargaon to bring Tughril before the Sultan by every possible means frustrated the plan of Tughril's choice of Narikul as a place of concealment and so in stead of going to that place he fled into the forest on the frontier of Jajnagar before Sultan Balhan's arrival at Lakhnauti. Zia Barni's text at page 86 supports Yahiya's narrative relating to Tughril's departure by the road towards Jajnagar and not by the river on the boat. Barni's text runs as follows :—

" Rahe Jajnagar girit Ek Manzil az Lakhnauti der rahe Khuski peshtar rafta firod amad." [32]

He took the road to Jajnagar and after going forward one manzil (or one day's journey) from Lakhnauti on the dry road halted there."

But Dowson puts the translation of the printed text as follows from which the routes of departure of Tughril are not clear which may be the land route or the river route,

"He took the way to Jajnagar and halted at a dry place one day's journey from Lakhnauti." [33]

The road to Jajnagar from Lakhnauti means the road on the right bank of the Bhagirathi. According to De Barros' map (1550) and Bleave's map (1650) the country of the Gajapati (written in

31. J. A. S B. 1873, p. 239.
32. Barni's Tarikh-i-Firozshahi, p. 86.
33. Elliot's History of India, Vol. III, p. 11?

the map as Coapetir) with the town of Mandaran lay south of Lakhnauti. Mandaran was included in the kingdom of the Gajapati king of Orissa which was known to Muslim historians as Jajnagar. Tughril was captured on the frontier of Jajnagar and from this it can be inferred that he was captured in the district of Hoogly of Bengal as Mandaran lies to south western border of the district.

The geographical position of Jajnagar of the Muslim historians will be quite clear from the different directions it was invaded by the Muslim kings century after century and for this purpose the expeditions to Jajnagar are noted below in the chronological order.

No.	Direction	Year	Persons leading expeditions to Jajnagar	References
1.	From Lakhnauti in Bengal	1205 A.D.	Sheran brothers were deputed towards Lukhnor and Jajnagar.	Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 573.
2.	-do-	1211 A.D	Ghiyasuddin Iwaz used to receive tribute from Jajnagar, Bang, Kamrud and Tirhut.	Ibid. p. 587-88. Hunter's Orissa. Vol. II, p. 4.
3.	-do-	1243-46 A.D.	Fight of Muslim Governors of Lakhnauti with Rai of Jajnagar	Tabaqat-i-Nasiri pp. 738-39, 762-63
4.	-do-	1279 A.D, 1280 A.D.	Mughisuddin Tughril's and Balban's march towards Jajnagar	1) Zia Barni's T. F. p. 82 2) Tabaqat-i-Akbari Vol. I, p. 108. 3) Ferishtah Vol. I, p. 260 4) Riyazus Salatin, p. 79.

No.	Direction	Year	Persons leading expeditions to Jajnagar	References
5.	From Telengana	1323 A.D.	Ulugh Khan's Expedition to Jajnagar from Warrangal.	1) Barni p. 450. 2) Yahiya p. 96. 3) T. Akbari, Vol. I, p. 213. 4) Ferishtah Vol. I, p, 40. 5) Badaoni, Vol. I, p. 299.
6.	Lakhnauti in Bengal	1351 A.D.	Shamsuddin Iliyas Shah.	1) Sirati-Firuzshahi J.R.A.S.B., 1942, p. 75. 2) Tabaqat-i-Akbari Vol. III, p. 421. 3) Riyazus Salatin, p. 98.
7.	Bihar	1360 A.D.	Sultan Firuzshah Tughlaq.	1) Afif's Tarikh-i-Feruzshahi. 2) Sirat-i-Firuzshahi. 3) Ain Ulmulk's letters J. A. S. B. 1923, pp. 278. 4) Yahiya, p. 135-36. 5) Nizamuddin, Vol. I, p. 247. 6) Badaoni, Vol. I, p. 329. 7) Ferishtah, Vol. I, p. 45.
8.	Bihar	1393-94 A.D	1) Sultan Us-Sharq proceeded as far as Jajnagar and took possession of it.	Badaoni, Vol. I, p. 348.

No.	Direction	Year	Persons leading expeditions to Jajnagar	References
			II) The Rai of Jajnagar and Badshah of Lakhnauti sent to him the presents and tribute which they had every year sent to Sultan Firozshah.	Nizamuddin. Vol. I, p. 273.
9.	Malwa or Central India and Central Provinces	1421 A.D.	Sultan Hussang of Malwa.	1) Nizamuddin, Vol. III, pp. 475–77. 2) Ferishtah, Vol. IV, pp. 178.

From the above it is clear that Jajnagar was approached by the Muslim invaders from Bengal, Bihar, Central Provinces and Madras, and looking at the map of Eastern India one can safely say that the position of Jajnagar in the map is the same as that of Orissa bordering the districts of Bengal, Bihar, Central Provinces and Madras. Shams-i-Siraj Afif writes a verse at page 169 saying that "when the army occupied Jajnagar, it occupied the whole of Orissa (Odisa)" in his Tarikh-i-Firozshahi. So in the 14th century A.D. the popularity of Orissa, the second name of Jajnagar, was well-established and this contemporary evidence supports geographical position of Jajnagar noted above. There are some epigraphic and literary evidences which mention Jajnagar (corruption of Yayatinagar) and corroborate the narratives of the medieval historians and I like to discuss them in a separate paper.

NOTE ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF JAJNAGAR*

The identification of Jajnagar of the Muslim historians has been a popular subject of the modern historians of India since the days of Alexandar Dow whose *History of Hindustan* was first published as early as 1770 A. D. Credit should be given to him for identifying 'Jagenagur' with a town in Orissa near Cuttack. Dow was followed by Jonathan Scott whose *History of the Deccan* was published in 1794 A. D. but I ahd not been able to consult it.

Much ink has been spilt over the identification of Jajnagar by the historians of the 19th and 20th centuries, but the question still remains open as there is wide divergence of opinion on the subject. With the exception of Blochmann, Raverty, Banerji, M. M. Chakravarti, and Dr. Qureshi, all others have displayed much ingenuity depending entirely upon a solitary evidence out of two references from the text of Zia Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*. In a previous paper I have suggested that if Barani's text of Hajinagar is read as Jajnagar, there does not arise the assumption of two Jajnagars; but no one so far has tried to study this point from Barani's references of Jajnagar on two different occasions and thus the result has been a voluminous literature.

The views of the historians on the identification of Jajnagar are discussed below chronologically :

(1) Stewart wrote his *History of Bengal* (1813) mainly depending on the materials collected by him from (a) Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, (b) Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (c) Tarikh-i-Ferishtah, and (d) Riyazus-Salatin. Tabaqat-i-Akbari and Riyazus-Salatin mention Sunargaon and Bhuj Rai, the Governor or Zamindar of Sunargaon. It seems that Stewart did not consult the sections of the history of Deccan and Malwa of Tabaqat-i-Akbari and Tarikh-i-Ferishtah. Otherwise Jajnagar mentioned in Ulugh Khan's expedition in 1323 A D. and Hussang Shah's expedition 1421 A. D. to Jajnagar would have given him materials throwing doubt on the accuracy of his conclusion. Stewart suggested

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the identification of Jajnagar mentioned in Tabaqat-i-Nasiri with 'Jugepur (Orissa)' and that of Jajnagar mentione din Tabaqat-i-Akbari and Riyazus-Salatin in connection with the history of Tughril and Balban with 'Jajnagar (Tippera)' Stewart has not written what led him to change Jajnagar for 'Jugepur' or Jujpur of Orissa, but it was he who conceived the existence of two Jajnagars which was blindly followed by many historians of the 19th and 20th centuries

(2) Hamilton in his *East India Gazetteer* (1814) and in his *Hindostan* (1820) following Stewart has written that Tippera is called Jajnagar.

(3) Stirling relying on the Mādalāpānji or the Chronicles of the Jagannath Temple, which do not mention the history of Tughril and Balban, did not accept Stewart's identification of Jajnagar with Jajpur and wrote as follows :

Major Stewart, in his history of Bengal, places an invasion of Orissa by the Mussalmans of Bengal during, this reign that is, A D. 1243. The chronicles of the country contain no mention of such an event. I have not Major Stewart's authorities at hand to refer to, but I strongly suspect that he has been led into an error by mistaking some word resembling Jajipur, for Jajipur in Orissa. He expresses himself thus, ' In the year 641 (A.D. 1243) the Raja of Jagepur (Orissa) having given some cause of offence, Toghan Khan marched to Ketasun on the frontier of Jagspur where he found the army of the Raja has thrown up intrenchments to oppose him.' In a battle which ensued, the invaders were defeated and the Hindus elated with their victory pursued them and ventured even to lay siege to Gour, but assistance arriving they retired. Now, in the first place, Jajipur was never a separate principality as here described, and there is no such place in Orissa as Ketasun. Ferishteh is altogether silent on the subject in his history of Bengal, but in his general history he ascribes the siege of Gour, in the very year in question, to a party of Mogul Tartars who had invaded Bengal by way of Chitta, Thibet, etc. Dow's mistake of a similar nature is scarcely worth noticing. He makes Sultan Balin pursue the rebel Toghral into Jajnagar (A. D. 1279), which he calls Orissa, whereas it is evident from the mention of Sunargaon, as lying on the road, that Jajnagar is some place beyond the Ganges." [1]

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1. Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, 1825, p. 274.

(4) Briggs in 1829 A. D. without any reference to Stewart and Stirling writes notes on 'Jainagar' that " this place is on the banks of Mahanudda, and was the capital of Orissa or Orixa." and " a city situated on the Mahanudda river, which empties itself into the sea in the province of Orissa, the forests of which have always been famous for wild elephants." [2]

(5) Elphinstone in 1839 wrote that Jajnagar lay " beyond the river Meghna " and adds the following note :

" Jajnagar has been taken for Jajpur in Cuttack which never was the head place of a district," [3] In the map annexed to his volume Jajnagar has been shown in the area of Tippera in Bengal.

The text of Zia Barani's Tarikh-i-Firozshahi was published in 1860-62 but no note on the identification of Jajnagar was given in it. In this work Hajinagar was printed in pages 82-88 and Jajnagar in page 89 and page 450.

(6) In 1871 Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, Vol. III was published in which a greater part of Barani's work was printed in English. Dowson added a note at pages 112-13 on Jajnagar as follows :

" The printed text has Hajinagar, an obvious blunder. The manuscripts correctly give Jajnagar. Briggs following Dow says : 'Jajnagar is on the banks of the Mahanadi and was the capital of Orissa, and there is still a town called Jajpur in Cuttack.' But the Jajnagar printed here was evidently east of the Brahmaputra and corresponds to Tippera. The Sunargaon presently mentioned as on the road to Jajnagar is described by Rennell."

Dowson would have settled the question of identification if he would have considered the geographical possibility, but he followed Stewart without any consideration of Jajnagar mentioned in Uulugh Khan's expedition.

(7) In 1871 Edward Thomas wrote as follows on Jajnagar : " Stewart, in his *History of Bengal* had already pointed out that Ferishtah was wrong, but he himself was mistaken in placing Jajnagar

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2. *Brigg's Ferishtah*, vol. I, p. 260 and Vol. IV, p. 22.
3. *Elphinstone's History of India*, 1874, p. 381,

in Orissa, instead of Tipperah. The Persian text (of Minhaj) printed in Calcutta (p. 199) frankly admits the variant of Jajnagar in a footnote without venturing to correct the obvious inaccuracy in the body of the text which the tenor of the current events related at p. 245 would fully have justified." 4

I have not verified this from Persian text of Tabaqat-i-Nasiri.

In 1872 Thomas again wrote as follows :

" It seems to have escaped Mr. Stirling's notice that Stewart had already corrected his own error in speaking of Jajnagar as 'Orissa' (pp. 61 and 65) by placing that town in its proper position in Tippera in a latter passage (p. 70) and he further improved upon his advanced knowledge by saying in a note at page 72. Jogenagur is said to have been a town in Orissa near Cuttack but this passage proves it to have been situated on the eastern side of the Burhampooter. The Jagenagur mentioned by Ferishtah should have been written Jagepore.'5

Thomas seems to have totally misunderstood Stewart's viewpoint who worked under the impression of the existence of two Jajnagars, one in Orissa called 'Jagepur' and another in Bengal called ' Jajnagar ', and he objected to Dow's calling Jajnagar as Orissa in his translation of Ferishtah. So Thomas's note on Stewart's passage without the portion of the text of "In Dow's History, Vol, I., p. 202" is misleading.

(8) In 1872 W W. Hunter dealt very shortly with the history of Orissa from 1200 to 1500 A.D. which only covers two printed pages of his book. He has nowhere used Jajnagar although he has referred to the authorities of Stewart and Elliot and referring to the defeat of the 'invincible armies of the Islam by the peasant militia of Orissa, he remarks that " the vanity of Musalman historians has covered the national disgrace by converting this Hindu raid into Tartar invasion under the generals of Chingis Khan," 6 He further writes that "Three centuries of raids, and hollow treaties, and mutual wrongs,elapsed (1200-1500 A. D.) before anything like a subjugation of Orissa by the Musalmans took place." 7

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4. The Chronicles of the Pathan kings of Delhi 1871, p. 121.
5. J. R. A. S. Vol. VI, 1872, p. 354,
6. *Hunter's Orissa*, Vol. II. 4
7. *Ibid*, p. 5.

9. Blochmann's notes on Jajnagar are very valuable as he studied the history of Jajnagar from all sources available in 1873 and arrived at the conclusion that Jajnagar described by the Muslim historians is the same as Orissa. He writes :

" Before going further, I have a few words to say on the country of Jajnagar, which Stewart, Stirling. Dowson and Thomas agree in identifying with Tiparah. Stewart and Dowson however also apply the name to a portion of Oṛisa, and compare the word with the name of the town of Jajpur, north-east of Katak on the Baitarani. Jajnagar is mentioned as a country full of wild elephants in the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, and the two Tarikh-i-Firuzshahis, i. e. upto about A.D. 1440 after which the name disappears." [8]

After referring to Tughan Khan's attack of Jajnagar and the counter-attack of Lakhnauti by the Rai of Jajnagar he writes "that in the opinion of the author of Tabaqat, Jajnagar lay somewhere west or south-west of Bardwan and Hugli Districts, i. e , Jharkhand, or Chutia Nagpur." [9]

Then referring to Emperor Balban's march to Sunargaon in connection with pursuit of Sultan Mughis, about A.D. 1280 he writes :

" From Sunnargaon Balban arrives, after a march of 60 or 70 *kos*, at the confines of Jajnagar. where Mughis is surprised and killed." [10]

" From this remark by Barani, Stewart, Stirling, Thomas and Dowson concluded that Jajnagar corresponds to Tipperah and the eastern part of Hill Tipperah certainly lie about 70 *kos* from Sunargaon. The *Rajmala*, however, does not state that Tipperah had the name of Jajnagar.

" Jajnagar is again mentioned during the reign of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq, when Ulugh Khan in 1323 A.D. invades Talinga, Jajnagar and Bedar; and lastly when Firuz Shah after his second successful invasion of Bengal to conquer Sikandar, returns in 1360 * * from Jaunpur * * He then marches over Bihar to Jajnagar.

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8. J. A. S. B., 1873, p. 237.
9. *Ibid*. p. 238.
10. *Ibid*.

" Lastly, in the Ain (*my* edition, p. 4772, I. 6) Hoshang of Malawa goes in disguise to Jajnagar, in order to obtain elephants.

" In these passages it is clear that Jajnagar represents a country between Talinga and Bihar, or, as expressed in the Tabaqat, west of Rāṛha, i e., wild districts of western Oṛisa, Chuṭia Nagpur, and the eastern portion of the Central Provincse, of which Ratanpur, Bastar and Sirguja are also mentioned in the Ain as hunting places for wild elephants. But it is remarkable that Barani, in relating Balban's expedition, places Jajnagar 70 *kos* beyond Sunnargaon whilst in his account of Tughluq Shah's reign he gives the same name to a district near Talinga; and we are forcede ither to believe that there were two Jajnagars, one famous for elephants near south western Bengal (Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, Barani Firuzshahi, Ain) and another in Tipperah or south-eastern Bengal (on the testimony of a single passage in Barani); *or* to assume that there was in reality only one Jajnagar, bordering on south-western Bengal, and that Barani in the above single passage wrote Sunnargaon by mistake for Satgaon, which would remove all difficulties.

(Barani's statement of the distance of 70 *kos* would admirably suit Satgaon ; it would bring us to Mayurbhanj and western Chutia Nagpur) "

(10) Major H. G. Raverty supporting Blochmann writes thus in a foot note on Jajnagar :

" Dr Blochmann's surmises are quite correct with respect to Jajnagar. It appears to have been named after a town or city of that name subsequently changed in more recent times to Jajpur,the meaning of *Nagar* and *Pur* being the same ; and in the days when our author wrote, and many years subsequently, it continued to be a kingdom of considerable power."

" Before attempting to describe the boundaries of Jajnagar and generally to elucidate the subject, it will be well to describe the territory of Kadha-Katankah, or Gardha Katanka for it is written both ways—which lay between it and the Muhammadan provinces to the north." *12*

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11. *Ibid.* pp. 237-38.
12. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 587.

Then Raverty writes as follows :

" Jajnagar appears, therefore, to have been bounded on the east by the range of hills forming the present western boundary of Udisah-Jagnath, Katasin, on the Mahanadi, being the nearest frontier town or post towards the Lakhanor portion of the Lakhnawati territory Further it was bounded towards the east by the river called the Braminy by some English writers, and *Soank* (Rennel) running to the west of Gangpur Its northern boundary is not very clearly indicated but it evidently included Ratanpur and Sambulpur On the west it does not seem to have extended beyond the Wana Ganga, and its feeder the Kahan; but its southern boundary was the Gudawuri, and south-west lay Talinganah.

" It seems most strange that those who have run away with the idea that Jajnagar lay east of the Ganges and the Meghna, in south-eastern Bengal in Tipperah of all places, never considered how it was possible for Ulugh Khan, son of Sultan Ghiya-sud-din Tughlaq, not that monarch himself—to invade Taling (Talinganah) and Tipperah, if the latter were Jajnagar in one and the same short campaign, or that Hoshang. Sultan of Malwa. during a short expedition or raid rather, could have reached south-eastern Bengal in serch of elephant. To have a done so he would have had to pass right through and return again through the extensive territory of an independent sovereign equally powerful with himself (he had only 1000 horses with him on the occasion in question) and to have crossed and recrossed two or three rivers besides many others of considerable size, or he forded the Bay of Bengal perhaps to reach the supposed Jajnagar.

" Elphinstone, too, says that 'Tipperah' by Mahammedan historians is called ' Jajnagar' has fallen into the same error, and, not content with this even the map accompanying his history has 'Jajnagar' in large letters in a part of India where no such territory ever existed "

" The way in which Jajnagar is mentioned in different places, by different writers, and under different reigns clearly indicates its situation," 13

Then he narrated the sources of Jajnagar in pages 589-592 and came to the conclusion as follows :

13. *Ibid.* pp. 587-89.

" Now, if any one will look at the map and take what has been mentioned into consideration, where else can Jajnagar possibly lie than in the tract I have indicated ? Certainly not on the east side of the Bay of Bengal." *14*

Blochmann wrote further as follows on Raverty's note :

" Regarding Jajnagar and its identification with the eastern parts of the Central Provinces. Chutiya Nagpur and the Tributary Mahals in western Orissa, Major Raverty has come to the same conclusion as I had His identification for the frontier district Katasin * or Katasin with a place of the name Katasingh on the northern bank of the Mahanadi in the Tributary Mahal of Angul is not yet quite clear to me.I cannot find the place on the map,and the narrative of the Tabaqat implies a place nearer to western Bengal. The capital of Jajnagar, which in the manuscript is called U'mardan † remains to be identified. Mojor Raverty hints at the possibility of U'mardan being Amarakantak, the highest point and watershed of the eastern parts of the Central Provinces. That rocky, wild, and inaccessible region is scarcely a fit place for the capital of what must have been a large state." 15 .

(11) In 1874 J. Wise's paper entitled 'Notes on Sunargaon, eastern Bengal' was published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the following extracts are quoted from it :

" If we follow Muhammedan historians, we find that in A. D. 1279. Tughril was the Governor of Eastern Bengal and his seat of Government was Sunargaon. At that date he invaded Jajnagar or Tipperah and having carried off much treasure, he refused to remit any of it to Delhi."

" The Emperor (Ghiyasuddin Balban) then marched in person against the rebel, and occupied Sunargaon having been joined in his advance by Dhinwaj Rai, Zamindar of the city, with all his troops. Tughril fled but was overtaken and slain (A.D. 1282). Having heard of the death of his enemy Balhan returned to Sunargaon, and put every one of Tughril's family and his principal adherants to death "

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14. *Ibid.* p 592.
* *See* Appendix I.
† *See* Appendix II.
15. J. A. S. B., 1875, pp. 285-86.

The inaccuracy in the historical fact in the above needs no comment but J. Wise's footnote on Jajnagar quoted below supported by an argument that the text of Jajnagar or Hajinagar as printed in connection with Bulban's pursuit of Tughril is not Jajnagar.

" The modern tradition in Tipperah is that the old name of the district was Jahaznagar or the city of ships. This is evidently founded on the circumstances that at a much later period, the revenue for the support of the Nawara, or imperial fleet, was derived from lands in this district."*16*

Shams-i-Seraj Afif's description of 'Jajnagar-Udisa' and its capital city Banares on the right bank of the Mahanadi supported by the account of Sirat-i-Firuzshahi and Ain-Ul-Malk's letters leave no doubt about the proper identification of Jajnagar with Orissa, the limits of which extended from the Ganges to the Godavari or the frontier of Lakhnauti on the north to that of Telengana on the south; and its western boundary though ill-defined comprised the great part of the eastern C. P. including the upper valley of the Mahanadi; and its eastern boundary was the ever-lasting sea, the Bay of Bengal. From this area of Jajnagar it appears clearly that the wars of the Muslim Governors with the Rai of Jajnagar described by Minhaj took place in the north-eastern Jajnagar in the neighbourhood of Lakhnauti and so the geographical limit of the situation of Katasin and Umardan falls within a narrow strip of land in north of Orissa bounded by sea on the east and hills on the west. So if the identification of Katasin and Umardan will not be considered final due to the inaccuracy of deciphering the Persian text, the places are to be searched in the area covered by northern Balasore, Midnapore, Bankura, and Hugli districts

(12) Jarret has identified Jajnagar mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari in connection with Hoshang Shah's expedition with "Jaipur on the Baitarani river in Orissa, capital of the Province under the Lion Dynasty, the Gajapati or the Lords of Elephants." *Vide Ain-i-Akbari* Vol. II, 1891, p 219.

(13) Stanley Lane Poole following perhaps Blochmann and Raverty has located Jajnagar in the Chhota Nagpur area in the map attached to his volume called *The British Museum Catalogue of Coins of India*, Moghul Empire 1892. But in his *Mediaeval India under*

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16. *Ibid.* p. 1874-83.

Mahammedan Rule (1903) he writes : "Wilds of Jajnagar at page 85 in connection with Bulban's pursuit of Tughril and at page 141 in connection with Feruzshah's expedition in 1360. Lane Poole's map was reproduced by H. N. Wright in 1907 in his book entitled *Catalogue of Coins of India*.

The views of Blochmann and Raverty on the identification of Jajnagar with Orissa were totally ignored by almost all the historians of the 20th century with the exception of M. M Chakravarti and R. D. Banerji as will be evident from the following :

(14) Abdas Salam adds the following note on Jajnagar in connection with Balban's march against Tughril :

"From the manner of the description given here the Jajnagar here referred to would not seem to be in Orissa but some place in East Bengal (probably Tipperah). For an exhaustive and interesting discussion on Jajnagar see Blochmann's contribution to History and Geography of Bengal." *17*

"This Jajnagar, therefore, in Bengal is different from Jajnagar in Oriss." *18*

Elsewhere he writes as follows in connection with Feruzshah's second march in 1358 A. D. to Bengal :

"From Bengal Firuzshah invaded Jajnagar (Orissa) * * * In this connection an interesting description of Jajnagar is given by Sham-i-Siraja Afif. Bearing in the mind what Zia Barani States regarding Jajnagar in connection with Emperor Balban's expedition to Sunargaon. I am inclined to agree with Prof. Blochmann that there were two Jajnagars, one in Orissa and another towards Tipperah." 19

From Blochmann's discussion quoted above the reader will judge how Abdas Salam has twisted Blochmann's argument in support of his views.

(14) The Imperial Gazetteer of India published in 1908 contains a chapter called Muhammedan India (637 — 803) which

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17. *Riyazus Salutin*, 1904, p. 81 n.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 82 n.

19. *Ibid*, p. 104.

was contributed by William Irvine. He writes that Firuzshah moved off through Behar to Jajnagar in Orissa 20 "and Balban took the field in person, and in a vigorous campaign pushed his way as far as Jajnagar, in Eastern Bengal and Sunargaon. Tughril was pursued relentlessly until finally he was shot down and his head cut off." 21 In 1421 Hushong Shah of Malwa "carried out a most romantic expedition to Jajnagar in Orissa" 22

(15) In 1909 Rajanikanta Chakravarti in his *Gauder Itihas* in Bengali has written the following :

"Bakhtiyar sent Siran brothers towards Jajnagar of Orissa.

"Tughril was afraid of fighting with the army of the Emperor Bulban and with elephants and wealth went towards Tripura (Jajnagar)." 23

In the preceding paragraph he writes as follows :

"Ratna Fa, the youngest son of Dan-kur Fa, occupied the throne of Tripura, after the death of his father, but his other brothers drove him out of Tripura. He fled to Gaur and stayed there with Tughril for four years and presented him one hundred elephants and jewels. One of the jewels was a very big *Manikya* and on getting the gem Tughril awarded Ratna Fa the title of Manikya. In 1279 Tughril conquered south-eastern Bengal." 24

The relation of Tughril with the ruler of Tripura perhaps led him to connect Jajnagar with Tripura, but the editor of the Rajmala rejects the date assigned to Ratna Fa as he flourished at a later date and had no connection with Tughril.

(16) M. M. Chakravarti's note on Jajnagar is quoted below.

"In the Tabaquati, Jajnagar always means Orissa, probably north Orissa. The name is derived from Jajpur town on the bank of the Baitarani river, an old head quarter of north Orissa. Curiously

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20 *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 364.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 372

22. *Ibid.*, p. 379.

23. *Gauder Itihas* pages 10 and 28.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

enough in a late Oriya poem *Premalata* of the fourth quarter of the 18th century, Jajpur is distinctly named as Jajnagar. The Jajnagar of Barani lying towards Sunargaon may be another place, evidently a corruption of Jahajnagar or city of boats and ships, We have still Jahaj Ghata in Howrah. A tradition still called Tipperah as Jahajnagar (J A.S B , 1874; p 83)." 25

In the footnote on Jajnagar Chakravarti gives reference to J. A. S. B., 1889, page 374, where is found the Oriya text of *Premala'a* and the English translation which differs from his conclusion that Jajpur is distinctly named as "Jajnagar". He translates the Oriya passage as follows :

"Charming is the town Jajnagar on the sea-coast of that country (Utkala)". I will further discuss on this point in a separate paper.

(17) The first fascicule of B. De's English translation of the Tabaqat-i-Akbari was published in 1911 and his note 2 on the 'Moghul Armies' refers to Raverty's note on the mistake handed down from author to author in the place of the infidels of Jajnagar and he concludes as follows :

"The invaders were not the Moghals, but Hindus from Jajnagar (or Tippera) which must not be confounded with Jajnagar in Orissa."26

(18) R.D Banerji writes that "as Barani has not clearly stated the place from where the army of the Emperor Bulban arrived at the frontier of Jajnagar after travelling 70 *kos*, there is no necessity of entertaining an inference that his army went to Jajnagar in an eastward direction from Sunargaon. 27

"As the situation of the kingdom of Jajnagar was near Behar or Magadha and on the frontier of Garhakantak, it is not possible to identify Jajnagar with Tripura." 28

(19) S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar writes that "Ulugh Khan * * * marched forward towards Jajnagar, the capital of

25. J, & P. A. S. B., 1909, p. 217.

26. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 83.

27. *Bangalar Itihas*, Vol. II, 1916, p. 71.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 145.

Orissa. He captured 40 elephants there and returned to headquarters by way of Telengana." 29

(20) Wolseley Haig has adopted Stewart's Jajpur for Jajnagar and writes :

"Jajnagar in eastern Bengal is not to be confpounded with Jajpur in Orissa, also called Jajnagar by the Muslims." 30

From the similarity of expression it seems that Wolsely Haig accepted the opinion of B. De.

(21) In his *History of Orissa* R. D. Banerji writes that "Jajnagar is Jajallanagar in Chhatisgadh. The majority of Musalman writers of the 13th and 14th centuries mention Jajnagar when they indeed refer to Orissa." 31

Elsewhere he again writes

"The Emperor Feroz Tughlaq invaded Orissa at the time of his second expedition to Bengal. Major Raverty has translated this portion of the Tarikh-i-Feruzshahi by Shams-i-Siraj Afif. In this account the position of Jajnagar is given correctly. Feroz Tughlaq advanced from Bihar towards Gadhakantaka. Jajnagar lay at the extremity of this province which is the same as the British District of Jubbulpore. Having crossed the Mahanadi he reached the town of Baranasi. The Haihaya king of Jajnagar fled into Telengana. After passing through Jajnagar territories Feroz Tughlaq entered the kingdom of Bhanudeva III while hunting.' 32

R. D. Banerji was wrong in locating Jajnagar in C. P. but he did not accept the suggestion of the identification of Jajnagar with Tripura in Bengal which view he expressed also in his earlier work in Bengali

(22) Dr. H. C. Ray accepts the boundary of Jajnagar as suggested by Raverty and writes :

"Orissa was known to Muslim historians under the name of Jajnagar. For the boundaries of Jajnagar see *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Vol. I, page 587 " 33

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29. *South India and her Mohammedan invaders*, 1921, p. 134.

30. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, 1928, p. 81.

31. *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 258.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 282.

33. *History of Northern India*, Vol. I, 1931, 477.

(23) Mr. R. Subba Rao refers to Jajnagar of the Muslim historians and his notes are quoted below which will show that he had no definite opinion of his own as he has contradicted himself in his notes.

" Jajnagar here mentioned (Tughril's attack of Jajnagar) is said to lie to the east of the Brahmaputra and to correspond to Tippera (vide *Elliot and Dowson's history of India*, Vol. III, pp. 112-113). But this cannot be accepted." 34

In connection with the history of Narasingha Deva II after writing that Tughril Khan " increased his power by attacking Jajnagar or Tipperah lying to the east of Brahmaputra he adds the following note :

" Briggs, following Dow, identified it as the capital of Orissa and R D. Banerji followed it. But Elliot and Dowson identified it rightly with Tipperah. Evidently, there are two Jajnagarams. The late R. D. Banerji quite wrongly stated on page 273 of his *History of Orissa*, Vol. I that Tughril Khan invaded Orissa first in 1275 and secondly in 1282. But both these invasions were against Jajnagar or Tipperah as stated correctly by Elliot and Dowson." 35

(24) B. De's English translation of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. III was published in 1939, seven years after his death in 1932, and we are indebted to Dr. Baini Prasad for its publication. In this volume two notes on Jajnagar are given which are quoted below :

" Col. Briggs (p. 22) says that Jajnagar is a city situated on the Mahanuda river which empties itself into the sea in the province of Orissa, the forest of which has always been famous for wild elephants, There is no city of the name of Jajnagar at present in Orissa ; there is a town called Jajpur but it is not on the Mahanadi. Probably the name of Jajnagar was given to the provinces of Orissa. According to Riyazus Salatin, p. 15 northern Orissa was known as Jajnagar." 36

" Neither the Riyazus-Salatin nor the Tabaqat nor Firishtah attempts to identify this place. Bhattasali (pp. 24-25) says Sultan Shamsuddin 'seems to have levied tribute from the kingdoms of Orissa

34. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. VII p. 246.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* Vol. III, 1939. p. 205.

and Tirhut', from which it appears that he identifies Jajnagar with Orissa. The *Cambridge History of India*, page 263, says : 'Iliyas is said to have invaded Jajnagar, as the Muslim historians styled the kingdom of Jajpur in Orissa'. There is no connected account of this kingdom anywhere in the *Cambridge History of India*, and it is only mentioned incidentally in this place, and in connection with Sultan Hushang's journey to acquire elephants on page 350 and the following pages and in connection with Sultan Mahammad of the Deccan's invasion of Orissa in 1478 on page 417. In all these places the Musalman historians call the place Jajnagar ; and the *Cambridge History of India* persists so far as I can see without any authority whatever in calling it Jaipur. Apart, however, from this question, I think that the Jajnagar mentioned here does not mean Orissa at all, but Tipperah. Stewart, on page 83, has Tippera in brackets after Jagenagar (Jajnagar). He gives no authority but Shums Addeen, with his capital at Panduah and Sonargaon, is more likely to have invaded Tipperah less than one hundred miles from Sonargaon than Orissa which was quite five hundred or six hundred miles off. It will be seen moreover the Sultan Ghiyassuddin Balban pursued the rebel Tughril in the direction of Jajnagar through Lakhnauti and Sonargaon (see pages 109 and 110 of the first volumes of the translation). The Jajnagar mentioned there cannot be identified with Orissa, but must be some place east of Sonargaon, and probably Tipperah. In this connection see also note 1 page 104 of the English translation of the Riazus-Salatin, where the translator says, that he was inclined to agree with Professor Blochmann, that there were two Jajnagars, one in Orissa and other towards Tipperah." 37

B. De fully relied on Bhattasali's statement without any doubt but no Muslim historians have written that Iliyas Shah " levied tribute from the kingdoms of Orissa and Terhut. " It seems that Dr. Bhattasali has confused Minhaj's statement regarding the tribute sent by Jajnagar, Bang, Kamrud, and Tirhut to Ghiyassudin Jwang.

(25) In 1942 Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen has written as follows on Jajnagar : " Guada thus became the name of the Bengal empire, the beginnings of which are to be traced to the time of Sasanka * * * The parts round about the state of Lakshnauti 'according to the chronicle were Jajnagar, the countries of Bang, Kamrud and Tirhut,

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37. *Ibid.* pp. 421-22.

and 'the whole of that territory' seems to have been named Gaur. It appears therefore that Gauda in his (Minhaj's) time included Terhut, Bengal, Assum and Utkal or Orissa. Jajnagar is identified by Blochmann with Jajpur near Cuttack." 38

It is too far to connect Gaur of the Muslim history with the traditional Pancha Gauda as suggested by Dr. Sen

(26) Dr. I. H. Qureshi writes : "Orissa (Jajnagar) of the Muslim historians." 39 In the Map I, *(The Sultanate of Delhi in 1325)* he has shown Jajnagar between the Damodar and the Mahanadi and in the Map 2 *(The Sultanate of Delhi and the Neighbouring States in 1400)* he has shown that Jajnagar was bounded by the Baitarani on the north and the northern portion of the Vizagapatam district on the south. Although the area of Jajnagar shown in both the maps is not accurate, yet in his identification he is not very far from the truth.

(27) Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah's *The foundation of Muslim Rule in India* is the latest work which deals with "the history of the establishment and power of the Turkish Sultanate of Delhi 1200-1300 A. D." On Jajnagar his note runs as follows :

"Minhaj, the author, refers, to the Rai of Jajnagar which scholars generally agree, must mean Orissa. The Muslims called the country by the name of the capital, probably identical with Jajpur, on the Vaitarani which till the 18th century, was called Jajnagar, J. A S. B., 1875, p. 285. Banerji thought Jajnagar referred to modern Jajallanagar in the Chhattisgarh division of the Central Provinces *(History of Orissa,* Vol. I, p. 249). On the Mahanadi, however, was a town called Jajatinagar which might have been Persianised into Jajnagar (*see* E. I. III, p. 365) It is also mentioned in the *Pavandautam* of Dhoyi as the last stage before the wind messanger reaches the *Suhma* country (south-central Bengal). J A.S.B. 1905, p. 44".

"Raverty's identification of Katasin with Katasingh, on the Mahanadi, would place the eastern frontier of Orissa about 200 miles south-west of Bengal's present frontiers, whereas Orissa is known to

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38. *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal,* p. 126.

39. *The Administration of the Sultans of Delhi,* p. 257.

have held considerable tracts of south west Bengal (Banerji, *History of Orissa* I, p 264). N. Vasu's identification with the present Raibaniagarh in the Midnapur district seems more plausible."[40]

He writes a note on page 164 as follows in which he has made a new suggestion that Jajnagar or Hajinagar was situated in an area on the Meghna-Padma confluence and not in Orissa.

"Among the States raided by him (Tughril), Barani mentions one Jajnagar or Jajinagar (the printed text has Hajinagar); The O.I.Ms. 177, ft 53b-57b, consistently spells it Jajinagar. The *Tarikh-i-Mubaraksahi*, p.41, has Narkilah (?) while Ferishta has Jajinagar; I, pp 72-80 Elliot, III, pp. 112 and 120 rightly held that it could not be Orissa; Stewart *op. cit.* p. 70, calls it Jajnagar-Tipperah. Raverty's identification with Orissa, supported by Banerji, *Banglar Itihas*, II, pp. 70-71, is obviously untenable. For, Balban's arrival at Sunargaon, in his pursuit of Tughril, known to be flying towards Jajnagar, and the conclusion of an agreement with the local Raja for preventing the rebel's flight along the rivers, would point to a country in the south-east of Bengal. Stewart's identification with Tipperah also does not seem satisfactory. The Tipperah chronicles, it is true, refers to a Turushka king of Gour who helped with troops one of the rival claimants to the Tipperah throne sometimes towards the end of the 13th century and who conferred the title of Manikya on the ruler named Ratnapha, a title borne by the Tipperah house ever since; *Rajamala*, ed. K. C. Singha,* pp. 29-31; also Long's analysis and abridged translation, in *J.A.S.B.*, 1850, p 533 sq. One can understand the flight of Tughril, if he is really identified with this Turushka king, to the country where he could expect to be received by the grateful *raja;* this treatment he could hardly expect from the king of Orissa whose territory he allegedly raided in the recent past. But the *Rajamala* is a later compilation and the Turushka king's identification is not beyond doubt. Besides, the existence of Tipperah as an important State in those days is not borne out by epigraphy or archaeology. Such evidences, on the contrary, have recently been unearthed to reveal the existence, in the Tipperah, Noakhali and the Meghna region, of a flourishing kingdom with its capital at Pattikera, now located near what is called

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40. *The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, 1945, pp. 134-35.

* *Rajamala* was edited by Kaliprasanna Sen.

the Mainamati hills near Comilla. Its ancient dynasty is proved by archaeological evidence to have been replaced about the middle of the 13th century, by a line of kings whose names end in Deva. Two kings of this line have so far been known, who not only extended the Pattikera kingdom but also seem to have supplanted the later Senas in Vikrampur and Dacca : for the second king, Danujamardana Deva, according to modern epigraphists, is identical with Danuj Rai of Barani (Raja Nauja of Abul Fazal) ; for this kingdom of Pattikera and the Deva dynasty, see *DHB.* I, pp. 254-259 Whether Tughril's flight was directed towards this Pattikera is a point worth considering. In that case Danuja Rai's readiness to help in seizing the rebel should be regarded as prompted more by his hostility to him for the recent aggression than a desire to please Balban. Hajinagar is probably the correct version, for it can be equated to Jahajnagar, a popular name of the Tipperah-Nuakhali tract on the Meghna-Padma confluence "[41]

Blochmann's notes have been quoted above and nowhere in it he has written on the existence of two Jajnagars, but it is strange that Abdas Salam, B De, and Dr. Sen have referred to Blochmann's authority while they advanced the theory of two Jajnagars. Against the identification of Jajnagar with Tipperah Blochmann writes that " Rajamala, however, does not state that Tipperah had the name of Jajnagar." B De asserts that " the invaders of Lakhnauti were Hindus of Jajnagar or Tipperah which must not be confounded with Jajpur in Orissa." Tripura is an ancient principality in the Eastern Bengal and it has a long traditional history of the Raj family called *Rajamala*. The text with copious notes of the *Rajamala* has been edited by Kaliprasanna Sen Vidyalankar and published by theTripura Darbar long before the death of B. De in 1932. The Editor of the *Rajamala* after referring to the various views on Muslim expedition to Jajnagar writes that "We have got sufficient evidence to show that the kingdom of Tripura is not Jajnagar which was invaded by Tughan." [42] This piece of evidence is very important as it shows the hollowness of the argument of the historians who have suggested the identification of Jajnagar with Tripura in the East Bengal far from northern Madras, Central Provinces and Bihar from which it was approached without passing either through Orissa and western Bengal or northern Bengal.

41. *Ibid.* p. 164.
42. *Rajamala*, Vol. I, p. 177.

In the conclusion I fully agree with Blochmann and Raverty and I am of opinion that the position of Jajnagar in the historical map of the Eastern India will include the whole of the modern province of Orissa and Orissa States together with the "southern districts of western Bengal such as Midnapore, Howrah and Hoogly."[43] and Bankura of Bengal, Singhbhum district of Bihar, Bilaspur and eastern part of Raipur. districts of Central Provinces and Godabari and Vizagapatam districts of Madras.

APPENDIX I

Katasin

Katasin seems to be a corruption of some Sanskrit or Prakrit word. Thereis an Oriya word Kutāsuni, the apabhramsa of Kutavāsini (the presiding deity of the Kuta or fort) from which Kutasin of the Persian seems to have been derived. Mādālāpānji mentions a fort called Kotasarma on the frontier of Bengal." (*Vide* J. B. & O. R. S. Vol. XIII. p. 21). O'Malley has identified Katasarma with Kutasimul on the west bank of the Damodar in the Hoogly district. Raverty's sugges tion for its identification with Kutasimgha in the heart of Orissa on the Mahanadi cannot be accepted as objected to by Blochmann. N N.Vasu suggested its identification with Raibaniagarh on the border of the Balasore district but R. D. Banerji (*History of Orissa,* Vol. II, pp. 55-56) rejected it. Mr. J. C. Bose (*Medinipur Itihas,* p. 222) has accepted N. N. Vasu's suggestion. As Katasin was on the frontier outpost of the Muslim Lakhnauti, its identification with Kotasrama or Kutasimul in Hoogly district is quite possible.

APPENDIX II

Umardan

Raverty's suggestion for its identification of Umardan or Amardan with Amarkantaka was rejected by Blochmann whose doubtful suggestion for Gundamardan in Borasambar of the Sambalpur district does not serve any useful purpose. M. M. Chakravarti has identified it with Mandaran, now situated at Bhitargarh, north-west corner of the Hoogly district. Chakravarti writes :

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43. History of Orissa, Vol. 1.

" From the connection with the wars of Jajnagar, Umurdan appears to have been a part of it. The town and the territory I am inclined to identify with Mandāran (U-Mandaran). * * * *. During Ganga rule it evidenrly formed the frontier Province of North Orissa " (J & P. A. S. B., 1909, p. 217)

According to *Risalat Ush-Suhada* Ismail Ghazi " utterly defeated Gajapati, king of Mandaran or Orissa." In De Barros' map (1550) and Bleave's map (1660) this part of the country is written *Cospetir* and its capital was Mandaran on the south bank of a river. Cospetir is the same as the kingdom of Gajapati as recorded in Risalat-ush-Suhada situated on the north of Orissa and south of Radha or Bengal.

Blochmann's note on the Mandaran was published before the publication of Risalat-ush-Shuhada : " South of Ferrandus' the old maps, give ' Mandaram' and ' Cospetir ' which latter name is wrongly placed on Blaev's map North of Mandaram whilst De Barros has it correctly west of it. In Manda ram we recognise Mandaran, the chief town of Sirkar Mandaran, a name which even now-a-days is pronounced by the peasants of Mandaran. Cospetir, or De Barros' Reino Cospetir' a name that puzzled me long, is clearly the kingdom of Gajpati, or the lord of elephants, the title of the kings of Oriasa. Sirkar Mandaran was indeed the frontier of Orissa but if the legends of the Hugli district speaks of the Gajapatis having once extended their kingdom to the Ganges (Hugli river), it must have been prior to the time when Satgaon became the seat of Muhammadan Governors" (J. A.S.B., 1873 pp. 223-24)

R. D. Banerji writes as follows on Umardan : " It appears to be the same place as shat in memory of the conquest of which a silver coin was struck by Yuzback from the mint of Lakhnauti in 653-1255 A. D. The legend on the margin of the reverse was read as "Struck at Lakhnauti as tribute of Arzba dan and Nudiya in the month of Ramzan of the year six hundred and fifty three.' In a previous paper the present writer had proposed to identify the Arzbadan with Garh-badan or Bardhan-kot in northern Bengal, but it seems more probable that this Arzbadan is the same as the Umardan or Amardan of the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri. There is no doubt about the fact that no such place was the capital of Orissa in the 13th Century." This is not possible as the memory after a decade of the war which took place in 1246-47 A. D

Banerji further writes : "The date of the coin makes it possible to state that Yuzback's last campaign in Orissa took place either in 1255 or shortly before that date. With his death in Assam in 1257 Musalman aggression in Orissa ceased.'

O'Malley in his District Gazetteer of Cuttack 1906, page 25, referring to Tabaqat-i-Nasiri records that "between 1247 and 1258 there were three battles between the Oriyas under the same leader and the Mahammedan forces under Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Yuzback-i-Tughril Khan of Bengal In the last of three battles the latter was defeated, but next year he again led his army to the south and captured and sacked the capital Umardan"

O'Malley's mistake is perhaps due to Stewart's date assigned to Yuzback from 1246 to 1253 A. D. (p 41) But Nelson Write assigns the period of rule of Yuzback from 1246 to 1253 A. D. (p. 130). Although Banerji accepted Yuzback's period of rule from 1246 to 1258 he was perhaps guided by O'Malley's statement to which he tried to adduce proof by the numismatic evidence. It seems that there is a mistake in the reading of the coin. Umardan was correctly identified by M. M Chakravarti with Mandaran.

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JAJNAGAR FROM EPIGRAPHIC AND LITERARY SOURCES FROM ORISSA AND BENGAL

Credit goes to N. N Vasu for discovering interesting historical references found in the Ganga inscriptions 1 from Orissa which were elaborately discussed subsequently by M. M. Chakravarti 2 As Chakravarti had not the opportunity to know the contents of the Anantavasudeva temple inscription of Bhubaneswar, he could not correctly identify the person described by Minhaj as "the son-in-law of the Rai" of Jajnagar. Corroborative reference to the writing of Minhaj is found from this inscription of Bhubaneswar and I have discussed in a

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1. J. A. S. B., 1895 pp. 38 ff.
2. *Ibid.* 1903, pp. 123-24.

separate paper called "three Bhubaneswar Inscriptions" sent to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. The editor of the *Cambridge History of India*, 3 Vol. III seems not to have utilised Chakravarti's paper which is very authentic even now. R. D. Banerji utilised the materials of the Muslim History, the findings of Chakravarti and the text of the Royal Asiatic Society inscription of Bhubaneswar in his History of Orissa, Vol. I, but he did not make any new contribution. His thorough study in the inscriptions of Orissa enabled him to criticise freely some statements of Minhaj.4

Dr. H. C. Ray also referred to Muslim sources in his book entitled "Dynastic history of Northern India" like M M. Chakravarti.

Mr. R. Subba Rao in his paper on the *History of Eastern Ganges of Kalinga* has discussed the Muslim references in *the Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*.

Chakravarti, Banerji, Dr Ray and Mr Subba Rao have cited references to the Muslim history of Jajnagar only from inscriptions of the Ganga kings of Orissa and not from *Rajamala*, the traditional history of Tripura which does not mention any war in the 13th century with Muslims of Lakhnauti.

During the period from 1211 to 1281 A. D. we find the following Sultans of Delhi and their Governors of Lakhnauti.

(A) Sultans of Delhi.

(i) *Sultans of Delhi*.5

1.	Shamsuddin Iltutmish	1210 A. D.
2.	Ruknuddin Firoz I	... 1235 A. D.
3.	Raziya	... 1236 A. D.
4.	Muizzuddin Bahram	... 1239 A. D.
5.	Alluddin Masaud	... 1241 A. D.
6.	Nasiruddin Mahmud I	... 1246 A. D.
7.	Ghyasuddin Balban	... 1265-87

3. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol, III, pp. 65 and 132.
4. *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 258-87.
5. H. Nelson Wright's Catalogue of Coins of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. II, p. 2.

(*ii*) *Governors of Bengal* 6

1. Giyasuddin Iwaz ... 1211-1226 A. D.
2. Izzuddin Tughril Tughan Khan .. 1233-1244 A. D.
3. Qamruddin Taimur Khan ... 1244-1246 A. D.
4. Ikhtiyaruddin Yuzbeg 1246-1258 A. D.

(B) Ganga Kings of Orissa.

1. Anangabhimadeva III 1211-1245 A.D.7 or 1211-1238 A.D.
2. Narasimhadeva I ... 1245-1264 A. D.8 or 1238-1264 A.D.
3. Bhasudeva III 1264-1279 A. D.

If the period of rule of Anangabhima and Narasimha from 1211 to 1238 and 1238 to 1264 are accepted, Minhaj's description of the leader of Jajnagar forces as the son-in-law of the Rai is untenable and in that case the wars with the Rai of Jajnagar are not to be accepted during the life time of Anangabhimadeva. But if B. C. Mazumdar's date is accepted no such difficulty arises.

Minhaj writes that 'Jajnagar sent tribute to Ghiyasuddin Iwaz. From this we can assume that Anangabhimadeva III sent tribute to him. This is the one sided version of the Muslim chronicler. Let us see what the contemporary inscriptions of Orissa record on Anangabhima's relation with Muslims of Lakhnauti. The Chatesvara inscription was written in Circa 1220 A. D. according to Chakravarti's calculation. In this inscription the conquest of the Tuhmana country (modern Bilashpur District in M. P.) and victory over the Yavana king by Vishnu, the minister of Anangabhima, have been described in verses 14 and 15. The victory over the Yavana king certainly refers to the Muslim Governor of Lakhnauti and no one else. On this point R. D. Banerji states that "there is no truth in

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6. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
7. (1) B. C. Mazumdar's Orissa in the Making, p.p. 202.
   (2) R. Subba Rao J.A H.R.S., Vol. VII, p. 182.
8. (1) J. A. S. B., 1903, p. 141.
   (2) J. A. H. R. S., Vol. VIII, p. 233 and 240.

the statement of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* that Iwaz had made the Ganga king tributary to him, because both sides claim the victory."[9] Mr. Suba Rao also supports Banerji [10] Hunter is of opinion that "this raid, for it cannot be called a conquest, yielded no permanent result "[11]

Tabaqat - i - Nasiri records that " in the year 641 A. H. (1243 A. D.) the Rai of Jajnagar commended molesting the Lakhnauti territory, and in the month of Shawwal 641 A H. (Nov 1243). Tughril-i-Tughan Khan marched towards Jajnagar country. The Mühammedans sustained an overthrow and a great number of these holy warriors attained martyrdom and Malik Tughril-i-Tughan Khan retired from that place without having effected his object and returned to Lakhnauti." [12]

"In the same year likewise (642 A. H.) the Rai of Jajnagar × × × having turned his face towards Lakhnauti territory, on Tuesday the 13th of the month of Shawal, 642 A. H. the army of Jajnagar, consisting of elephants and Paiks (footmen) in great numbers arrived opposite Lakhnauti, Malik Tughril-i-Tughan Khan came out of the city to confront them. The infidel host, on coming beyond the frontier of the Jajnagar territory, first took Lakhnor × × × and after that appeared before the gate of Lakhnauti." [13]

The leader of Jajnagar army is thus described :—

"The leader of the forces of Jajnagar was a person by name Sabantar, the son-in-law of the Rai, who during the time of Malik Izzuddin Tughril-i-Tughan Khan. had advanced to the bank of the river Lakhnauti, and having shown the greatest audacity had driven the Musalman forces as far as the gate (of the city) of Lakhnauti, In Malik Tughril-Khani-i-Yuzbak's time judging from the past he (the Jajnagar leader) manifested great boldness, and fought and was defeated." [14]

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9. *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 233 and 240.
10. J. A. H. R. S., Vol, VII, p. 234,
11. *Hunter's Orissa*, Vol II, p. 4.
12. *Tabaqat–i–Nasiri*, p. 738.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 739–40.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 762-63.

From the above it is clear that the invasion of Lakhnauti by the Rai of Jajnagar was continuously carried on from 1243 to 1247 A. D. and the army of the Rai of Jajnagar was always victorious until the death of their leader, the son-in-law of the Rai. This period falls within the reigns of Anangabhima III and Narasimha I as ascertained by Mr. Subbah Rao and B. C Mazumdar. Let us see as to how the inscription of the Anantavasudeva temple of Bhubaneswar helps us in corroborating the statement of Minhaj who was the eye-witness of these events.

'In Chodaganga's lineage was like a flag the heroic Anangabhima, whose profound strength was celebrated by the damsels of a multitude hostile kings destroyed by his power, and who was exceedingly proud of his horses the speed of which surpassed that of theSnake's foe orGaruda, He made an end of that war by defeating the Yavanas with impetuousity after entering into their territory beyond the frontier'' 15 The last sentence of this verse reminds us of Minhaj's statement "The infidel host on coming beyond the frontier of Jajnagar territory first took Lakhnauti." This event took place in November. 1244 A.D. when Anangabhima was ruling Orissa, and his son-in-law was the leader of the forces of Jajnagar. The temple of Anantavasudeva was built by Chandra-Devi, the daughter of Anangabhimadeva who was given in marriage to Paramardi Deva of the Haiyaya lineage (v. 7). In the verse 20 of the inscription the poet Umapati writes :—" The valiant Paramardi Deva having found the enemies of the battle-loving king Vira Narasimha Deva to be dwelling in the world of Gods, went himself thither in fury 16 to conquer them, with full display of glory." This passage reminds us of the line written by Minhaj that " he (Jajnagar leader) manifested great boldness,and fought and was defeated",This fight took place when Malik Yuzbak (1248-1258 A. D.) was the Governor of Lakhnauti and Narasimha Deva was on the throne of Orissa.

The Anantavasudeva temple inscription of Bhubaneswar was written in 1278 A. D. when Chandradevi, the wife of Paramardi Deva was living and so the poet described the valour of Paramardi Deva in the war with the Muslim Governors of Lakhnauti in its true colour. Minhaj described him as a *Sabanter* which perhaps is a corruption of

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15. E. I. Vol. XIII, p. 159, V. 2.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 155.

Samantaraya. N. N. Vasu has written that Minhaj by mistake has described the son to be the son-in-law [17] of the Rai of Jajnagar. M.M. Chakravarti [18] rejected this suggestion on the ground that Subantar was a different person from Narasimhadeva; but R. D. Banerji [19] has written that " The Commander of the Army of Orissa was the son-in-law of Narasingha Deva I " Chandradevi was the daughter of Anangabhimadeva and sister, of Narasinghadeva I and so Minhaj correctly described him as the son-in-law of Anangabhimadeva which relation is corroborated by the Anantavasudeva temple inscription of Bhubaneswar.

In the verse 84 of the copperplate of Narasimhadeva I of the year 1295 A. D. mention is made of the conquest of Rādha and Varendra belonging to Yavanas by Narasimhadeva I. The English translation of the verse is quoted below :—

" The (white) river Gnaga blackened for a great distance by the collyrium washed away by the tears from the eyes of the weeping Yavanis of Radha and Varendra, and rendered waveless, as if by his astonishing achievement was now transformed by the monarch into black watered Yamuna. [20]

Apart from these epigraphic corroborations of the relations of the Ganga kings of Orissa with the Muslim Governors of Lakhnauti and Sultans of Delhi as written in Persian by Minhaj, the contemporary Sanskrit literature gives a number of references of conflict with Muslims of northern India.

The period of rule of Anangabhimadeva and Narasimhadeva I is the most glorious period in the history of Orissa according to the Madalapanji and copper plate grants, when art, architecture and literature too were well developed. Two Sanskrit works on Alankara namely *Ekāvali* and *Sahityadarpana* were composed by Vidyadhara and Viswanatha respectively and have survived. These works mention many other Sanskrit works which have not yet been discovered The date of *Ekavali* was assigned to the period of rule of Narasimhadeva I by M. M Chakravarti. As no reference to *Ekavali* is found in

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17. J. A. S. B. 1896, p. 20
18. *Ibid*, 1903, p. 123-24
19. *History of Orissa*, Vol. 1, p. 265
20. J. A. S. B. 1896, p. 232

Sahityadarpaṇa, Chakravarti was of opinion that *Ekavali* was a later work." In *Ekavali* Narasimhadeva has been described to have fought with the Mahammedans in Bengal on the banks of the Ganges. The battles with the Mahammedans are indicated in the examples e. g. 'Yavanāvanīndu Samare' (p. 202) Sakādhiśvara (326) and ' Hamīra.' Then again, the fight with the Bengalis ' Baṅga-Saṅgara-Simani ' (p. 203) and the reference to the waves of the Ganges, ' Gaṅga-taraṅga-Dhavalāni' (p. 136) apparently speak of Narasimha's fight with Bengal viceroys of the Delhi Sultans."

According to Chakravarti the date of Sahityadarpana was earlier than that of *Ekavali,* but P. V. Kane *21* in his introduction to *Sahityadarpana* has written that " Sahityadarpana wasc omposed at some time between 1300 A. D. to 1384 A. D." Visvanatha's grand-father and grand uncle were reputed scholars and his father Chandra-sekhara was a minister as well as Sanskrit scholar. So it seems that he quoted verses as examples from the works which were written by them in praise of king Narasimhadeva I to illustrate the rules of Sahitya-darpana, the two following of which, it seems, have direct reference to the Muslims of Bengal. Minhaj writes that the leader of Jajnagar forces advanced to the bank of the river of Lakhnauti and certainly this river is the Ganges, The verse of Chapter X quoted below seems to have a reference to the hasty retreat of the Muslim army which had to cross the Ganges with great difficulty.

" गङ्गाम्भसि सुरत्राण तव निपाण-निश्वण
स्नातिवैरिवधूवगगर्भपातनपातक

" Oh Sultan, the sound of the drums beaten at the time of your marching were guilty of causing abortion of the wives of thy foemen, bathe as it were in the Ganges." Kane remarks that "sinners bathe in the waters of the Ganges. Here the coming in contact with the waters of the Ganges on the part of the sound is represented as bathing which is an action."

The other verse runs as follows :—

" सन्धौ सर्वस्वहरणं विग्रहे प्राण निग्रह:
आलापदिननृपतौ नसन्धि नंच विग्रह: ॥

21. *Sahityadarpana,* 1923, p. CXXIII.

With Allapadina peace means usurption of all the wealth and property and war means sure death and so no peace or war is possible with him.

The author Visvanatha notes that out of four methods when two namely peace and war are not possible with him there remain the other two namely Sāma (alliance) or Dāna (tribute) which were adopted by many for their safety.

The Sanskrit eulogists were fond of describing the high qualities of the opponent of their hero for the purpose of a contrast with the higher qualities of their hero and as the above verses seem to be selected from the *Prasasti* (eulogy) of Narasimhadeva I, the real meaning of the verses is to be taken in the opposite sense according to the rules of Alankara Sastra. The first verse in the plain English gives the meaning that the Muslim army which attacked Jajnagar fully perished and the Sultan only heard the news of their defeat which reached Lakhnauti after crossing the Ganges. The meaning of the second verse is this that all other kings either offered tribute or made alliance with Allavadina (Allauddin) but on the contrary Allavadina had to do the same thing with the Rai of Jajnagar. These hyperboles from the pen of the panegyrists are corroborated by Minhaj's bold and true statement of the defeat of the Muslim army in Jajnagar from 1243 to 1245 A. D. when Alladdin was the Sultan of Delhi.

Visvanath has coined the Sanskrit words ' Suratrana ' and " Allapadinanrpati". Suratrana means the protector of gods but of Allapadina *Dina* is a Sanskrit word but Allapa is not a Sanskrit one. The Palam Baoli inscription[22] of 1276 mentions good many Sanskritised Persian words-such as Alavadina and Gayasudina and the epithets used in connection with these names are all Sanskrit like Allapadinanrpati here. The Ganga copper-plates mention Gayasudina. So it appears that the Sanskritised form of Persian names was different in Orissa from northern India. The coins of Shamsuddin Altamash *Suritana Sri Samasuddina*' and that of Allauddin Masaud Shah give *Suritana Sri Alavadina*. [23]

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22. J. A. S. B. 1874, pp. 104-110.
23. Catalogue of coins of the Indian Museum, Vol. II, p. 22 and 30.

The copper-plates of Narasingha Deva II,[24] Bhanu Deva II [25] and Narasingha Deva IV [26] do not mention the expedition of Tughril in 1279 to Jajnagar as recorded by Barani and so it seems that it was only a mere raid which was not given any importance by the Oriya historians or poets, but Barani's account of Ulugh Khan's expedition to Jajnagar in 1323 A. D. from Warrangal is corroborated by the inscriptions.

Barani writes :—

"The Prince then marched towards Jajnagar and there took forty elephants with which he returned to Tilong These he sent to his father". [27]

The copper-plates relate the following verse describing the reign of Bhanu Deva II (1306-1327 A. D.).

" राज्ञोयस्य गयासदीन समरे प्रारब्ध शौर्य्यं च्युत
प्रौढ़ानेक नरेन्द्रकन्दरगलत्कीलालपूर्णोवनी " [29]

This Gayasudina is no other than Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq I (1320 1324) whose son Ulugh Khan conquered Telengana.

Thus we see that important events of the Muslim history are corroborated from the inscriptions of Orissa and these corroborations clearly prove that Jajnagar mentioned by Minhaj and Barni, was another name of Orissa and Afif's mention of Jajnagar-Udisa removes all doubt regarding the identity of Jajnagar with Orissa.

Now the question arises as to how Minhaj the first Muslim historian came to know the name of Jajnagar in 1243-44 during his stay at Lakhnauti. There is no doubt that he came to know it from some definite sources which he has not noted in the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri. Jajnagar as the another name of Utkala, Odra or Kalinga is not found from any inscription of Bengal during the 12th century or earlier.

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24. J. A. S. B., 1896.
25. Orissa in the Making, p. 202.
26. J. A. S. B., 1895.
27. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 234.
28. J. A. S. B., 1895, p. 146.

The only source of Minhaj's information in Bengal is Dhoyi's *Pavanadutam* in which we find the description of a city called Yayatinagar "khyātam Jagati nagarimākhyayā tim Yayateh" which is situated to the north of Kalinganagar and south of Vijayapura in Radha or Suhma in south-western or western Bengal. In the city of Yayatinagara, the poet of *Pavanadutam* describes that the courtyards (Prangana) were adorned with betelnut trees twined with the creeper of the betel leaves. This description locates the city of Yayatinagar of *Pavanadutam* in the seaboard district of Orissa and not in the hilly tract in upper valley of the Mahanadi.

Mr. H. P. Sastri noticed the discovery of the manuscript of *Pavanadutam* in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for July 1898 pp. 190-92 and after identifying Yayatinagar with Jajapur he writes that "From the capital of Utkala, the invisible messenger blows to the country of Suhma, or what is known as the western Bengal "Rai Bahadur M. M. Chakravarti published the text of *Pavanadutam* in the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol. I, new series, (1905) p. 44. He identified Yayatinagara of *Pavanadutam* with Yayatinagara mentioned in the copper-plate inscriptions of Mahasivagupta Yayati and Mahabhavagupta Bhimaratha. [29] These inscriptions record that Yayatinagara was situated on the bank of the Mahanadi and Hiralal has suggested that Binka in Sonepur State was called Yayatinagara. In the Tirumalai inscription of Rajendra Chola Yayatinagara, wrongly written as Adinagara, was the capital of the Somakuli kings. The Somakuli dynasty of the inscriptions popularly called the Kesari dynasty in the *Madalapanji*, was ousted by Chodaganga of the Ganga dynasty in 1118 A. D. No inscription of Chodaganga or his successors mentions Yayatinagara, but in the *Madalapanji* there has been described a place called Abhinava (new Yayatinagara) during the reign of Anangabhimadeva with whom Muslims of Bengal had several fights. In the absence of any epigraphical evidence on Yayatinagara we can safely rely on the *Madalapanji* supporting the popularity of Yayatinagar during the reign of the Ganga king Anangabhimadeva and Minhaj's Jajnagar is the corrupt from Yayatinagara which can be identified according to *Pavanadutam* with Jajpur.

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29. Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions of Northern India Nos. 1568-70.

Almost all the village astrologers of Orissa possess the copy of the *Madalapanji* which they read before the public on *Dola-purnimā* day. I got a copy of such a *Madalapanji* from an astrologer of the village Kesapur near Chaudwar and in this copy of the *Madalapanji* it has been recorded that Chodaganga Deva the first king of the Ganga dynasty of Orissa, established his capital "*Jajnagara Kataka*". According to this tradition it seems that there existed a city called Jajnagara the corrupt form of new Yayatinagar which was the capital of the Somakuli Kesari kings in eastern Orissa. The poet Dhoyi, the author of *Pavanadutam* lived before 1200 A D.and described Yayatinagar which was transformed into Jajnagar in 1260 A.D. when Minhaj wrote his Tabaqat-i-Nasiri. Stirling's version of the *Madalapanji* printed in 1825 A. D. narrates that Yayati Kesari's "Court was held at Jajpura where he built a palace 30 and castle called Chaudwar".

Rajendralal Mitra's note on Jajpur runs as follows :—

"Again it was said that as Yayati Kesari × × × first established his metropolis at Yajapura, he must have built the city and named it after himself Yayatipura which now survives in the abbreviated form of Yajapura The derivation, however, is questionable. Under the phonetic rules of the Prakrita language Yayati would not change into Yaya; whereas Yaj, the radical of Yajña, even in Sanskrit yields the noun Yaja or Yaga, sacrifice and thence Yayapura is and obvious and legitimate derivation".[31]

Nandalal Dey's notes on Jajpur run as follows :—

"Jajpur is a contraction of Yayatipur. The temple of Virajā at Jajpur is one of the fiftytwo piṭhas where a part of Sati's body is said to have fallen Brahma is said to have celebrated the horse sacrifice ten times at Daśāśvamedha ghāt on the bank of the Vaitarani river, and hence the place obtained the name Jajñapura". × × According to Dr. Fleet, Yayatinagara is the ancient name of Kataka (in Orissa). As Yayati established a city called Yayatinagara after his own name in the upper valley of the Mahanadi, it is plausible that after occupying Utkala he changed the name of Jajapura into Abhinava Yayatinagara. The mention of the river

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30. Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, 1825, p.
31. Antiquities of Orissa, Vol. II, p. 157.

Vaitarani in Mahabharata clearly proves the antiquity of Jajapur, the corrupt form of Jajñapura through Jāgapur. So the name Jajnagar seems to have been abbreviated from two names of the city, Jajapura and Yayatinagara".

The name Yayatipura suggested by R. L. Mitra and N. Dey does not find corroboration from the epigraphic or traditional account of Orissa, but the popularity of Jajnagara as the another name of Jajapura continued up to the middle of the 18th century in Orissa which is proved by literary evidence. On the other hand the popularity of the more ancient name Jajpura in Bengal in 16th century A. D. is known from *Chaitanyacharitāmrita* and *Chaitanya Bhāgavata.*

According to Saralādasa's Oriya Mahabharata (Svargārohana parva) Judhistira with his brothers first arrived at Jajnagari on the Vaitarani from the north of Orissa. From Jajnagara he came to Amarāvati Kataka (now Chhatia in the Cuttack District) and then crossing the river Chitrotpala (the Mahanadi) came to Ekāmratīrtha or Bhubaneswar, and on his return journey he came to the Vaitarani after crossing the Chitrotpala. So it seems that during the time of Saraladasa Jajanagara was more popular than Jajapura (15th century A. D.)

The pilgrimage of Chaitanyadeva in Orissa is described in the *Chaitanya Charitāmrita* and *Chaitanya Bhāgavata* In these works Jajapura on the Vaitarani finds mention but in *Jagannātha Charitāmrita,* an Oriya work describing the pilgrimage of Chaitanya, Jajanagara on the Vaitarani finds mention; and the mention of Varahanath at Jajanagar was the another name of Jajapura. The date of *Jagannātha Charitāmrita* belongs to the same period as that of the *Chaitanya Charitāmrita* or *Chaitanya Bhāgavata* i. e. 16th century A. D. Sikhara Dasa's *Nilasundara Gita* is another work in Oriya which contains the traditional past history of Orissa in the form of prophecy and from the mention of Kapilendra Deva as one of the kings of Orissa. it seems that he lived in the later part of the 15th century or the earlier part of the 16th century A. D. The following lines from *Nilasundara Gita* quoted below :—remind us of the verse beginning with 'Gangambhasi' of Sahityadarpana

" साम दान छाडि नरेन्द्र नृपति समर करिबे याइ
हस्ती अश्व बल बहुत पडिबे धर्मी न पड़िबे केहि ।
दिगन्त होइ पलाइबे पापीए गजपति लेउटिब ।
गङ्गारे खण्डा पखालिब नरेन्द्र याजनगरे बसिब ॥

"The King (Narendra) would fight by giving up the principles of Sāma and Dāna, and a large number of forces of elephants and horses will be fallen in the battle, but not a single virtuous man. The enemy would retreat without knowing the direction and the Gajapati will come back vicorious to Jājanagara after washing the sword in the Ganges."

Sikhara Dasa mentions that the deity named Virajā resides at Jajnagar and this fact is another evidence in support of the identification of Jajanagara with Jajpur.

The latest mention of Jajnagar is made by the poet Abhimanyu Samanta Simhara of the 18th century A D. in his poetical work called *Premakala*. The couplet containing Jajanagara runs as follows.

" जम्बुद्वीपे भारतखण्डे सार मही
महोदधि याजनग्र मध्ये रम्य तहिं ।"

As Mahasivagupta Yayati ruled towards the close of the 10th century A. D., the date of Yayatinagara cannot go beyond the last quarter of the 10th century A. D. but in the early 13th century A. D., it was contracted into Jajnagar which has been recorded by Minhaj; and Afif's text of Jajnagara Udisa in *Tarikh-i-Ferozshahi* clearly proves that during the 3rd quarter of the 14th century A D. Udisa was gaining popularity. Let us see how the name *Odisa* has been derived.

Leaving aside the Pauranic references discussed by Pargiter [32] the epigraphic records of Asoka and Kharavela before the Christian era mention capitals at Tosali and Kalinganagar which were situated in those days in modern Orissa. Kalidasa mentions Utkala which was situated on the south of Vanga (Bengal) and north of Kalinga. During the 7th century A. D. Yuanchuang mentions Odra lying south-west of Karnasuvarna and north of Kongada and Kalinga. The copper plates

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32. J. A S. B. 1897 pp 98-104 and 110.

of Soro[33] mention *Odravisaya* and Uttara Tosala andt hat of Midnapur[34] mentions Utkala; Odra also finds mention in the epithet Gaudodrādi Kalinga kosolapati [35], of Harsadeva of Kamarupa. In this area the Bhauma inscriptions mention Uttara Tosala and Utkala and Daksina Tosala [36] and Kongadamandala was included under Daksina Tosala. Rajasekhara [37] mentions '*Kalinga-Kosala-Tosala-Utkala*'. The copper plates of Gayada Tunga [38] mention Odravisaya. Rajendra Chola's inscriptions [39] mention in 1025 A. D. Kosal , Yayatinagar and Oddavisaya. The Drighasi Stone inscription [40] mentions Utkala in Sanskrit and Oddavisaya in the Telugu text. The Ganga inscriptions from the time of Choda Ganga to Narasimha Deva IV [41] *e. g.* from 12th century A. D. to first quarter of the 15th century A. D. mention Utkala. The Muslim historians of the 13th and 14th centuries A. D. always have described this part of the country as Jajnagar. Towards the end of the 14th century Shamsi-Siraj Afif has described at one place *Jajnagar - Udisa.* [42] Kapilendra Deva's Jagannatha temple inscription [43] dated 1443 A. D. mentions his Odisārajya. Saraladasa in his Oriya Mahabharata (Adiparva) writes that Odisa is the another name of *Odarastra*. In Ferishtah's account on the other hand relating to Nizam Shah and Mahammed Shah III (1461-1482) of Bahmanis of Kulbarga, " Jajnagar and Odisah are mentioned as totally separate territories", but in Nizamuddin's Tarikh-i-Akbari [44] only Odisa finds mention. So Ferishtah's account of two separate kingdoms does not find corroboration even from the contemporary history.

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33. E. I. Vol. XXIII, p. 201. 02.
34. J. A. S. B. Letters, Vol. XI, 1945 p. 8.
35. I. A. Vol, IX, 1880, p. 179.
36. Orissa under the Bhauma Kings by Pandit B. Misra, p. 86.
37. Kavyamimamsa, p. 93.
38. E. I, Vol. XII, pp. 291-95.
39. E. I. Vol. IX.
40. E. I, Vol. IV pp. 315-17.
41. J. A. S. B. 1895 and 1896.
42. Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 592 n.
43. J. A S. B., 1893 p.
44. Vol. III, pp, 86-102.

The above references go to prove that Odra-visaya of the 7th century A. D., was popular as Oddavisaya in the 11th century A. D. Odavisaya was changed into *Odavisa* which form has not been found from any inscription but Taranath the Tibetan historian mentions *Odivisa* which he wrote perhaps from some earlier account. We do not know when *Odivisa* form was current but this form was certainly earlier to 1360 A. D. when Odisa was written by Afif. So it appears that Odisa was derived from Odravisaya through the following phonetic changes *Odravisaya-Oddavisaya-Odivisa-Odisa.*

The Pauranic form *Utkala* is still popular. Those who mention that Utkala is derived from *Uttara-Kalinga* have not produced any evidence on the use of Uttara-Kalinga from any inscription or literature. The mediaval names such as Kalinga, Kongada, Tosala, Kosala and Yayatinagar (or Jajnagar) are no longer in use. The Trikandasesa mentions that Odra is the same as Utkala, Stirling derives the word Orissa from *Ordesa* or *Oresa.* Odra rastra the land of the Odras. Under the word Oriya it is written there that "the [illegible] name of the country is Udradesa or Ordesa whence Oriya or Uriya." None of these Sanskrit words Odra-rastra or Ordesa will give us Odisa through phonetic changes according to Prakrit grammar.

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THE RELATION OF ILYAS SHAH AND FORGE SHAH WITH THE GANGA KINGS NARASIMHA-DEVA III AND BHANU DEVA III.

A. The Relation of Ilyas Shah with the Ganga King Narasinha Deva III.

The compilation of the scientific history of India is now entirely based on the historical materials which stand the test of scrutiny and on this principle the history of India together with those of its component States is being written by eminent scholars. The latest volumes on the History of India are *Bharatiya Vidya-bhavan's* series entitled *"The history and culture of the Indian people",*

The volume VI of this series entitled "*The Delhi Sultanate*" was published in 1960 in which Dr. R. C. Majumdar has written a chapter on Firon Shah of Delhi and late Prof. N. B. Roy, a chapter on Ilias Shah of Lakhnauti. The other important publication of this period is the History of Bengal Vol. II published by the Dacca University which was edited by late Sir J. N. Sarcar. Prior to these works two Persian works entitled *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi* by Ziauddin Barani and *Tarikh-i-firozshahi* by Afif were known to non-persian scholars through the translation by Elliot and Dowson since 1871. Another Persian work entitled *Inshah-i-mahru* was partly translated into English and published in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1923 Vol. XIX pp. 253-290 by Abdul Wali. The last in the series of Persian works dealing with the history of Firozshah is the *Sirat-i-firozshahi*, an extract of which with English translation was published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Letters Vol. VIII pp. 57-58 by Prof. N. B. Roy.

In the *History of Bengal* Vol. II an important aspect of the history of Bengal has escaped the notice of Prof N. B. Roy in connection with the rise of the Ilyas Shahi dynasty of Bengal which remained independent of the Delhi Sultanate from the begining to the end. Like Elliot and Dowson Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Prof. N. B. Roy entirely depended on the Persian sources in print or manuscript. A reference to Ilyas Shah and Feroz Shah was published in a paper in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XIX in 1927-28 in which Dr. Nobel the editor of the inscription dealt with the history of Ilyas Sah's relation with the Ganga king Bhanu Deva III (1353-1378 A. D.) of Orissa. This reference has escaped the notice of Dr. R. C. Mazumdar and Prof. N. B. Roy in their works. For this reason I like to discuss the authenticity of the story of Ilyas Shah's expedition to Jajnagar in 1351 A. D. and also of Firozshahi's expedition to Jajnagar in 1361 A. D.

After describing Ilyas Shah's successful expedition to Tirhat, Champaran, Nepal etc, Prof. N. B. Roy writes as follows :—

" The dazzling success emboldened Ilyas Shah to make another sectacular display of his arms. To the South-West of Bengal there extends along the sea board from the Subarnarekha to the Godavari, a long stretch of flat alluvial plain, with a hinterland of undulating tract. This country had grown into a highly prosperous kingdom during the 13th and 14th Centuries. Its wealth and myriads of the temple ×× ×× ×× had long excited the cupidity of the Muslim

Sultans of Bengal. But the arms of its rulers ×× ×× ×× gave it security against the invasion for a century and quarter.

"About the middle of the 14th century however, the gate way into this kingdom of fabled prosperity which had not been previously pierced by the Turikish war-lord of Bengal was burst open by Ilyas Shah. He swept away all opposition, marched accross the country to Lake Chilka, where terror of his arms had driven the aristocracy of Orissa and came back with immense booty including 44 elephants." 2

Elsewhere Prof Roy has written as follows :—" The Sultan next turned his attention to Orissa. The Ganga kings had invaded Bengal during the preceeding century and were still in possession of a part of Western Bengal But the ruling king of Orissa Bhanudeva III 3 was weak as Ilyas advanced through Jajpur and Katak 4 as far as the Chilka lake. He dispoiled the temples of Orissa and returned with a rich booty including 44 elephants. Finally he ed campaign against Eastern Bengal. He defeated Ikhtiyar-uddin Gazishah, the ruler of Sunargaon aud annexed his dominions in 753 A. D. (1352 53 A. D)."

Let us examine the source of facts of Prof. N. B. Roy which led him to the conclusion quoted above. Sirat-i-Firoz Sahi of a unknown author translated into English by Prof Roy in 1942, is the only Persian history which mentions Ilyas Saha's invasion of Orissa in a passing reference. But there is no reference to it in any other work of the contemporary Muslim Historians. Zia ddin Barani is the earliest author to montion Firozsh's invasion of Lakhnauti in 1354 A. D. against Ilyas Shah and he has not written anything about Ilyas Shah's

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1. The kingdom of Orissa in the 14th Century A. D. extended from the Ganges to the Godavari. It is not understood how Prof. N. B. Roy has shifted the boundary line from the Ganges to the Subarnarekha which was the boundary of Orissa in the 18th century A. D. under the Maratha and the early British rule.
2. History of Bengal Vol. II. pp. 104-5
3. In 1351 the ruler of Orissa was Narasinha Deva III.
4. In no account the mention of Jajpur or Kakat is made.
5. In no account destruction of temple by him is recorded.

expedition to Jajnagar in his *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi.* So also Mahru in his letters and Sham-i-Siraj Afif in his *Tarikh-i-Ferozshahi* are silent about Ilyas Shah's expedition to Jajnagar in 1351 A. D. But the unknown author of *Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi* who is supposed to be Firoz Shah himself by some scholars has written the following in connection of Feroz Shah's expedition to Jajnagar in course of a reference.

"Some of the commanders of the army who had been deputed for pillage and plunder sent news that there was an island near the sea coast having a broad and long pool of water in which nearly one hundred thousand men of Jajnagar had taken refuse with their women, children. kinsmen and relatives. Each figure was (radiant) like the moon and sun, but notwithstanding this appearance, they were crouching in water like the fish It was stated that Shamsuddin the ruler of Laknauti had besieged them on this sea coast but with all his forces, he could not gain the upper hand over them and had returned empty handed. On receipt of this news the auspicious stirups were turned in that directions [6] etc."

In the foot note referring to the pool of water Prof. N. B. Roy writes. "This is undoubtedly the Chilka Lake where the aristocracy of Orissa is said to have often sought refuge during the time of Muslim invasion". [7] Thus Sirat-i-Firoz-Sahi ascribes a miraculous invasion of Orissa to Ilyas Saha when the fact is considered with absence of reference to Ilyas Shah's invasion of Orissa in history of the other Muslim Historians noted above, we can hardly believe that Ilyas Shah's ever invaded Orissa, Besides, in other Muslim histories written subsequent to the rule of Firoz Shah, like Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, Muntakabhut Tawarikh, Feristah, there is no mention of Ilyas Shah's invasion of Orissa. But Nizamuddin in his *Tarikh-i-Akbari* mentions invasion of Orissa by Ilyah Shah who obtained many large elephants. [8] There is also similar reference to Ilyas Shah's invasion of Orissa in *Riazus Salatin,* a very late work. It is stated there that Ilyas Shah obtained many valuables and elephants from Orissa.

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6. J. R. A. S. B. Letters, Vol. VIII, 1942, pp. 75-76.
7. *Ibid*, p. 75. There is no such island in the Chilka lake which could accommodate hundred thousand people.
8 Nizamuddin-Tarikh-i-Akbari. English translation. Evidently it is imaginary indeed.

In consideration of the facts discussed above Ilyas Shah's invasion of Orissa appears very doubtful. Facts contained in the Dharmalingesvara temple inscription edited by Dr. J. Nobel (E. I. Vol XIX) discussed herein after not only disproves the fact of any invasion of Orissa by Ilyas Shah but also throws a new light on the relation existing between Ilyas Shah and the Ganga contemporary Narasimha Deva III. It appears that this significant inscription has escaped the notice of the scholars who have dealt with invasion of Orissa by Ilyas Shah and Firoz Shah. Had they noticed it they would certainly taken a different view.

The text of the aforesaid inscription is as follows :—

"एकं चित्रमिदंतु पाण्डवसुरत्राणरवेसेना
परित्राणार्त्तं प्रतिगम्य बहु त्रिभवैर्विजित्य दिल्लीपतिं"
"द्वात्रिंशत्युरु दन्तिभिः सममद जैत्रेन्दिरमुक्त-
लक्ष्मोनिसायस भूपति सुरवरस्तिभ्यस्तुरुस्कनापि"

Dr, J, Nobel's translation of the above is given below :—

"But this was an inique (and) wonderful (deed) having set out to protect the harrassed army of the Sultan of Pandava and having by the stretch of (his) arm completely vanquished the ruler of Dilli, that king gave the goddess of victory together with twenty two great elephants to the king of Utkala and Turks to the excellent damasels of gods".

In view of the facts stated in this inscription it appears most likely that Ilyas Shah sought the help of the Ganga king of Orissa, Bhanudeva against the invasion of Bengal by Firoz Shah in 135-354 A. D. Firoz Shah's hasty return to Delhi after he gained decisive victory over Ilyas Shah (History of Bengal II) pp. 108-109 is rather mysterious. He did not press his victory to either dislodging Ilyas or destroying Ekdala.

The Muslim historians have tried to explain the situation by concocting stories, like Sultan being moved at the piteous cries of women. The real fact, it appears was the reinforcement received by Ilyas Shah from Orissa which helped to stem the tide and send the Emperor flying back to Delhi.

In the face of the fact stated in the inscription we can not conceive of an invasion of Orissa by Ilyas Shah in 1351 A. D. when he

received substantial help from the king of Orissa at a great risk incurring the wrath of the Sultan of Delhi and that not only saved Ilyas Shah from the great danger he was put in but enabled him to drive away the Emperor from the country. This attitude of the king of Orissa presupposes very cordial relations existing between Orissa and Bengal. Such cordial relation between them could not be possible if there was an invasion of Orissa in 1351 as alleged in the Sirat-i-Firoz Sahi.

The Hindu Muslim alliance and friendship between the Ganga king of Orissa and the Sultan of Lakhnauti of Bengal produced practically a peaceful co-existence in the Eastern India and Muslim officers were chosen to be appointed in the service under the Hindu king of Orissa. This fact has been recorded by the author of *Sirat-i-Feroz Shahi* in connection with Feroz Shah's expedition to Jaja-nagar in a twisted manner as follows :—

"While this elephant hunt was in progress Khan-i-Ayam, Khan-i-Mauzam Ahmad Khan who had been expelled from Bengal by Sultan Shamsuddin and had allied with the Rai of Jajnagar Alas ! what amount of atrocities must have been committed by him that these drove the believers (Muslims) to fly from him and seek refuge with the infidels.

"During his reign oppression was so violent that death came for succour and began annihiliation". 9

"This oppressed person left the infidels on the approach of the auspicious standards of the Muslim army and joined the world protecting court with his troops and followers".

The hatred and indignation of Firoz Saha as depicted by the author of *Sirat-i-Ferozsahi* towards Ilyas Shah are well established and support that Ilyas Shah made an alliance with the Rai of Orissa in order to make his position in Bengal safe and secure and Ilyas Shah's expedition to Jajnagar is therefore a myth and a fabrication of fact by the Muslim historians.

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9 J. R. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, Letters 1942, p. 74.

B. Feroz Shah's Second Fxpedition to Bengal and First Expedition to Jajnagar - Orissa.

Feroz Shah's hasty retreat from Bengal without any success has certainly made an impression in his mind which no court historian could give him relief by any explanation. Thus as a wise man he waited for an opportunity which he got after the death of Ilyas Shah's in 1357 A. D. Ilyas Shah was succeeded by Sikandar Shah who was as wise and clever as his father when Feroz Shah appeared for the second time in Bengal. He avoided pitched battle and confined himself in the front of Ekdala Failing to conquer by fight Feroz Shah adopted methods of negotiation and finally a treaty of friendship was ratified with an exchange of presents. After securing Sikandar Shah's support Feroz Shah returned towards Delhi in 1360 and passed the rainy season at Jaunpur. It is said by historians that while Feroz Shah was staying at Jaunpur he suddenly conceived the plan of making a raid upon Jajnagar. It is natural that after securing friendship with the Sultan of Bengal, Feroz Shah might have continued to stay in Bengal for the rainy season and then he could have proceeded towards Jajnagar on the coastal route from Bengal to Orissa Instead of doing so he proceeded back to Jaunpur for passing the rainy season there. We can not presume that the Sultan bore no grudge against the Rai of Orissa after his discomfiture in the encounter with the Orissa force as recorded in the inscription discussed above. So his return to Jaunpur was a deliberate move to mislead the Orissan King to be off his guard. The move achieved its end. The King of Orissa was quite taken by surprise when Feroz Shah suddenly appeared before the gates of fort of Sarangarh (modern Chaudwar) on the river Virupa. So Feroz Shah's return to Jaunpur was deliberate and was partly actuated by apprehension that Sikandar might take advantage of any fight between him and the king of Orissa.

The contemporary Muslim histories have given some hints about the reason of Feroz shahs' invasion of Orissa but thay do not appear to be real, Firoz Shah really wanted to take revenge on the King of Orissa for his defeat in the hands of his general Chode II. But the Muslim Historian could not state that since the very fact of his deceat had been suppressed. So that they gave out second reasons as real purpose of the invasion.

I *Ayunul Mulk Mahru* gives the intension saying that " To break the idols to shed the blood of the enemies of Islam and to hunt elephants." Against this statement Abdul Wali has come to a strange conclusion which is quoted below :

" Feroz Shah's main purpose of the Journey was elephant hunting though hedged round by other reasons by the writer of the account of history and by Ayunul Mulk Vini Vidi Vici (I came, I saw, I conquered) is what this good sport loving Emperor might have said on the result of his expeditions of Jajnagar. He broke no idol, pillaged no shrine. While he pursued the Rai, he turned back to hunt. He went to see the celebrated temple of Jagannath at Puri. What Afif says that he carried an idol named Jagannath, found at Rai's fort, is not borne out by Mahru. Perhaps he wanted it for his Museum. He went to Puri to view and admire the famous Jagannath."10

Abdul Wali did not see the text of *Sirati Feroz Shahi* otherwise after reading at the Chilka lake the masacare especially of the women and children, as described in it he would not have written as well of Feroz Shah's intension Abdul Wali has added the word Puri within brackets after Jagannath at P. 286 but Afif's idol of Jagannath at the fort of Rai refers to the temple of Jagannath at the Varanasi Kataka, the capital of Orissa and not Puri about which a discussion is made below. Afif's description is found to be true while others' views appear to be incorrect.

II. Shas-i-Siraj Afif wrote his account of *Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi* in 1388 A. D long after the actual incidence in 1361, after hearing from various persons including his father who accompanied the Sultan. He writes as follows regarding the intentions of Feroz Shah's expedition to Jajnagar.

"His intention had been friendly. He had received certain information that elephants were as numerous as sheep in the jungle round Rai's dwelling and he had proceeded thither for the purpose of hunting."11

He further writes after the hunt was ever the Sultan directed his attention to the Rai of Jajnagar and entering the place where he dwelt he fouud that inside the Rai's fort there was a stone idol which

10. J. P. A. S. B. Val. XIX 1923, p 285.
11. Sushil Gupta's Edition of Tarikh i-Feroz Sahi, p. 51.

the infidels called Jagannath, and to which they paid their devotions, Sultan Feroz in emulation of malused Subktigin having rooted up the idol, carried it away to Delhi, where he subsequently had it placed in ignominious position." 12

III. Sirati Feroz shahi does not give the name of its author nor the date when it was compiled. This book is a collection of different subjects. The object of Feroz Shah's expedition is given as follows :—

Our object in the chase of elephants, the demolition of idols and the extirpation of the Rai." 13

It has been discussed above that the account of Ilyas Shah's expeditions to Jajnagar up to the Chilka Lake is not historically true and the subsequent historian namely the author of Tabaquat-i-Akbari has not mentioned inhuman activities of the army of Feroz Shah in the locality of the Chilka lake So it seems that the atrocities described in *Sirati-Feroz Shahi* in the locality of the Chilka Lake was not accepted by the Muslim historians of the subsequent period.

Among the Sultans of Delhi Feroz Shah was the most enlightened and cultured ruler, but if the following description of ill treatment and massacre of women and children ascribed to him in the *Sirati-Feroz Shahi* can hardly be accepted as true,

This description of Feroz Shah's atrocities is given in the Sirat-i-Feroz Shahi in the following words.

" Captive women of all descriptions, young middle aged, and old, maidens and married women bearing only male children those bearing only female ones, women with a few and many children widows, bashful women, chaste ladies, women endowed with natural beauty were pressed, as slaves, slave maidens, maid-servants, female singers, nurses and midwives into service in the house of every soldier. The rest of their women were taken captive along with elephants ; women with babies and pregnant ladies were haltered manacled,

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12. *Ibid*. p. 51

13. J R. A S. B. letters, Vol VIII, p. 69.

fettered and enchained and no vestige of the infidels was left except this blood." 14

Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi is silent about demolition of Jagannath temple by Feroz Shah as described in the *Sirati Feroz Shahi*. *Madala Panji* or the Chronicle of the Jagannath temple, makes no mention of it. Afif ofcourse mentions stone idol of Jagannatha in the fort of the Rai of Jajnagar in Kataka. Afif evidently refers to the idol of Jagannath installed in Kataka which is mentioned in the Nagri Copper plate grants of Anangabhima III of the Saka year 1151-2 (E.I.XXVIII. pp. 535-58).

The idol of Purusottama installed at Veranashi Kataka is mentioned in the Nagari copper plate grant in the following verse.

" Tatha Abhinava Vāraṇāsyām bhagvatah Sri Purusottama devasya sannidhau. "

It purports to say that the grant was made before the image of Purusottama at Abhinava Varanasi Kataka or modern Cuttack.

Dr. D. C. Sircar who edited this copper plate, writes that " very interesting is the reference to the king making a grant while standing before the god Purusottama at Varanasi Kataka or modern Cuttack on the 5th January 1231 A. C. and to the installation of the said Purusottama apparently during the Saka year 1152 (1230-31 A.C) by king Annangabhima III." 15

Dr. Sircar further writes as follows :—

" An interesting reference to the God Jagannatha (i. e. Purusottama Jagannatha) worshippedb y the king of Jajnagar (i. e. the Imperial Ganga rulers of Orissa) in their fort at Banarasi (i. e. Varanasi Kataka or the present Cuttack) is found in the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*. by Shama-i-Siraj. According to this work Sultan Firoz Shah of Delhi had an expedition against the kingdom of Jajnagar about 1360 A. C. when it was under the rule of Ganga king Bhanu III since (1352-78 A. C.) The Sultan is said to have occupied Banarasi (Vanarasi Kataka) when the Ganga King fled from his city In connection with this expedition, the *Tarikh-i-Feroz shahi* says :—it was reported that in side the

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14. *Ibid*, p. 77.
15. E. I. Vol. XXVII p. 247

Rai's fort (i e. the Ganga King's fort at Banarasi or Varanasi-Kataka) there was a stone idol which the infidels called Jagannath and to which they paid devotion. Sultan Firoz in emulation of Mahamadi Subkhgin, having rooted up the idol, carried it away to Delhi, where he subsequently placed in an ignonimious position. From this account we come to know that the fate of the God Purusottama Jagannath installed by Anangabhima III at Cuttack and worshipped there for about 130 years from 1230 to 1360 A. C." 16

The subsequent Muslim historian of *Sirat-i - Feroz Shahi* confused this image of Jagannath at Cuttack with that of Puri but Afifs' account clearly proves that the Jagannath temple at Puri was not demolished at all nor the images of that temple were destroyed. Afif writes that the idol at Cuttack was built with stone whereas the idols at Puri are built with wood.

Some years ago a stone image of Nārāyaṇa with broken head belonging to the art of the 13th century A.D. was found from a tank in the heart of the Cuttack town. The image was subsequently removed to the Orissa Musuem. It seems that this stone image was of Purusoteam which was broken by Feroz Shah and its head was taken to Delhi,

The above goes to prove without doubt that Afif's account which is corroborated by epigraphical evidence is more trustworthy than those of Mahru's letter and the unknown author of *Sirat-i Feroz Shahi* in which there was subsequent interpolation.

Although Feroz Shah occedupia the capital of Jajnagar it is not known why he did not annex Orissa, a Hindu kingdom to his Sultanate. After the departure of Feroz Saha in 1361 A. D, the king Bhanudeva III ruled upto 1378 A. D. in Orissa as before like his forefathers. It seems that Feroz Shah's expedition to Jajnagar was only aimed at the collection of elephants which actually he got for his own satisfaction but the expedition did not leave a permanent mark in the mind of the people of Orissa.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 247-48.

APPENDIX - I

Identification of Padmatala, the centre of Feroz Shah's Kheda of Elephants,

Badoani's text of the place of *Kheda* of elephants by Feroz Shah was read and translated as *Padmavati* and *Padmatala*. In *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* the text was read *Padmavati* and *Barantalaoli* which according to Prof. N.B. Roy "by as light variation of diacrintical marks would become *Padmavati* and *Padmatala*". In *Sirat-i-Feroz Shahi* the place of kheda of elephant is *Padmavati* which was the haunt of wild elephants and skirting along the bank of the Mahanadi where elephants countless like stars prowled about". 2 This description localises the geographical position of both *Padmavati* and *Padmatala* very acurately. *Padmavati* lies in the old Khandapara State in modern Nayagarh Sub-division of the Puri District on the right bank of the river Mahanadi. This place according to the report of the *Orissa Feudatory States* Gazetter was used for elephant kheda for ages. Padmatala is situated on the eastern boundary of the old Baud State in the modern Baud Phulbani District. It is a hilly area situated in the right bank of the *Satkosia* (14 mile long) gorge of the Mahanadi river. At the top of the hill there is a big natural pool of water which is resorted by many wild animalse ven now-a-days. It was a famous place for elephant Kheda in bygone ages. It is situated at about 90 miles west of Cuttack. It seems that Feroz Shah went as far as *Padmavati* and *Padmatala* in search of elephants in their own environments where he captured good many elephants to his satisfaction.

APPENDIX - II

The route of Feroz Shah's return journey.

From *Sirat-i-Feroz Shahi* it is known that Feroz Shah went to *Padmatala* for the *Kheda* of elephants. Padmatala is situated about 90 miles west of Cuttack and it seems that Feroz Shah returned to Delhi from Padmatala after following the western pilgrim and trade route from Orissa to Madhyapradesh which was bifurcated in the hilly

1. I. R. A. S. B. Letters Vol. VIII' 1942, p. 77.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 77.

area of Orissa though the river valley of the Anga and the Mahanadi. It seems that Feroz Shah followed the route of the Mahanadi v'a Sambalpur, At Sambalpur there are a good many Muslim tombs and the local tradition refers to Kalapahar. But Kalapahar never went to Sambalpur area. It is fact that Hosnag Shah of Malwa came to Cuttack in 1421 A. D. after following this western pilgrim route to Orissa. There is no report that Hossing Shah's party suffered from difficulty on their way. At Sambalpur the tombs therefore should be allotted the army of Feroz Shah.

Afif's Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi states that "after Sultan had started on the return journey to Delhi, the guides lost their way and proceeded over mountains and plains and along the banks of a river like Jihim". 3 Had the Sultan returned from Cuttack in the Bihar route though which he came to Orissa no help of the guide would have been necessary. It seems that from Sambalpur Feroz Shah followed the hilly route via old Gangpur, Jashipur and Sirguja or Palameu and reached Mirzapur in U. P. or Shabhad in Bihar on which route he had to cross the hilly son river for Mizapore or Shahabad the Emperor had no difficulty to come to Delhi.

About the difficult nature of the route Elliot and Dowson have written as follows :—

"The author's father, who accompanied the march stated that the army ascended and descended mountain after mountain and passed through jungles and hills until they were quite in despair and utterly worn out with the fatigues of the arduous march. No read was to be found nor any grain, provisions became very scarce and army was reduced to the verge of destruction. For six months no news of the Sultan reached Delhi". The description is fully found to be true in the area of the upper Mahanadi valley and also in the Madhyapradesa. When Afif's father did not mention the names of places it seems that Musilm's were quite ignorant of the area in the Gondawana. After long marches when the army reached the Jamuna vaelly, they arrived at a safe place.

Afif describes as follows :—

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3. Tarikh-i- Feroz Shahi Sushil Gupta, p. 54.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

"The Sultan's army having at length travessed the mountains and jungles and having crossed the river, after enduring great privations and practicing many expedients came out into the open country. 5

About tho tombs at Sambalpur the Sambalpur Gazetteer mentions as follows :—

"The tombs of the Muhammedans who accompanied Kalapahar are pointed out at Sankerbandh, where his army encamped". 6

These tombs must be therefore attributed to the dead soldiers of the army that followed Feroz Shah in this return journey.

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5. *Ibid.*, P. 55.

6. Sambalpur District Gazetteer 1932, P. 25.

SECTION - G

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

55

ANCIENT COINS FROM MAYURBHANJ *

The first report on the Roman gold coins was written as follows by Mr. Beglar :—

"Some years ago a great find of gold coins containing, among others, several of the Roman emperors, Constantine, Gordian, etc., [1] in most beautiful preservation, was found near Bamanghati. Mrs. Hayes, the Deputy Commissioner's wife at Singbhum, possesses several very fine ones indeed, made into a bracelet, but in such manner as to leave the coins absolutely uninjured. I tried in vain to procure some, but failed, except the choice ones (choice as to excellence of preservation) picked out and secured by the Deputy Commissioner; the rest got dispersed, and it is now hopeless to try and find out where they are, if they indeed exist at all and have not been melted. The finding of these coins at Bamanghati shows that it lay on some great line of road from the seaport Tamluk to the interior, for it is more probable that they came in *via* Tamluk than overland from the Roman empire." [2]

As we are not in a position to examine these coins now, we must feel particularly indebted to Mr. Beglar for his interesting note, quoted above, about these Roman coins.

It is quite possible that subsequent to the above discovery of Roman coins, other coin hoards may have been discovered in

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* *Reprinted from the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India,* Vol. II, 10 12-1940.

1. Bamanghati is a Sub-division in Mayurbhanj. In the old maps of the Survey of India, Bamanghati finds a mention; it is seen to be very near modern Rairangapura, which is the sub-divisional headquarters.

2. Cunningham, *Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1874–75 and 1875-76, Vol. XIII, pp. 72–73.

Mayurbhanj State, but we have no records about them To one such hoard undoubtedly belong the genuine copper coins of the Kushāna emperors in the Baripada treasury; I have, however, failed to get any clue to its time and place of discovery.

Since the establishment of the Archaeological Department in the Mayurbhanj State, hoards of old coins have been discovered and reported with a pleasing frequency, thanks to the policy of awarding rewards to the discoveres. In 1923 a hoard of copper Kushāna coins of Kaniska and Huviska and the so-called Purī-Kushāna coins was found out at Bhanjakia, not far from Khiching, and its report was published by Rai Bahadur R. Chanda [3] Some of these coins have been distributed to almost all the important museums in India and to the British Museum, and Allan's latest book on the coins of India contains a reference to them. Since 1924, Kushāna and so called Purī-Kushāna coins have been found at various places in Mayurbhanj and the important hoards are mentioned below. During the excavation of Viratgarh at Khiching a few Kushāna coins and a large number of Purī-Kushāna coins were found. Among the Purī-Kushāna coins there were many twin coins which, when broken, would turn into two single coins. Such double coins have not been found in the hoards of Ganjam, Puri, Balasore, Mayurbhanj. Singhbhum and Manbhum, which have been all referred to in the article on the so-called Purī-Kushāna coins by Dr. S. K. Bose [4] In this article, Dr. Bose has, however, not referred to the hoard found at Barabhum in Manbhum, [5] and to an earlier hoard described by Mr. Beglar as follows :— "It is said that a large quantity of coins were found buried at its foot some years ago, when a European official from Ganjam dug it up—some of gold and silver, but many of copper. I could get none of the gold and silver coins, but I got a few copper ones much defaced. They were evidently Indo-Scythian, and thus confirm the great antiquity of the place, and incidentally prove the great influence of the Indo-Scythians in India when even their copper currency is found so remote from their capital". [6]

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3 *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1924-25, p. 38.

4 *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, pp. 727-730.

5. *Bangiya Sahitya Parishat Patrika*, Vol. XVIII. 1328 (1921), pp. 25-30.

6. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, Vol. XIII, p. 116.

In May, 1939, 105 Purī-Kushāna coins were found in a brass pot at Nuagaon 3 miles west of Josipur and nearly 3 miles east of Bhanjakia in Mayurbhanj. In this connection I may mention here that I have collected a few copper Kushāna and Puri-Kushāna coins from the Keonjhar State, which were found at Sitabinjhi where there are ruins as well as a rock painting with a fragmentary inscription belonging to 4th or 5th century A. D., and which has been read as *Śri Diśa Bhanja* by Pandit B Misra. (*Modern Review*, 1938, pp 301-5)

The hoard of Khiching coins can be classified as full, half and quarter coins Among the coins of Bhanjakia, Khiching and Nuagaon hoards of Mayurbhanj State, many coins possess frills of the molten metal from the edges of the mould, and there are a few coins in pair which are indicative of non-circulation of the coins ; it may be therefore conjectured that there was a mint at Khiching Dr S. K. Bose also expected a mint somewhere in the neighbourhood of Manbhum and wrote as follows :— " With the exception of six coins the rest are not well trimmed and invariably show protruding edges. What was long ago suspected by Walsh seems now to be confirmed. The regions from which my coins come (which, incidentally, I might say is not very far from the provenance of Mr. Walsh's coins) most likely was a mint area where the coins were actually manufactured." 7 The late Mr. R. D. Benerjee in his *History of Orissa*, pp. 108-119, has dealt witht he Kushāna and so called Puri-Kushāna coins and has written as follows—

" The occurrence of this type of the coinage from Singhbhum to Ganjam very probably indicates influences of the Kushānas. We know that Magadha was included in the empire of the great Kushānas and, therefore, it could not be unscientific to assume that the so-called Mughal invasion 8 of Orissa was really the conquest of the country by the Kushāna foreigners " 9 No gold coins of the Kushāna kings have been found anywhere in Orissa, but such coins are known from Chota

7. *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, p. 730.

8. [Mr. Banerji is here referring to Mughal invasion of Orissa which, according to the Mādalā Panji, is said to have taken place before the Saka year 396.— EDITOR, A. S. A]

9. *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p 113.

Nagpur and Bengal, 11 and from this it is expected that Kushāna gold coins were circulating as currency in Orissa also.

The most important find of coins in the Mayurbhanj State is undoubtedly that of 3 gold coins (archer type) of Chandra Gupta II, which were discovered in August 1939 at a village called Bhanupur on the left bank of the Son river in Mayurbhanj. This discovery could not have come to our knowledge, if there had been no altercation among the villagers leading to the intervention of the State Police. The Police could however recover only three gold coins. The discovery of gold Gupta coins is unknown in Orissa, and this is the first report of its kind. There is no report on the discovery of Gupta coins from Chota-Nagpur. Only one Gupta coin was found at Tamluk. It may be that all these Gupta coins were brought by the merchants.

All authorities agree that the copper coins of the so-called Puri-Kushāna type are, like the Gupta coins, copied from the Kushāna coins. The inscribed *Tanka* coins are no doubt of later date, probably of the 7th century A. D but the un-inscribed Purī-Kushāna coins should be much earlier, as early as the 3rd or 4th century A D. Gupta Kings are not known to have conquered or annexed Orissa to their empire, 12 and so it may be inferred that the kings of Orissa during the Gupta period of the Indian History had their own coins and were quite independent of the Gupta emperors Their coinage is represented by the so-called Puri-Kushāna coins. Professor A. S Altekar also seems to accept this view, for he says :— "If the Kushāna coins were introduced in Orissa by pilgrims and merchants, it is clear that they soon became as a model for their coinage which was continued up to the 7th century A. D." 13 Dr. S.K. Bose writes on this subject that "these so-called Puri-Kushāna coins, appear to possess purely a local and dynastic value." 14

Rai Bahadur R. Chanda suggested in his Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for 1924-25 that the designation of the

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10. *J. B & O R. S.*, Vol. I. pp. 231-32.
11. *J & P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 128 ff.
12. *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 117.
13. *Numismatic Supplement* No. XLVII, 1937, p. 106.
14. *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, p. 730.

" Puri-Kushāna " coins should be changed to " Oriya Kushan " coins but Dr. S. K. Bose did not prefer " any suggestion of attributing a geographical name of the coins." 15 When he is of opinion that these coins only " possess purely a local and dynastic value " in Orissa, it is not clear why he demurs to the suggestion. I am suggesting that we are now in a position to designate these so-called Puri-Kushāna coins as " early Orissan Coins " which are practically found in Orissa, including States of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar and in the districts of Singhbhum and Manbhum, which are contiguous to Mayurbhañj and contain enough relics of the Orissan Culture.

56

NOTE ON THE DHARUAS OR THE GONDS OF MAYURBHANJ STATE *

Messrs Russell and Hiralal in their *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces,* have given an account of the Gonds. In the following note I propose to deal with a few points in which my account will differ a little from that account.

The Gonds or Dharuās of Mayurbhañj are distributed in the Mayurbhañj State as follows, according to the Census of 1931 :—

Sadar Sub Division		—	306
Kaptipada	,,	—	188
Bāmanghati	,,	—	2,458
Panchpir	,,	—	10,854

From the above it will be seen that the sub-division of Pañchpir contains the largest number, According to tradition, the Bāmanghāṭi subdivision was the home of the Gonds, from where they migrated to other places when the Zamindar of Bāmanghāṭi was deposed in 1835 by the then Mahārājā Jadunath Bhañjā of Mayurbhañj. The history of the Zamindar family narrates that their ancestor came to Mayurbhañj

15, *Ibid.*

* *Reprinted from Man in India, Vol XVIII, 1938, Nos. 2 & 3.*

from Garh Mandala in the Central Provinces, and his family was known as the Dharma Zamindar of Bāmanghāṭi.

The significance of the Oṛiya term Dharuā can be understood from the following quotation from the *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, Vol. III :—

1. " The ordinary Gonds in most Districts form one endogamous group, and are known as the Dhur or ' dust ' Gonds, that is, the common people." (P. 63)

2. "The Dharwe or Naik Gonds of Chanda were formerly employed as soldiers, and hence obtained the name of Naik or leader." (P. 64)

3. "Here certain large septs, especially the Mika and Dhurwa, are divided into a number of sub-septs within each of which marriage is prohibited." (P. 67)

4. "The meaning of the important sept names Marābi, Dhurwa and Nika has not been ascertained and the members of the sept do not know it." (P. 67)

It is not known whether the Dharuās of Mayurbhañj were so called from those three significances of the term or any of them, namely, (i) the ordinary Gond, (ii) Military service and (iii) Sept name.

The Gonds are found in Oṛissā in the States of Keoñjhar, Bonai, Bāmṛā and Gāngpur. In Bonai "the two leading members of this tribe, called respectively *Daṇḍapāṭa* and *Mahāpātra* held fiefs on terms of military service under the chief. (*Orissa Feudatory States Gazetteer*, p. 145). [1] So it is possible that the name Dharuā is due to the military service which they accepted under the rulers of Mayurbhañj and Banai.

The Gonds of Mayarbhañj are divided into 1. Soma (the moon), 2. Surya (the sun), 3. Jadu, 4. Kadamba, 5. Gangā and 6. Garga *vaṁśas* which are well known Kshatriya stocks of India and it seems that this classification of the tribe has been based on the tradition of the Hindu Purāṇas. Messrs Russel and Hiralal are silent on this point.

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1. In Keonjhar the Gond is an immigrant from the Central Provinces wearing Brahmanical thread but is considered a low caste; his touch defiles. A Gond caste-chief is called Mahapatra and bears the surname of Singh. (*Orissa Feudatory States Gazetteer*, p. 224).

In the Pāñchpiṛ sub-division of Mayurbhañj, all these six stocks are found as noted below :—

1. The Mahāpātra family of Sunamuhin, who trace descent from the Zamindar family of Bāmanghāṭi claim to belong to the *Soma* stock *(vaṁśa)*.

2. The Gonds of village Jamuṭi belong to the *Surya* stock *(vaṁśa)*.

3. The family of Rama Naik of Sunamuhin belongs to *Jadu* stock *(vaṁśa)*.

4 The family of Tulsi Naik of Sunamuhin belongs to the *Kadamba* stock *(vaṁśa)*

5 The Mundhani family of Khuñṭapara belongs to the Ganga stock *(vaṁśa)*

6. The family of Sadhu Naik of Pārbatīpur belongs to the Garga stock *(vaṁśa)*.

There is a head of each of these six families who is known as *Mundhani*.

Each of these six families is said to have a Rishi or priest representing the *Gotra* (clan) name of the family and again each priest is represented with a popular animal which is the object of veneration of the family.

All these six families are also classified according to the number of *deos* or gods also, and this *deo* classification is due to the number of sons born to each of the seven sons of Paramesvara at the time of creation One who had only one son is the progenitor of Eka-deo (one-god) family which has been extinct from the world. Similarly others who had two, three, four, five, six and seven sons were known respectively as *Dua-Deo* (two-god), *Tiri-Deo* (three-god), *Chari-Deo* (four-god), *Pañcha-Deo* (five-god) *Chha-Deo* (six-god), and *Sata-Deo* (seven-god) families.

Name of family	*Names of Deos*	*Names of Rishi or priest*	*Name of animals, the objects of worship.*
1. Ganga	Dui-Deo	Makara	Crocodile
2. Surya	Tiri-Deo	Vaśiṣṭha	Lion
3. Kadamba	Chāri-Deo	Subesa	Falcon

4. Jadu	Pañcha-Deo	Kasyapa	Tortoise
5. Garga	Chh-Deo	Gārga	Elephant
6. Soma	Sāta-Deo	Nāgasa	Cobra

According to Messrs. Russell and Hiralal "in Chanda a classification according to the number of gods worshipped is found. There are four main groups worshipping seven, six, five and four gods respectively * * * Formerly there were three-two and one-god worshippers, but in each of these classes it is said that there were only one or two septs, and they found that they were much inconvenienced by the paucity of their numbers, perhaps for purposes of communal worship and feasting, and hence they got themselves enrolled in the larger groups. In reality it would appear that the classification according to the number of gods worshipped is being forgotten, and the three lowest grsops have disappeared. This conjecture is borne out by the fact that in Chhindwārā and other localities only two large classes remain who worship six and seven gods respectively and inter-marry with each other, the union of a man with a woman worshipping the same number of gods as himself being prohibited. Here, again, the small septs included in the groups appear to serve no purpose for regulating marriages. In Mandlā the division according to number of gods worshipped existsd as in Chāndā; but many Gonds have forgotten all particulars as to the gods and say only that those septs which worship the same number of gods are *bhāiband* or related to each other, and therefore cannot inter marry. In Betul the division by number of gods appears to be wholly in abeyance." (*Tribes and Castes of C. P.*, Vol III, pp. 66-67.) Thus it appears that the Gonds of Mayurbhañj are more orthodox than their brethren in the Central Provincea which was their original home.

57

THE PURANAS-AN EGG-BORN TRIBE OF ORISSA.

The Puranas are a semi-Hinduised tribe of Orissa who are mostly found in the district of Mayurbhanj and its neighbouring areas. In manners and customs they represent the Bhuinyas of north Orissa

and Singbhum district of Bihar. In the 1931 Census of Ex-Mayurbhanj State Puranas (both Bhanj and Tamadia) were recorded in the report 1

As regards the origin of the tribe Dullari it is recorded as follows in his *Ethnology of Bengal.*

" There is a tradition that the Kharias with another tribe called Purans were the aborigins of Mohurbhanj, one of the Katak Tributary Mahalas. They aver that they and the family of the chief (Bhanj), were all produced from a pea-fowl's egg, the Bhanj from the yolk, the Purans from the white, the Kharias from the shell."[2]

I had the occasion to work with the Puranas of Mayurbhanj in 1927 when I collected good many information of which some relevent facts are noted below. My informat was one Jatia Naik of the village Kaduani, Pirkohi, Pargana Baghra.

" The semen of Bhagaban was discharged and it took the form of an egg of a pea-hen, but it was not really a pea hen's egg. He ordered it to be kept by Vasistha Rshi, After a while from the yolk the Bhanj from the white the Purans, from the membraneous coating called 'Jala' the Jara Savara whose descendants are known now a days as the Daitapatis at Puri and from the cell the Brahmin Khadias whose descendants put the *Neta* (the silken fabric) on the top of the Jagannath, came out. "

Jatia Naik further told me as follows :—

" The ancestors of the Puranas of Mayurbhanj came from Ayodhya with the Raja and resided at Adipur a village on the left bank of the Vaitarani river in Mayurbhanj. They begged a kingdom from the Goddess Kinchakeswari who being very pleased advised them to carve out a kingdom by dint of conquest. Then the Raja sought her help and she sent her two sons Pandia and Chandia and also 'Viravādya' (military band) the sound of which would weaken the strength of the Zamindars. They eventually conquered the twenty-two Zamindars. The Raja had no royal umbrella till then He only held a branch of the Sal tree as such which he posted near Kaliaghai in Midnapore as the boundary pillar. They excavated the big tank at Amerda and then

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1. Census of Mayurbhanj State 1931, Vol. I , pp. 162-163.
2. Ethnology of Bengal by Dalton, P. 160, fr.

they established themselves at Adipur garh as the capital and then on being informed that a bird called Samala (Hawll) was defeated by a Baja (Ortane) they shifted there and called it Bajasamal garh at Baripada.

Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy has recorded the following tradition in his work *Kharia* which he collected from one Gatiya Nayak of village Kadapani in the Sadar subdivision of Mayurbhanj.

"The semen of Bhagwan (God) fell on earth and it took the form of a pea-fowl's egg By Bhagwan's command the egg was taken care of by the ancient Hindu Rishi (holy sage) Vasistha. In due time the ancestor of the Bhanja kings issued from the yolk, the ancestor of the Puran tribe from its white, the ancestor of the Jara Savara from the *jal* or membraneous coating of the egg, and from the shell sprang the ancestor of the Brahmana Kharias. The present descendants of Jara Savara are the Brahmana Kahrias, whose descendants have the privilege of placing the silken cloth or net over the sacred car (Ratha) of Jagannatha at the Ratha-Yatra festival at the capital of Mayurbhanj; and so too are the 'Daita' or 'Daita-patis' of Puri who take a principal part in the Ratha Yatra festival there".

From this traditional accounts it appears that the Purans were in the military services of the Bhanja Rajas of Mayurbhanj who used to regard the Purans as their elder brother. It is simply impossible now to find out the real significance of this tradition but it shows this much 'that this semi Hindueised tribe of Mayurbhanj had some military activity in bye-gone ages.

I collected the following information from Jatia Naik about their social conditions, The Purans are divided into thirteen sections with district surnames namely: 1. Bhanja, 2. Sia, 3. Dhala, 4. Deu, 5. Raja, 6. Dhira, 7. Thayala, 8. Tunga, 9. Patavandha, 10. Bhoi, 11. Tipiria, 12. Dhungia, and 13. Bahupuja. The Gotras of each of these families are given below :—

Sur-name	*Name of Gotra*	*Animal or plant*
1. Bhanja	Mayura	A bird, peacok.
2. Sia	Sala	The Sala, fish.
3. Dhala		
4. Thayala		
5. Dhungia		
6. Bhoi		
7. Patabandha		

Sur name		Name of Gotra	Animal or plant
8.	Tipiria	Kerketa	A kind of bird.
9.	Dhira	Sunakavati	-do-
10.	Deo	Naga	Snake.
11.	Raja	Sara	A kind of bird.
12.	Tunga	Sara	A dish.
13.	Bahupuja	not found	———

These Gotras or septs indicate that the Purans are of totemic origin. This totemic influence is found among the Brahmins of Orissa the families of Bharadwaja gotra do not kill the bird called 'Bhada-bhadalia pakshi'. The families of Parasara gotra do not kill the pigeon bird and in the like manner.

The Purana tribe is mainly divided into two divisions. Namely 1. Bhanja Puranas and Tamodia Puranas. The Bhanja Puranas are held superior in rank to the Tomadia Puranas and inter marriage is not allowed. Among the Tamodia Puranas there are 11 sections without Bhanja and Deo ones.

Among the Puranas the common title is Nayaka, but Bhanja, Tunga, Tipiria, Dhira, Patavandha and Bahupuja sections use the title of their surname as the title for distinction.

The social organisation of the Puranas consistis of Pancha Nayakas of five office bearers namely :

1. Babu
2. Desapadhan
3. Mahanayaka
4. Panipatara
5 Dungua.

The Babu is the only one family and it is the head of all the tribe. The Desapadhana, Mahanayaka, Panipatar and Dangua are alloted to separate areas. The function of the Desapadhana is to supervise the good and bad deeds of the tribe and he inflicts due punishment to those who act contrary to the usual customs. The functions of the Mahanayak are quite similar to those of the Desapadhana. The function of the Panipatar is quite religious and it is he who takes meal at the outset in any expiatory ceremony. The function of the Dhungia is to prepare every thing for cooking in all ceremonial feasts.

As regards the origin of the Tamadia Purans, Jatia Naik told me the following story :—

"When the Purana soldiers went out to conquer the 22 Zamindars they were engaged for 12 long years and thus they were absent from their home. At the time of their return after conquest of countries to Adipur, the Raja entertained them sumptuously and then disbanded all. On being informed this the Rani requested the Raja to bring back the soldiers to Adipur. On their return the Rani spoke to them from behind the curtain and requested them to take a vow not to drive their wives who might have begotten children by adulterous intercourses during the absence of their husbands. They took the vow and came back to the Raja and urged to take an oath not to resume the property of those who would die without issue and the Raja promised to observe the vow." It is a fact that the property of an issue-less Purana was to be given to another Purana or to the Babu according to this vow by the rulers of Mayurbhanj.

After this when the Purana soldiers returned to their homes they found many such natural chidren. Some of them did no violent action according to their oath, but a few were very disgusted and left their home and went to the Tamad country. They kept women of the tribes such as Kamar, Bhumij etc. The sons of these unions were known later on as Tamadia Puranas.

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ANTIQUITY OF ORISSA'S HANDLOOM

The antiquity of Orissa's hand-loom is as old as the necessity of clothing for covering the body felt by men with the sense of growth of the civilisation. The cotton textile discovered at Mohenjodaro in Pre-historic period well establishes the antiquity of hand-loom in India, and although we have no such conclusive evidence in Orissa, it can be said that in that remote period the people of Kalinga who were a civilised nation had the knowledge of hand-loom with which they produced their garments made of fibres prepared from cocoon, cotton and hair. The discovery of spinning wheel with

which people used to prepare yarns for weaving clothes is equally important for the use of hand-loom. So hand-loom is always associated with spinning wheel and their introduction in Orissa goes back to a very remote period about which there is no record.

In the 2nd and 1st centuries B. C. we have got a large number of sculptures carved in the caves of Khandagiri and Udayagiri near Bhubaneswar. In these caves we find various kinds of clothing and garments in the bodies of the sculptures. These were no doubt copied by the sculptors from the actual use by men in those days. All these garments were certainly hand-spun and hand-woven. After a lapse of about 1000 years from the time of king Kharavela, the builder of the caves of Khandagiri and Udayagiri, we got a large number of temples at Bhubaneswar and other parts of Orissa. The dates of these temples can be assigned to the 8th to 13th centuries A. D. and the sculptures of these temples give us sufficient data about the condition of garments in those days.

The garments of Pārvatī, one of the niche images of the Lingaraja temple (C. 1050 A D.) are very minutely carved on stone by the sculptors. The *Sari* of Parvati seems to be a printed cloth for which Orissa was very famous. The clothing of the image of Vishnu preserved in the Orissa State Museum is another instance of fine embroidery in Orissa in the 13th century if not earlier.

The cotton textiles of Orissa in the 17th century were so well reputed that the European traders were attracted very much for their export from Orissa to Europe. The Portuguese had first opened their factory at Pipli on the Subarnarekha before 1633 A. D. when the English merchants of the East India Company came to Cuttack from Masulipatam as they could not get sufficient quantity of cloth there. They landed at Harishpore garh and by the river and land routes arrived at Cuttack on the 1st. of May, the May-day 1 of 1633. They were kindly treated by the then Moghal-Governor who permitted them to trade in Orissa and soon after they started factories at Hariharpur (modern Jagatsingpur in Cuttack) and at Balasore.

In "*The Diaries of Streynsham Master 1675-1680*" Vol. II the following account is recorded in connection with the activities of the English Company at Balasore.

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1. The early Annals of the English in Bengal, Vol I. p. 6.

At a consultation on the 14th December, 1676, it is recorded that "whereas there is great quantities of Callicoes in the towne, especially of Sonnoes, which has been offered to the Councell, they considering the Honourable Companies orders that it is limited to 10000 pieces of that sort of goods for this yeares investment etc" 2

This gives an idea about the quantity of Calico cloths that were exported from Balasore port in the second half of the 17th century A. D.

Again at the consultation held on the 16th December, 1676 when Streynsham Master, Walter Clavell, John Marshall and Edmond Bugden were present, Clavell drew up "two papers, one on account and relation of the trade and affairs of Hugly, the other an account of the commerce of Ballasore, they were both read and delivered to Mr. Masters". 3 The account of Trade at Ballasore is printed at pages 84-87.

Clavell writes as follows on the advantageous position of Balasore where the English and the Danes established their factories in 1633.

"Because the Cloth of Harrapore 4 (Hariharapur), where our first Factory was settled was without much difficulty to be brought hither by land, and the River where our vessells usually had laine at. being stop't up, it was noe easy matter to bring the Cloth by Sea, nor soe safe to have vessells ride before that place as here in the roade of Ballasore, And the Raja of Tillbichrumbung 5 his countrey lyeing neare the place where the greatest quantity of Tester (tassar) or herba is procurable, a Settlement was thought the more Convenient, because Ginghams, Herba Taffatyes, Herba Lungees (lunggi, loin-cloth) and other sorts of Herba goods might be made neare and brought hither,

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2. *The Diaries of Streynsham Master*, Vol. II, p. 71.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
4. Bruton writes in 1633 that "this town Hariharrapore is very full of people x x, there are many merchants in it and great plenty of things, here is also cloth of all sorts, great store, for their do belong to this town at least three thousand weavers that are house-keepers besides all other that do work being bound or hired". (E. A, E. B. page 15.)
5. Raja Trivikram Bhanj of Mayurbhanj who ruled from 1660-1688;

and noe where so good Herba goods procurable. The waters of Casharry [6] giving the most lasting dye to them, and within two dayes journey of this place." (p. 84-85)

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"Could the difficulty of putting off our Europe Commodityes be once removed, and the feare of the want of a Phyrmaund (farman), it were much for the Companyes advantage to send servants to Mucktapore, [7] Harrapore, [8] and Mohumpore [9] to provide with ready money the goods that come from those places, and to Danton [10] or Jellasore, [11] (? for) Oremara [12] and Cashary goods." (p. 86)

From the above account it is clear that in the 17th century A.D the English East India Company used to export various kinds of cloth from Balasore port after collecting those from different manufacturing centres in Orissa.

An agreement was made between the Agent and Councell for affairs of the Hon'ble English East India Company and the said Companies Merchants Chimchamsaw [13] and Chinttamundsaw [14] at Balasore on the 3rd September 1674 for supply of goods in 1679. In the list the following items of cloth find mention : vide pp. 217-18.

"10000 pcs. Sannoes whited & Cured, 30 coveds long, 2 coveds broad·

"Suro Sannoes,	Head No. A at 74 1/16	
	Belly No. B at 69 1/16	— Rs. per Corge.
	Foot* No. C at 64 1/16	
"Herapore Sannoes,	Head No. A at 67½	
	Belly No B at 62½	— Rs. per Corge.
	Foot No. C at 37½	

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6. Kashadi in Midnapore.
7. Not identified.
8. Same as four.
9 Not identified.
10. Dantan in Midnapore.
11. Jaleswar.
12. Olmara-formerly in Mayurbhanj and now in Balasore,
13. Khem Chand Sahu.
14. Chintamani Sahu.

Mohunpore Sannoes, Head No. A at 59 9/32
Belly No. B at 54 9/32—Rs. per Corge.
Foot No. C at 49 9/32

10000 pcs. Ginghams, Coloured, 20 coveds long & 2 coveds broad
HeadNo. A at 56
Belly No. B at 51½—Rs. per Corge.
Foot No. C at 45

10000 pcs. Nillaes, 20 coveds long & 2 coveds broad
Fine Head No. A at 80
Belly No. B at 75—Rs. per Corge.

Ordinary Head No, A at 70
Belly No. B at 64—Rs. per Corge.
Foot No. C. at 57¼

" The prizes of the same sorts of goods sent home upon the Eagle and Johanna anno 1676 are as follows :—

Suro sannoes, Head No. A at 90
Belly No. B at 87—Rs, per Corge.
Foot No, C at 80

Serapore Sannoes, Head No. A at 82
Belly No. B at 79—Rs. per Corge
Foot No. C at 76

Mohunpore Sannoes, Head No. A at 72
Belly No. B at 68—Rs per Corge.
Foot No. C at 65

Ginghams, Coloured, Head No. A at 63
Belly No. B at 58—Rs, per Corge
Foot No. C at 54

Nillaes, Fine, Head No. A at 95—Rs. per Corge.
Belly No. B at 90

Ordinary, Head No. A at 80
Belly No, B at 75—Rs. per Corge
Foot No. C at 70

Thus we see that the hand-loom products of Orissa in the 17th century were highly appreciated in foreign countries like England and other countries of Europe.

T. Motte while he was proceeding to Sambalpore in 1766 wrote daily diary and on the 3rd May 1766 he entered Baruan Pergana He has written the following about the weavers of Baruan.

" The country between the Gaintee and this river (Brahmani) is by much the finest part of Orissa. It is inhabited by a great number of weavers, who weave muslins in pieces chiefly for turban."

From the above it is known that even muslins were manufactured in Orissa in the 18th century A. D.

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SHORT SKETCH OF LIFE AND WORKS OF MANOMOHAN CHAKRAVARTI *

Manomohan Chakravarti will be ever remembered in Orissa as the first scientific historian, the first historical geographer and the first author of history of the Sanskrit and Oriya literature He made special study of history, geography and literature from epigraphical sources for 25 years of his life from 1891 to 1917 during which period authentic materials relating to these subjects were collected by him and by other scholars too.

Among the early historians of the British period Andrew Stirling's name tops the list for his first endeavour in placing together the chronological history of Orissa from the traditional Mādalāpānji or the chronicle of the Jagannath temple at Puri and the Persian and Maratha records found in the Collectorate Record Room at Cuttack since the conquest of Orissa by the British in 1803 up to 1820. It is not known exactly when the present text of Mādalāpānji was compiled, but in the Gaṅgavaṃśānu-

* Reprinted from the Orissa Historical Research Journal, Vol. VI, parts I & II.

charitam; a Sanskrit work compiled between 1760-65 A. D., the chronology of the Gaṅga kings of Orissa was just the same as recorded in the Mādalāpānji used by Stirling The constant use of Persian words and the term 'Mcghal', indicates that the present form of the Mādalāpāñji was compiled soon after the Moghal conquest of Orissa during the last decade of the 16th century A D. Andrew Stirling * was appointed as the Secretary to the Commissioner of Cuttack or Orissa on the 10th October, 1817 1 and continued to stay at Cuttack up to 1822 when his work was fi st published, and it is simply surprising that within so short a period of 5 years he was able to write his work along with other multifarious official works. His work on Orissa was reprinted in the *Asiatic Researches*' Vol, XV in 1825. It was Stirling who first discovered and published the facsimiln print of the Hatigumpha inscription when no one in India could read the Brahmi script used in it; it was he who first brought into prominence the cave temples and sculptures of Khandagiri and Udayagiri and the temples of Jajpur. Bhubaneswar, Puri and Konaraka. It is sure that Stirling studied the historical works such as Ferishta, Ain-i-Akbari written in Persian and Teffentaller's works in French and Stewart's history of Bengal in English from Persian sources published first in 1813. It is a fact that he did not derive any historical information from the stone and copperplate inscriptions. Thus Stirling deserves the credit of being the first historian, antiquarian and archivist of Orissa who did not spare to take pains for thorough study of materials then available at his disposal in spite of his whole time occupation for the administrative duties of a newly established Government in Orissa.

After Stirling's researches, we get the names of Major Markhan Kittoe who devoted enough time to decipher inscriptions such as Dhauli Edicts of Asoka, Hatigumpha inscription of Kharavela, stone inscrip–

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* Andrew Stirling (1793–1830) I. C. S, born about 1793 : son of Admiral Stirling, educated at Haileybury 1811-12 : to India in 1813 ; Persian Secretary to Government and Deputy Secretary in the Political Department : Private Secretary to W. D. Bayle while acting as Governor General 1828 : He was the author of a valuable work on Orissa distinguished by great talents throughout his career : died at Calcutta May 23, 1830. *Vide* Buckland's *Indian Biography.*

1. Toynbee's *Orissa*,

tions found at Bhubaneswar and a Bhanja copperplate from Ganjam in 1837 to 1839 in collaboration of James Prinsep. This aspect of study of history from contemporary inscriptions was neglected for at least 50 years until the time of M. M. Chakravarti.

In 1872 W.W Hunter published his work on Orissa which was as traditional as that of Stirling so far the history of Hindu kings of Orissa was concerned. So practically it did not supersede the history of Stirling in any way. John Beams supplied Hunter materials in 1869-70 as the Collector of Balasore and Cuttack and as Commissioner of Orissa. For the statistical report of Balasore John Beams wrote a small chapter on the history of Orissa which was published in the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1883. Beams first wrote essays on Oriya literature and history in *Indian Antiquary* in 1872 The history of Orissa. written first in Oriya by Piarimohan Acharya of Cuttack was published in 1879.

At the same time Rajendralal Mitra published two big volumes on the caves and temples of Orissa entitled *The Antiquities of Orissa* before 1880. Although he included the inscriptions of temples of Bhubaneswar and Puri, yet he was not able to come out of the influence of the traditions. Rangalal Banerjee, a Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Cuttack took interest in the study of the History of Orissa and edited a number of copper plate inscriptions in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* and the *Indian Antiquary* after 1880. It seems that young Manomohan Chakravarti who was a student of the Revenshaw Collegiate School and the Ravenshaw College of Cuttack was attracted to the study of history from the influence of all learned men who served at or came to Cuttack from 1870 to the end of his college career. Dwarikanath Chakravarti, the father of Manomohan Chakravarti was not only the Superintendent of the Normal School at Cuttack, but was a very learned man and also a man of high character in those days at Cuttack.

Dwarakanath Chakravarti, a Bengali Brahman by caste, was a resident of the village Kathore in the Barasat Subdivision of the District of 24 Pergannahs of Bengal. After passing the Senior Examina tion in the Hindu College of Calcutta, Dwarakanath preferred to serve in the Education Department and after serving in the districts of Hugli and Bankura, he was posted as the Assistant Head Master at Puri in 1861. Subsequently he was appointed as the Deputy Inspector of Schools of Puri and other neighbouring area. In 1869 Dwarakanath

Chakravarti was appointed as the Superintendent of the Training School Cuttack which post he held until his retirement. Manomohan Chakravarti, the eldest son of Dwarakanath Chakravarti was born in October 1863 at Kathor their ancestral home situated about 10–12 miles from Calcutta in the district of 24 Pergannahs of Bengal according to the *History of Services of Gazetted Officers of Bengal.* It seems that boy Manomohan was admitted to the Zilla School at Cuttack. He was a brilliant student and always stood first in his class. He passed the Entrance examination in the year 1878 and was awarded the "Beams Medal" for his brilliant success in the Ravenshaw Collegiate School at Cuttack. Then he joined the Ravenshaw College and passed the F. A. and B. A. examinations. In the year 1884 he passed M. A. examination in Botany from the Free Church Institution, Calcutta and stood first in the Calcutta University. In 1886 he passed the B. L. examination from the Metropolitan Institution. In the same year he passed the Depury Magistrate examination and joined the Provincial Service (Executive) as the Deputy Magistrate at Cuttack where his father was then in service.

Monomohan Chakravarti joined in his post of the Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector at Cuttack on the 24th March 1886 and retired from the Government service on the 16th October 1918 in the capacity of the Additional District Magistrate of Tippera in Bengal. During his service period he was posted at Cuttack from March 1886 to March 1887, at Puri from March 1887 to December 1891 and at Jajpur from December 1891 to June 1897. During this period of full 11 years he was busy in collecting materials for writing papers on the history of Orissa mainly. Then he was posted at Gaya, Midnapur, Serampur, Hooghly, Howrah, Calcutta (as the Assistant Superintendent of the Gazetteer revision from 1907), Howrah, 24 Pergannahs and Tipperah. From February, 1903 to July 1916, it is found that he was posted very near to Calcutta.

This is the short account of service career for which Monomohan Chakravarti is not remembered now a days. We are indebted to him for his contributions in the field of historical research which he scrupulously maintained even at the sacrifice of his health. He was first elected as the *Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1890, and he was elected as the *Fellow* of that learned Society in 1912 which was due to the best recognition of his multifarious historical research for a period of 20 years.

In the *Appendix-I* is given a list of 34 papers published by him in English from 1892 to 1917. Out of these, 27 papers were published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* and only two papers, that too also last ones, were published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society in 1916 and 1917*. This excludes his official paper on the Khandagiri and Udayagiri hills of the Puri District, and contributions in the Bengal Gazetteers and the book entitled the Changes in the Jurisdiction of the Districts and Divisions of Bengal which are no doubt a part of his historical research.

Monomohan Chakravarti was posted at Cuttack, Puri and Jajpur from March 1886 to June 1197 for over a period of 10 years of the early career of his life. During his stay in Orissa he contributed first five papers which goes to establish that he kept himself busy for undertaking historical research, otherwise it is not possible for a young Deputy Magistrate to read papers in the meetings of the *Asiatic Society* of Calcutta in 1891 just after 5 years of his entry into the Government service. From March 1857 to December 1891 Monomohan Chakravarti was stationed at Puri. While at Puri he collected 4 copperplates—two belonging to Kula Sthambha of the Sthambha dynasty and two belonging to the Gaṅga king Narasimha Deva IV from the Maṭhas of Puri. These copperplate grants were published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for the year 1895. Although these papers were published in 1895, yet these were read first in a meeting of the Society as early as 1891. In this paper he gave his views as follows :—

"The mediaeval history of Orissa is dark. The Mādalā Pāñji or the Chronicle of the Jagannatha temple is almost the only source, but unless corroborated, its statements cannot be fully relied upon." (vide, J. A. S. B. 1895, p. 128.)

The discovery and study of the copperplates of Narasimha Deva IV by Chakravarti gave him an opportunity of doubting the authenticity of the traditional account of the Gaṅga kings of Orissa found from the Mādalāpañji.

In a meeting of the Asiatic Society held on the 6th July 1892, M. M. Chakravarti read a paper entitled "Some new inscriptions of Bhubaneswar, District Puri" and an abstract of this paper was published in the Proceedings p. 140-41. The following quoted below

gives the views of the Chakravarti about the historical value of the Mādalāpāñji.

" In spite of researches of Stirling, Prinsep, Hunter and Rajendralal Mitra, the history of Orissa was very obscure. The Mādalāpāñji was still its main basis and the Mādalāpāñji was a very unsafe and confusing guide, being itself based on unsatisfactory, imperfectly recorded, and often contradictory traditions. The work should be deposed from the high pedestal which it now occupied, and placed in its proper rank, as a corroborative document only".

The paper on the inscription of Bhubaneswar was publised in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1893, but his previous papers on the copper plate grants of Narasimha Deva IV read in the Society in 1891 were published in the *Journal* for 1895. In the mean while M. M. Chakravarti was busy perhaps in compiling his paper entitled "*Notes on the language and literature of Orissa*", parts I & II which were published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 1897 and parts III and IV of which in the *Journal* for 1898. In the conclusion of his paper he added a note on the Mādalāpāñji at pp. 376-79 and *The later kings of Khorda* in the Appendix - IV (pp. 380-384).

At the time when M. M. Chakravarti was engaged in the studies of the Mādalāpāñji, it seems that Fleet was also busy in doing so in connection with the writing of the paper entitled *The Records of the Somavamsi Kings of Kataka* for *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. III. Fleet has not mentioned if he had the occasion of reading the remarks of M. M. Chakravarti on the Mādalāpāñji, but it seems that two eminent historians simultaneously suspected its authenticity. Those who are interested to know the arguments of Fleet are requested to go through the pages 334-340 of the *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. III. The following quotations will show how independently and correctly was reveiwed the text of Mādalāpāñji by Chakravarti and how he differed from Fleet.

"The historical value of the Mādalāpāñji has been very much overrated The original informations were often not correctly entered. Then again the chronicle being on palm-leaves, it had to be recopied three or four times in a century, and in re-copying many mistakes crept in particularly in figures. Lastly the Seba (worship) was closed several times on account of the Mahomedan raids, and many volumes must have been lost at the time. Hence the text is found full of mistakes and cannot be relied upon, unless corroborated by other evidence.

The later writers have also fallen into mistakes by following it exclusively only one version of the royal genealogy, while there are five or six versions in the Mādalāpāñji. The truth often lies in one or other version. Appendix – IV (dealing with the later kings of Khurdha) will give some idea of the difficulties in constructing a royal genealogy from these different versions "

* * * *

"Since writing this article, a kind letter of Dr. Fleet has drawn my attention to his remarks on the Mādalāpāñji in the *Epigraphia Indica.* Dr. Fleet has analysed the earlier list of kings carefully and comes to the conclusion that the annal is 'absolutely worthless for any purposes of ancient history" (p. 335). I came nearly to the same conclusion when I was studying the original manuscript of the Mādalāpāñji. In an article read before the *Society,* an abstract of which was published in the *Proceedings* for July 1892, I noticed the general unreliability of the historical portion of the Mādalāpāñji, and remarked that at best it can be used only as a corroborative document. Dr. Fleet's analysis confirms me in that view.

"On some of the points discussed in the very interesting article of Dr. Fleet, I venture to differ. Firstly, he thinks that in respect of most of the Kesari kings it can only be said that 'not one of them has any ring of antiquity in the sound of it; they may possibly be real names of later rulers, misplaced in order to make out a consecutive chronological series.' (p. 336). I know at least of one Orissan inscription not later than tenth century, which mentions Kesari kings. It is Brahmesvara inscription of Bhubaneswar. This inscription mentions Udyotaka Kesari, and of his ancestors Janamejaya, Vicitravira Chandihara and Kolāvatī. The names of both Janamejaya, and Kolāvatī are to be found in the Mādalāpāñji. The Kesari kings need not therefore be considered as myths or later rulers, as suggested.

"Secondly, Dr. Fleet has 'no substantial doubt that the Yavana invasions which were repulsed, as the annals say, by Vajradeva and his successors and the successful invasion by Yavanas in the time of Sobhanadeva, are (mixed up with the early Gupta rule) simply the raids into Orissa by the Mussulmans in the thirteenth and following centuries, and the ultimate conquest of the country by them in the sixteenth century A. D. (p 339). After having so satisfactorily established the utter worthlessness of the earlier part of the annals,

it is a pity that Dr. Fleet should make such an elaborate inference on one of the least authentic events of that earlier part. I am inclined to disbelieve the whole story of Raktavāhu the Yavana, as a legend (without any Historical value) If any identification be at all required, I would rather identify him with some Buddhist or Jaina chief of the South."

In April 1899, M. M. Chakravarti read in the *Asiatic Society of Bengal* a paper entitled *An inscription of the time of Kapilendra Deva of Orissa, from Gopinathapura, District Cuttack.* In the appendix of this paper he dealt with the history of "The last Hindu Kings of Orissa" and wrote as follows :—

"Very little authentic is known about these kings of Orissa. The time has now come to throw light into this dark chapter and to give some account of them baseed on inscriptions supplemented at places by the Mādalāpāñji and other records". In this paper he dealt with (A) the Kings of the Surya Vamśa dynasty, (B) the Bhoi Dynasty and (C) the Tilinga dynasty from 1434-35 A. D, to 1568 A.D. In this paper he deduced the period of rule from the data available from the inscriptions mainly after rejecting the dates given in the Mādalāpāñji.

In August 1903 M. M. Chakravarti read the paper entitled "*Chronology of the Eastern Gangs king of Orissa*". In writing this a article it seems that he worked hard since 1891 when his paper on the copperplate grants of Narasimhadeva IV was read. The copper-plates gave only the years of rule of each king from Choḍagaṅgadeva. In the year 1894 the *Annual Report of the South Indian Inscriptions* was published in which inscriptions of kings of Orissa engraved on the walls of the temples of Mukhalinga, Shrikurma and Simhachalam were published. The report along with some copperplates published in the *Journals* up to the year 1903 gave M. M. Chakravarti an unique opportunity to verify the years of reign of the Gaṅga kings from Choḍagaṅga onwards up to Narasimhadeva IV. By this verification the whole chronology of the Gaṅga kings of Orissa was based on the solid rock of inscriptional evidence, and at the same time it proved the un-authenticity of the chronology of the Gaṅga kings as recorded in the Mādalāpāñji. In this paper Chakravarti gave the period of rule of

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2. J. R. A. S. B. 1898, p. 331.

Choḍaganga from 1076 A. D. to 1147 A. D. which has been found to be untenable now due to discovery of new facts.

In the three papers namely (1) *Chronology of the Eastern Gagṅa kings of Orissa* (2) *The last Hindu Kings of Orissa* and (3) *The later kings of Khordha* mentioned above, M. M. Chakravarti dealt with scientifically the chronology of the history of Orissa from 1111 A. D. to 1817 A. D. leaving the dark periods as noted below :—

(1) 1402 A D. to 1434 A. D.
(2) 1520 A. D. to 1559 A. D.
(3) 1568 A. D. to 1692 A. D.

Within the 60 years that elapsed since 1898, the period from 1402 to 1434 A D [3] has been allotted to Narasimhadeva IV (1378-1414 A.D) and Bhanudeva IV (1414 to 1434 A D.) [4]

The period from 1520 to 1559 has been allotted to Pratāparudradeva of the Solar dynasty (1510-1533 A. D.) Govindadeva (1533-1543 A. D.) and Pratāpadeva (1545-1548) [5] Hence the chronology from 1548-1559 A D. of the history of Orissa is still in darkness although we find the names of Narasimha Rāya Jenā and Raghurāma Jenā during this period in the Mādalāpānji.

The period from 1568 to 1692 A.D. was occupied by six rulers namely 1. Rāmachandradeva I, 2. Purushottamadeva, 3. Narasimhadeva, 4. Gangādharadeva. 5. Balabhadradeva, 6. Mukundadeva of the Bhoi dynasty of Khurda, the details of whose period of rules have not yet been established.

I have collected some contemporary evidence to establish the chronology of these six rulers of the Bhoi dynasty of Khurdha which I hope will be dealt with in a separate paper by my friend and colleague Sri K. N. Mahapatra, the Curator of the Orissa State Museum. I am sure that the paper will throw new light on the period of rule of the rulers from 1568 to 1692 A. D. showing the unreliability of dates given in the Mādalāpāñji and accepted by Stirling, Hunter or subsequent historians of Orissa.

M. M. Chakravarti's work did not end here so far as the history of Orissa was concerned. Since 1903 he practically gave up the

3. *Ibid.*
4. O.H.R J. Vol. IV, No. 3 & 4, pp. 98-103.
5. *Ibid.* Vol V, pp. 212-222.

studies in epigraphy and took up the studies in Sanskrit literature of Bengal and Mithilā in which his contributions are a fresh source for the study of history of Bengal. He also contributed a paper on the *Muslim history of Bengal*. His paper on *the Bengal school of temples* is an instance of his crudite study on the subject.

The speciality of study of the history of Bengal and Orissa by M. M. Chakravarti is based on the famous maxim that "chronology and geography are the two eyes of history" and these two aspects of study in geography apart from chronology is borne out by his two papers entitled *"Notes on the old Geography of Bengal"* published in *J.A.S.B.* in 1908 and *" Notes on the Geography of Orissā in the sixteenth century "* published in *J. A. S. B.* in 1916. Chakravarti's paper on the Geography of Orissa is very valuable for the reason that he got the *" Desakhanja or lands allotted to the gods Jagannātha and Krtibasa throughout Orissa "* and he had the advantage of comparing the contents of *Deśakhanja* with that of the *Ain i-Akabāri* which though very authentic, has been very badly translated into English from Persian, The wrong translation has been corrected by Chakravarti.He writes that "the *Ain* list has been made the basis of this paper" 6 I tried to examine the *Deśa-khanja* portion of the Mādalāpānji as early as 1927 when my Gurudeb Ramaprasad Chanda worked on the Mādalāpānji, but I failed to get it. Besides the *Deśa-khanja* list Chakravarti found a list which " gives a table of gods with their places throughout Orissa who were endowed with money grants from the Government. " 7 This list, if found, will be of great importance for the study of temples of Orissa. After this Chakravarti edited two Oriya inscriptions in the *Journal of the B & O. Research Society*. One of them belongs to the Jeypur Estate 8 and another belongs to a ruler in the Konarak temple 9 of Orissa.

During the period of his service as the Deputy Magistrate in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa upto 1912 and in Bengal upto his retirement he was on medical leave and furlough for a long period at intervals due to the bad health as he suffered from diabetis for a period of long 16 years and met the untimely death at the age of 56 years on the 15th September, 1916. He was honoured by the title of Rai Bahadur in 1914.

6. J & P. A. S. B.—1916 p. 27.
7. *Ibid.*
8. J. B & O. R. S. Vol. II, pp. 437-440.
9. *Ibid*. Vol, III, pp. 282-283.

He left behind him a big family namely his widow (who died on the 9th June 1939) nine sons (one of whom was Under Secretary in 1957 to the Ministry of Home Affairs, Delhi), four daughters, two son-in-laws, five brothers and two sisters to mourn his death. I am indebted to his two sons named Sri Harimohan Chakravarti and Sri Ram Mohan Chakravarti who supplied me valuable informations about their illustrious father late lamented Mano Mohan Chakravarti, one of the great historians and scholars of our country to whom, I offer my sincerest tribute.

APPENDIX - I

List of papers published by M. M. Chakravarti :—

No.	Name of paper	Where published	Year.
1.	Troy weights and general currency of ancient Orissa.	J. A. S. B.	1892
2.	Substance of paper entitled "Oriya inscription etc."	,,	1892
3.	Oriya inscriptions of 15th & 16th century	,,	1893
4.	Two inscriptions of Kulasthambhadeva	,,	1895
5.	Two copper-plate inscriptions of King Narasimhadeva of Orissa	,,	1895
6.	Notes on the language & literature of Orissa Parts I & II	,,	1897
7.	-do- -do- Parts III & IV	,,	1898
8.	An inscription of the time of Kapilendradeva from Gopinathapura in Cuttack District.	,, ,,	1900
9.	An inscription of the time of Nayapala Deva from Kesavadeva, Dwarika temple	,,	1900
10.	Caves of Khandagiri and Udayagiri in Puri District.	Published by Bengal Govt.	
11.	Chronology of the Eastern Gaṅga kings of Orissa	J. A. S. B	1903
12.	Date of Kālidāsa	J.R.A.S. (London)	1903
13.	Kālidāsa and Guptas	,,	1904
14.	Pavanadūta or Wind messanger by Dhoyika, a court poet of Lakshmana Sena, king of Bengal with an Appendix of Sena Kings.	J. & P. A. S. B.	1905

No.	Title	Publisher	Year
15.	Sanskrit literature in Bengal during the Sena rule	,,	1906
16.	Chapters on the History of Orissa in the Gazetteers of Cuttack and Balasore	Govt. of Bengal	1906–07
17.	Supplementary notes on the Bengal poet Dhoyika and on the Sena Kings	J. & P. A. S. B.	1908
18.	Certain disputed or doubtful events in the history of Bengal, Part I	,,	1908
19.	Certain unpublished drawings of antiquities in Orissa & Northern circars.	,,	1908
20.	Notes on the geography of old Bengal	,,	1908
21.	Bengali temples and their general characteristics.	,,	1909
22.	Certain disputed and doubtful events in the history of Bengal, early Muslim period, Part – II.	,,	1909
23.	Notes on Gaur and other old places of Bengal	,,	1909
24.	Sikkim copper coins	,,	1909
25.	Pre-Mughal Mosques of Bengal	,,	1909
26.	Bhatta Bhavadeva of Bengal	,,	1910
27.	History of Navya Nyāyai in Bengal & Mithilā	,,	1912
28.	Contribution to history of Smṛti in Bengal and Mithilā		
29.	History of Mithilā during the Mughal period	,,	1915
30.	Changes of boundaries of Districts of Bengal.	Govt. of Bengal	1916
31.	Notes on the Geography of Orissa in 16th century.	J. & P. A. S. B.	1916
32.	On the genuineness of the eighth canto of the poem Kumārasambhava.	,,	1916
33.	Oriya copperplate inscription of Ramachandradeva.	J. B. & O. R. S.	1916
34.	An Oriya inscription from Konaraka.	,,	1917